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THE

HISTORY

OF

MASSACHUSETTS,

FROM THE

FIRST SETTLEMENT THEREOF

IN 1628,

UNTIL THE YEAR 1750.

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By THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esq.
Late GOVERNOR of MASSACHUSETTS.

Historia, non ostentationi, sed fidei, veritatique componitur.
Plin. Epist. L. 7. E. 33.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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[*IN this Edition, beſides many corrections, ſome additional Notes are placed in the margin, which are incloſed* [*thus*]. *Mr.* HUTCHINSON*'s ſentiments reſpecting allegiance and the political connexion of this country with Great-Britain are diſtinguiſhed by italic letters.*]

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PREFACE.

THE repeated deſtruction of ancient records and papers by fire in the town of Boſton firſt inclined me to endeavour the preſervation of ſuch materials as remained proper for an Hiſtory of the Maſſachuſetts Colony. Many ſuch came to me from my anceſtors, who for four ſucceſſive generations had been principal actors in public affairs; among the reſt a manuſcript hiſtory of Mr WILLIAM HUBBARD, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts.*

The former part of it has been of great uſe to me. It was ſo to Dr. MATHER in his hiſtory, of which Mr. NEALE's is little more than an abridgment. I made what collection I could of the private papers of others of our firſt ſettlers, but in this I have not had the ſucceſs I deſired. The deſcendants of ſome of them are poſſeſſed of many valuable letters and other manuſcripts, but have not leiſure or inclination to look into them themſelves, and yet will not ſuffer it to be done by others. I am obliged to no other perſon more than to my friend and brother the Reverend Mr. MATHER, whoſe library has been open to me as it had been before to the Reverend Mr. PRINCE, who had taken from thence the greateſt and moſt valuable part of what he had collected.

Several

[* This manuſcript is now in poſſeſſion of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society.]

Several gentlemen have given us encouragement to expect from them an History of the Colony. Mr. PRINCE gave us the chronology of two or three years, and there left it. Mr. PRAT, the late chief justice of New York, has often mentioned to me his intention to prepare and publish an History. Death has put it out of his power. Another gentleman of the first character at the bar, whose talents for it will not be called in question, has proposed the same thing. Want of leisure for it has probably prevented.*

I am sensible that whoever appears in print should be able to dispose his matter in such order, and clothe it with such style and language, as shall not only inform but delight the reader; therefore I would willingly have delivered over every thing I have collected to a person of genius for such a work. But seeing no prospect of its being done by any other, I engaged in it myself, being very loth that what had cost me some pains to bring together should be again scattered and utterly lost.

I am sensible of many defects in this performance, and that it stands in need of all the apologies I am capable of making for it. It cannot be expected that the affairs of a colony should afford much matter interesting or entertaining to the world in general. I write for the sake of my own countrymen, and even to many of them I expect some facts will be thought of too little importance, and

[* The gentleman here meant was OXENBRIDGE THACHER, esquire, who died the next year after this Volume was first published, viz. in 1765.]

and yet I have omitted many ſuch as have been been judged proper for the preſs by former hiſtorians. In general we are fond of knowing the *minutiæ* which relate to our own anceſtors. There are other facts which from the nature of them will afford but a dull and heavy narration. My chief deſign is to ſave them from oblivion.

All hiſtorians profeſs a ſacred regard to truth. I have found ſome difficulty in guarding againſt every degree of prejudice in writing the hiſtory of my own country. I hope by ſhunning one extreme I have not run upon the other.

The Maſſachuſetts Colony may be conſidered as the parent of all the other Colonies of New England. There was no importation of planters from England to any part of the continent northward of Maryland, except to Maſſachuſetts, for more than fifty years after the Colony began. In the firſt ten years about twenty thouſand ſouls had arrived in Maſſachuſetts. Since then it is ſuppoſed more have gone from hence to England than have come from thence hither. Maſſachuſetts, New Hampſhire, Connecticut, and Rhode Iſland, at this day probably contain five hundred thouſand ſouls. A ſurpriſing increaſe of ſubjects of the Britiſh crown!

Barbadoes and the leeward iſlands owed very much of their ſupplies of lumber, horſes and proviſions, with which they were furniſhed at the beginning

beginning of their ſettlements from this colony in as great plenty as they deſired.

The addition of wealth and power to Great Britain in conſequence of this firſt emigration of our anceſtors exceeds all expectation. They left their native country with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that they and their poſterity ſhould enjoy the privileges of free natural born Engliſh ſubjects. May the wealth and power of Britain ſtill increaſe in proportion to the increaſe of her Colonies; may thoſe privileges never be abuſed; may they be preſerved inviolate to the lateſt poſterity.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAP. I.

From the first Settlement of the Colony, until the Year 1660.

THE discovery of America by Columbus, and of the northern continent by the Cabots, in the fifteenth century, and the several voyages of English and French in the sixteenth, I pass over, and begin with the voyage made by Bartholomew Gosnold, an Englishman, in the year 1602, to that part of North-America since called New-England. It is not certain that any European had been there before. Hakluit mentions the landing of some of Sir H. Gilbert's men upon some part of the continent; but it is probable that was farther eastward, upon what is now called Nova-Scotia. Gosnold landed first on the eastern coast, which he calls Mavoshen.* After some commerce with the natives, he sailed southward, and landed upon one of the islands called Elizabeth-Islands.† He gave them that name in honour to Queen Elizabeth, who was living when he left England; and they have retained it ever since. He built a fort, and intended a settlement upon the island, or the continent near it; but he could not

* About 43 degrees north.

† A little southward of Cape-Cod. [He gave the name of Martha's Vineyard to one of these islands. See *Belknap's* American Biography, vol. 1. p. 235.]

not perſuade his people to remain there, and they all returned to England before winter.*

In 1603, De Monts obtained a patent from Henry the Fourth of France, for all the country from the 40th to the 46th degree, by the name of Cadie, or Acadie. In 1604, De Monts ranged along the ſeacoaſt from St. Lawrence to Cape Cod, and to the ſouth of it. He went far up Kennebeck river, and into divers other rivers, bays and harbours.†

In 1606, King James the Firſt granted all the continent, from 34 to 45 degrees, which he divided into two colonies, viz. the Southern, or Virginia, to certain merchants of London; the Northern, or New-England, to merchants of Plymouth.

In 1607, ſome of the patentees of the Northern colony began a ſettlement at Sagadehoc. They laid the plan of a great ſtate.‡ The preſident died the firſt winter, which was extreme cold. Sir John Popham, his brother, the great promoter of the deſign, and Sir John Gilbert, the admiral's brother, died the ſame year in Europe; and the next year, 1608, the whole number which ſurvived the winter returned to England. Their deſign of a plantation was at an end. Both Engliſh and French continued their voyages to the coaſt, ſome for fiſhing, and ſome for trade with the natives; and ſome feeble attempts were made by the French towards plantations, but they were routed by the Engliſh in 1613. There was no ſpirit in the people of either nation for colonizing. Favourable accounts were publiſhed of the continent by Capt. Smith and others: But who would remove and ſettle in ſo remote and uncultivated a part of the globe, if he could live tolerably at home?‖ The country would afford no immediate

* This I ſuppoſe is what Joſſelyn, and no other author, calls the firſt colony of New-Plymouth; for he ſays, it was began in 1602, and near Narraganſet bay.

† He did not go into the Maſſachuſetts bay, but ſtruck over from ſome part of the eaſtern ſhore to Cape-Ann, and ſo to Cape-Cod, and ſailed further ſouthward. *Champ.*

‡ The following perſons were ſent over to begin the colony: George Popham, preſident; Kawleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, maſter of the ordnance; Robert Davies, ſerjeant-major; Ellis Beſt, marſhal; —— Seaman, ſecretary; James Davies, commander of the fort; Gome Carew, ſearcher; and about one hundred commonalty.

‖ Quis porro, præter periculum horridi & ignoti maris, Aſiâ aut Africâ aut Italiâ

mediate subsistence, and therefore was not fit for indigent persons. Particular persons or companies would have been discouraged from supporting a colony by the long continued expense and outset, without any return.* No encouragement could be expected from the public. The advantages of commerce from the colonies were not then foreseen, but have been since learned by experience. Virginia in its infancy was struggling for life; and what its fate would have been, if the fathers of it in England had not seen the rise and growth of other colonies near it, is uncertain.† God in his providence bringeth good out of evil. Bigotry and blind zeal prevailed among christians of every sect or profession. Each denied to the other, what all had a right to enjoy, liberty of conscience. To this we must ascribe, if not the settlement, yet at least the present flourishing state, of North-America. Persecution drove one Mr. Robinson and his church from England to Holland, about the year 1608. They stayed about a year at Amsterdam, and then removed to Leyden. In 1617, they began to think of removing to America. They laid great stress upon their peculiar tenets, but this did not lessen their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them. Their children left them; some became soldiers, and others sailors, in the Dutch service. In a few years their posterity would have been Dutch, and their church extinct. They were at a loss whether to remove to Guiana,‡ or to Virginia; but the majority were in favour of the latter. The Dutch laboured to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West-India company; but they had not lost their affection for the English, and chose to be under

Italiâ relictâ, Germaniam peteret informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu aspectuq; nisi si patria sit. *Tac. de mor. Germ.*

* Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason spent twenty thousand pounds each, in attempts for settlement; and each of them thought it advisable to give over their designs, and sit down with the loss.

† Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America at this day, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful. One hundred and twenty years had passed, from the discovery of the northern continent by the Cabots, without any successful attempt. After repeated attempts had failed, it seems less probable that any should undertake in such an affair, than it would have been if no attempt had been made.

‡ Sir Walter Rawleigh had raised the fame of Guiana about this time.

under their government and protection. They applied to the Virginia company for a patent of part of the country. To render it probable that their undertaking would not, like all former, be abortive, they gave among others theſe ſpecial reaſons: "That they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and enured to the difficulties of a ſtrange land: That they were knit together in a ſtrict and ſacred bond, by virtue of which they held themſelves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole: That it was not with them as with other men, whom ſmall things could diſcourage, or ſmall diſcontents cauſe to wiſh themſelves at home again." The Virginia company were very much pleaſed with the application, and ſome of the chief of them addreſſed the King to grant the petitioners liberty in religion under the great ſeal; but this was refuſed. He promiſed to connive, and not moleſt them; but this would not do for them at that time. They laid aſide the deſign for that year. In 1619, they renewed their application, and reſolved to venture, though they could not have a ſpecial grant from the King, of liberty of conſcience. They hoped their remote ſituation would put them out of danger of the eccleſiaſtical courts. The affairs of the Virginia company were in great confuſion, and it was the latter end of the year before the patent was granted. It was taken out under the company's ſeal to John Wincob. He lived in the family of the Counteſs of Lincoln, and not removing with the reſt, they never took any benefit from the patent. Mr. Weſton, and other merchants of London, engaged, ſome to adventure their money, and ſome to go over with them. They therefore made the neceſſary preparations; and in July, 1620, the principal of them went over to Southampton, where two ſhips were ready to take them on board. They ſailed the beginning of Auguſt, but were obliged repeatedly to put back, and to leave one of their ſhips behind, with part of the company, at laſt. They intended for Hudſon's river, or the coaſt near to it; but the Dutch had bribed their pilot, and he carried them farther northward, ſo that they fell in about Cape-Cod, and arrived in that harbour the 11th of

of November. The harbour is good, but the country is ſandy and barren. This was diſcouraging, but it was too late in the year to put to ſea again. They coaſted about in their boat, until they found a place more agreeable to them for a plantation, though not ſo good a harbour. Here they brought their ſhip, and determined to take up their abode. They gave it the name of New-Plymouth. Capt. Smith happened to give the name of Plymouth to the ſame place in 1614. A very circumſtantial account of the beginning and progreſs of this colony, wrote by Mr. Edward Winſlow, one of the principal undertakers, is to be found among Purchaſe's collections.*

The project of ſettling America revived again; and a new patent was granted, bearing date Nov. 3d, 1620, incorporating the adventurers to the Northern Colony by the name of the Council for the Affairs of New-England; the bounds of the country were expreſſed between 40 and 48 deg. N. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Maſon were two of the moſt active members of this council. All the ſeacoaſt at one time or other has been granted or pretended to be granted by this council, and ſome parts ſeveral times over, partly from defects in form in preceding grants, and partly from unacquaintedneſs with the geography of the country. The firſt grant within the bounds of Maſſachuſetts was obtained by Mr. Weſton, who, in the ſummer of 1622, ſent over two ſhips, with 50 or 60 men, to begin a plantation at Weſſaguſſet, ſince called Weymouth. They were ſickly when they arrived, and received neceſſaries and refreſhment from their neighbours at New-Plymouth. They were a diſſolute crew, ſoon brought themſelves to poverty, then robbed the Indians and offered other abuſes to them. The Indians made their complaints to the colony of New-Plymouth; but the abuſes continuing, the next year they laid a plot for the deſtruction of all Weſton's company.† The

* In 1629, they obtained a patent from the Council of Plymouth.

† It was this plantation which gave occaſion to the author of Hudibras to make merry with New-England in general, for hanging a bed-rid weaver, inſtead of a uſeful cobler. The Plymouth people, their neighbours, allowed that there was ſome foundation for the ſtory. Several had been concerned in a theft. The Indians inſiſted that the ringleader ſhould be put to death. They hanged one who was

The plot was discovered to the New-Plymouth people, who sent some of their men and prevented the execution of it, by the surprise of those who were to be the principal actors. Mr. Weston, coming over to visit his plantation, was cast away in Ipswich bay, and stripped by the Indians of every thing but his shirt. Being thus rendered incapable of affording any relief to his colony, it came to an end after one year's continuance.

Capt. Robert Gorges obtained a patent from the council of Plymouth, dated Dec. 13, 1622, 10 miles in breadth, and 30 miles into the land on the northeast side of Massachusetts bay. This was loose and uncertain, and no use ever made of it.* He was son to Sir Ferdinando, and employed by the council in 1623 as lieutenant-general, to restrain interlopers and regulate all affairs. He made some attempts to revive Weston's plantation, but returned home the same year without success. Francis West came the same year as vice-admiral, but made no stay. The earl of Warwick had a patent for Massachusetts-Bay about the same time, but the bounds are not known.

In 1624, Lyford, the minister of New-Plymouth, and one John Oldham, stirred up a faction there, and were banished that colony. They began a settlement at Nantasket. The same year, some persons belonging to Dorchester in England sent over fishermen, and made necessary provision for a fishery at Cape-Ann; and Roger Conant,† who with John Oldham had left Plymouth and removed

was less culpable, and not like to live, in his stead. Others say, they deceived the Indians, and hanged up one who died of sickness or famine, a little while before. *Hubbard.*

* Robert Gorges conveyed his title to Sir William Brereton, who afterwards became an adventurer in the Massachusetts corporation. He acquainted the company that he did not intend to contest with them, but desired a proportionable quantity of land might be assigned for the accommodation of his people and servants. They gave him a very respectful answer, but declined acknowledging his title by any capitulation. They promised him land sufficient for the encouragement of his design, but he must take it as one of the company, &c. *Mass. Records, Feb.* 10, 1629. When the new charter in 1691 was preparing, one Mr. Levet, as heir at law to Sir William, laid a claim to the lands contained in this grant, but it met with no countenance from the committee of council. *M.S.*

† He lived until about 1680, and died at Beverly in the county of Essex. He is always spoken of as a person of worth. The superior condition of the persons who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon him, and he lived in obscurity. There are several of his descendents remaining; some of distinction in the colony of Connecticut. Governor's island in Boston harbour was called Conant's island.

removed with the reſt to Nantaſket, was appointed their overſeer. A grant was made by one of the Gorges, it is not ſaid which, to Oldham and others, of part of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, which occaſioned ſome diſpute between them and the Maſſachuſetts grantees.*

In 1625, one Capt. Wollaſton, with about 30 perſons, began a plantation near Weſton's. They gave it the name of Mount Wollaſton. It was known by that name ſome years after; but at length the name was loſt in that of Braintree, of which town it is a part.† No mention is made of a patent to Wollaſton. One Morton, of Furnival's inn, was of this company. He was not left in command, but contrived to make himſelf chief, changed the name of Mount Wollaſton to Merry Mount, ſet all the ſervants free, erected a may-pole, and lived a life of diſſipation until all the ſtock intended for trade was conſumed. He was charged with furniſhing the Indians with guns and ammunition, and teaching them the uſe of them. At length he made himſelf ſo obnoxious to the planters in all parts, that at their general deſire the people of New-Plymouth ſeized him by an armed force, and confined him until they had an opportunity of ſending him to England. In the fall of 1626, Roger Conant, and ſome if not all of his company, removed from Cape-Ann to a neck of land upon Naumkeag river. I find mention made of planters at Winiſimet about the ſame time, who probably removed there from ſome of the other plantations. This is all the account we have of any ſettlements or attempts for

* At the end of the firſt book of records of deeds for the county of Suffolk, is the copy of a letter from the company in England to Captain John Endicot, dated Graveſend, 29th April, 1629, in the cloſe of which is thus written:

"I finde Mr. Oldham's graunt from Mr. Gorge, is to him and John Dorrell for all the lands within Mattachuſett bay betwene Charls river and Abouſett river, containing in length by a ſtraiglit line 5 miles up the ſaid Charls river into the maine land, north weſt from the border of the ſaid bay, including all creeks and poynts by the way; and 3 miles in length from the mouth of the aforeſaid river of Abouſett up into the maine land, upon a ſtraight line ſouth weſt, including all creeks and ponds, and all the land in breadth and length betwene the foreſaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted. The rent reſerved is 12d. on every hundred acres of land that ſhall be uſed. William Blackſton, clerk, and William Jeffrys, gent. authoriſed to put John Oldham in poſſeſſion. Having a ſight of their graunt this I found, tho' I hold it voyde in law, yet his claime being to this, you may in your diſcretion prevent him, by cauſing ſome to take poſſeſſion of the chief part thereof."

† The particular hill which cauſed the name of Mount, is in the farm of Norton Quincy, Eſq.

for ſettlements in Maſſachuſetts-Bay until the year 1627. Mr. White, the miniſter of Dorcheſter, had encouraged Conant and his company to remain in New-England, and promiſed them men, proviſions, &c.

In 1627, March 19, the council of Plymouth ſold to Sir Henry Roſwell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphry, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, who lived about Dorcheſter in England, their heirs and aſſociates, all that part of New-England three miles to the ſouth of Charles river, and three miles north of Merrimack river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. All the leſſer grants which have been mentioned within thoſe limits (the ſettlement of the country being entirely neglected by the grantees) were without doubt looked upon to be forfeited or void. The conditions or tenor of none of them appear at this day. It is very likely the three perſons firſt named in this grant had nothing more in view by the purchaſe than a ſettlement for trade with the natives, or for fiſhery, or other advantageous purpoſes. As ſoon as a colony for religion was projected, we hear no more of them.* The other three remained. Mr. White managed a treaty between Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Matthew Cradock, and John Venn, Eſquires, and divers others in and about London, and the original patentees. A purchaſe was made, and the ſame ſummer Mr. Endicot,† one of the original patentees, was ſent over to Naumkeag with planters and ſervants, and all the affairs of the colony committed to his care. The patent from the council of Plymouth

* Some of the principal of the liberal ſpeakers in parliament being committed to the tower, others to other priſons, this took away all h[illegible] of reformation of church government from many not affecting epiſcopal juriſdiction, nor the uſual practice of the common prayers of the church; thereof there were ſeveral ſorts, though not agreeing among themſelves, yet all of like diſlike of thoſe particulars. Some of the diſcreeter ſort, to avoid what they found themſelves ſubject to, made uſe of their friends to procure from the council for the affairs of New-England to ſettle a colony within their limits. In a very ſhort time numbers of people of all ſorts flocked thither in heaps, that at laſt it was eſpecially ordered, by the King's command, that none ſhould be ſuffered to go without licence; ſo that what I long before propheſied when I could hardly get any for money to reſide there was now brought to paſs. *Ferd. Gorges Hiſt. New-England.*

† His inſtructions were dated London, May 30, 1628, and ſigned by John Venn, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, John Humphry, Richard Perry, George Hewſon, Samuel Alderſey, Thomas Stevens, Joſeph Caxon, Thomas Webb, Increaſe Nowell, Hugh Peters, John White, and Abraham Palmer. His firſt letters from Naumkeag were dated Sept. 13, 1628.

mouth gave a good right to the ſoil, but no powers of government. A royal charter was neceſſary. This paſſed the ſeals March 4, 1628. Matthew Cradock was appointed the firſt governor, and Thomas Goffe deputy governor. Two days before, March 2d, ſome affairs of the colony requiring it, there had been a meeting of the company, at which both governor and deputy are named as ſuch. The day for the annual election of officers by charter being the laſt Wedneſday in Eaſter term, on the 13th of May, 1628, Mr. Cradock was choſen governor by the company, and Mr. Goffe deputy governor; and Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Iſaac Johnſon, Samuel Alderſey, John Venn, John Humphry, Simon Whetcomb, Increaſe Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vaſſall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vaſſall, William Pynchon, John Pocock, and Chriſtopher Coulſon, aſſiſtants. William Burgis was choſen ſecretary in the room of John Waſhburne. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company who had ſubſcribed fifty pounds ſhould have 200 acres of land aſſigned, and in proportion for a greater or leſſer ſum, as the firſt dividend. The names of all the adventurers, and the ſums ſubſcribed, were ſent over to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation. A ſecond embarkation of planters and ſervants had been determined, at a meeting April 30, to be made with all ſpeed.* Four miniſters were provided. Three of them, Francis Higginſon, Samuel Skelton, and Francis Bright, were readily accepted by the company, and had all due encouragement promiſed them; the fourth, Ralph Smith, was required to give under his hand, that he would not exerciſe his miniſtry within the limits of the patent without the expreſs leave of the governor upon the ſpot.† Five ſhips

* Mr. Endicot ſent three brethren, Ralph, Richard and William Sprague, to explore the country weſtward. Between Miſtick and Charles rivers they find a body of Indians ſettled, called Aberginians, and one Engliſh houſe thatched, and poſſeſſed by Thomas Walford, a ſmith. The Indian name of the neck was Miſhawun, now Charleſtown. Theſe firſt travellers, with the conſent of the Indians, took up their abode there. Some of their poſterity remain there and in other parts of the colony to this day.

† Mr. Bright, one of theſe miniſters, is ſaid by Hubbard to have been a conformiſt. He went ſoon after his arrival to Charleſtown, and tarried about a year

ſhips were provided for this embarkation. Mr. Higginſon ſays in his journal, that he ſailed from the Iſle of Wight the 11th of May, and arrived at Cape-Ann the 27th of June, and at Naumkeag the 29th. They found at Naumkeag about 100 planters, 8 houſes, beſides a fair houſe built for Mr. Endicot. The old and new planters together were about 300, of which 100 removed to Charleſtown, where there was a houſe built; the reſt remained at Salem. Mr. Endicot had correſponded with the ſettlers at Plymouth, who ſatisfied him that they were right in their judgments of the outward form of worſhip being much like to that of the reformed churches in France, &c.* On the 20th of July, Mr. Higginſon and Mr. Skelton, after faſting and prayer, were firſt elected by the company for their miniſters, the firſt teacher, the other paſtor, each of them, together with three or four grave members, laying their hands on the other with ſolemn prayer. Nothing is ſaid of any church being then formed; but on the 6th of Auguſt, the day appointed for the choice and ordination of elders and deacons, thirty perſons entered into a covenant in writing, which is ſaid to be the beginning of the church, and that the miniſters were ordained or inſtituted anew. The repetition of this form they probably thought neceſſary, becauſe the people were not in a church ſtate before. It is difficult to aſſign any other reaſon. Meſſengers or delegates from the church of Plymouth were expected to join with them; but contrary winds hindered them in their paſſage, ſo that they did

in the country. Mr. Smith ſeems to have been of the ſeparation in England, which occaſioned the caution uſed with him. He was a little while at Nantaſket, and went from thence to Plymouth, where he was their miniſter ſeveral years.

* Mr. Hubbard in his M. S. hiſtory remarks upon this occaſion, "It is certainly known, that the old non-conformiſts, and good old puritans of Queen Elizabeth's and King James's time, did in many things not ſymbolize with the ſeparatiſts, the one endeavouring only a reformation of ſome corruptions retained or crept into the church (as they thought) either before or after its reformed ſtate; the other, not content therewith, ſtood as ſtiffly to maintain a neceſſity of diſannulling their former church ſtate, as that like a veſſel once infected with leproſy, it muſt be broken in pieces to be new caſt. It is affirmed that Mr. Hilderſham adviſed Mr. Higginſon and other miniſters looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government before they came away from England, which counſel, if it had been attended to, might have prevented ſome inconvenience that hath ſince fallen out, or at leaſt have ſaved ſome of the ſucceeding miniſters from the imputation of departing from their firſt principles, becauſe they were not publicly declared in the beginning of things." *M. S. Hiſt.*

did not arrive until the afternoon, but time enough to give the right hand of fellowſhip. Two of the company, John Brown and Samuel Brown, one a lawyer, the other a merchant, both men of good eſtates, and of the firſt patentees and of the council, were diſſatisfied. They did not like that the common prayer and ſervice of the church of England ſhould be wholly laid aſide; and therefore drew off, with as many as were of their ſentiments, from the reſt, and ſet up a ſeparate ſociety. This offended the governor, who cauſed the two members of his council to be brought before him, and judging that this practice, together with ſome ſpeeches they had uttered, tended to ſedition, he ſent them back to England. The heads of the party being removed, the oppoſition ceaſed.*

Whilſt theſe things were doing in the colony, the company in England were projecting a much larger embarkation, and the transfer of the corporation itſelf from Old England to New. Several gentlemen of figure and eſtate, Iſaac Johnſon, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, and divers others, who were diſſatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings both in church and ſtate, pleaſed themſelves with the proſpect of liberty in both, to be enjoyed in America; and propoſed to the company at London to remove with their families, but upon this condition only, that the patent and charter ſhould remove with them. This propoſal was firſt communicated July the 28th, 1629. A committee was appointed to conſider of it, and to adviſe with counſel learned in the law, and to make report. The adventurers had been at great expenſe without any returns made to them, and had no rational proſpect of any profit from the plantation in the way they were in. The principal objection ſeems to have aroſe from a doubt whether ſuch

* They applied to the company, upon their arrival in England, for recompence for the damages they had ſuſtained, and the matter was referred to Samuel Vaſſall, William Vaſſall, Simon Whetcomb, and William Pynchon, choſen by the complainants; and John White, John Davenport, Iſaac Johnſon and John Winthrop, choſen by the company. The letters which the Browns had ſent over to their private friends, were ſtopped by the company in England, and opened and publicly read, to prevent any prejudice to the plantation. *Maſſ. Rec.* It does not appear by the records how the diſpute was finally iſſued.

"It is a principle, that every religion which is perſecuted, becomes itſelf perſecuting; for as ſoon as by ſome accidental turn it ariſes from perſecution, it attacks the religion which perſecuted it." &c. *Spirit of Laws.*

ſuch a transfer was legal. The report of the committee is not recorded. Mr. White, a counſellor at law, was one of the company, and great ſtreſs was laid upon his opinion; and on the 29th of Auguſt it was determined, "by the general conſent of the company, that the government and patent ſhould be ſettled in New-England." It is evident from the charter, that the original deſign of it was to conſtitute a corporation in England, like to that of the Eaſt-India and other great companies, with powers to ſettle plantations within the limits of the territory, under ſuch forms of government and magiſtracy as ſhould be fit and neceſſary. The firſt ſtep, in ſending out Mr. Endicot, appointing him a council, giving him commiſſion, inſtructions, &c. was agreeable to this conſtruction of the charter.

In conſequence of this new reſolution, the members of the corporation which remained in England were to retain a ſhare in the trading ſtock and the profits of it for the term of ſeven years. The management of it was committed to five perſons who were going over, viz. J. Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltſtonſtall, I. Johnſon, T. Dudley, and J. Revell; and to five who were to remain, M. Cradock, N. Wright, T. Eaton, T. Goffe, and J. Young; and at the expiration of the term, the ſtock, with the profits, were to be divided to each man in proportion to his adventure. All other powers and privileges were to remain with the planters upon the ſpot. We have no account of any dividend ever made, nor indeed of any trade ever carried on for the company. There was another article, that one half the charge of fortifications and ſupport of the miniſters ſhould be paid out of the joint ſtock, but no notice was taken of it in the colony.

The 20th of October, at a general court of governor, deputy and aſſiſtants, and the generality, a new choice was made of governor, &c. conſiſting of ſuch perſons as had determined to go over with the patent. John Winthrop was elected governor, John Humphry deputy governor, Sir Richard Salttonſtall, Iſaac Johnſon, Thomas Dudley, John Endicot, Increaſe Nowell, William Vaſſall, William Pynchon, Samuel Sharp, Edward Roſſiter, Thomas Sharp,

Sharp, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Alderſey, John Venn, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, and Thomas Adams, aſſiſtants.* They did

* I have endeavoured to obtain as particular account as can be now had, of the character and circumſtances of the principal undertakers.

Mr. Winthrop, the governor, was of Groton, in Suffolk, deſcended from reputable anceſtors. One of them, Adam Winthrop, is ſaid to have been an eminent lawyer, and alſo a great favourer of the goſpel, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Mr. Winthrop was a juſtice of peace at the age of eighteen; and very early in life was exemplary for his polite as well as grave and chriſtian deportment. He had an eſtate of ſix or ſeven hundred pound a year, which he turned into money, and embarked his all to promote the ſettlement of New-England. It is a very full evidence of the eſteem he was in, that when many gentlemen of character, ſome of them of noble alliance, were concerned in the ſame undertaking with him, he, by a general voice, was placed at their head. He was eleven times choſen governor, and ſpent his whole eſtate in the public ſervice, the ſtipend being ſmall, and his hoſpitality great, and his bayliff unfaithful. His ſon and grandſon were ſucceſſively governors of Connecticut colony. His great-grandſon, John Winthrop, Eſq. died in London, about 12 or 14 years ago. He was known there by the name of Governor Winthrop, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions is dedicated to him. And his poſterity have been ever ſince reſpected and honoured, both in Connecticut and in Maſſachuſetts. Mr. Winthrop was about 43 years of age, when he removed.

Mr. Dudley's father, Capt. Roger Dudley, loſt his life in the ſervice of his country, leaving no other ſon. Mr. Dudley early in life engaged in the ſame ſervice. In 1597, he raiſed a company of volunteers, received a captaincy from Queen Elizabeth, went over to France, and was at the ſiege of Amiens under Henry the Fourth. After his return to England, he married a gentlewoman of good family and eſtate, and ſettled near Northampton, in the neighbourhood of Mr. Dod, Hildertham, and other celebrated puritan miniſters; was a devout attendant upon their miniſtry, and (although he had been an officer) became a ſober non-conformiſt. Lord Say and Seal recommended him to the Earl of Northampton. The Earl, when he came to his eſtate, found it encumbered and entangled; but putting his affairs under the care of Mr. Dudley, he, by his prudent management, very happily extricated them. After which, leaving the ſervice of the Earl, he removed to Boſton, where he became acquainted with Mr. Cotton. He was ſoon deſired to return to the Earl's family, where he continued until he came to New-England. He was far advanced in life for ſuch an undertaking, being fifty-four years of age. He was choſen into the magiſtracy every year of his life afterwards, four years governor, and often deputy governor. He married a ſecond time in his old age, and had a new ſet of children; and it is very remarkable, that he was a captain in 1597; and in 1764 two of his grand-children are living, viz. one elderly lady at New-London, in Connecticut colony, the widow of John Winthrop Eſq. great-grandſon of the firſt governor; and another at Newbury in Maſſachuſetts, Mrs. Atkins.

Mr. Humphry was early engaged. He was one of the ſix original patentees from the council of Plymouth. He was prevented from coming over with the charter. He married the Lady Suſan, daughter to the Earl of Lincoln, and brought her with their children to New-England in 1632, and was immediately choſen an aſſiſtant. He ſettled at Saugus, now Lynn, about 12 miles from Boſton. Ebenezer Burrill, Eſq. late of the council, lived on part of his farm. Upon an invitation from Lord Say, he intended in the year 1640 to have removed to the Bahama iſlands; but the iſland of Providence being taken by the Spaniards, he gave over that deſign. Soon after, having met with great loſſes by fire, and his eſtate being much impaired, he ſold his plantation at Saugus to lady Moody, and returned to England.

Sir Richard Saltonſtall was the firſt named aſſociate to the ſix original patentees. Although he remained but a ſhort time in New-England, yet his heart was ſet

did not all go over. From time to time, until the general embarkation, as any one declined, some other person was chosen in his stead. First, Roger Ludlow was chosen instead of Samuel Sharp.* Whilst they were

set upon promoting the colony. He sent over two of his sons, one of which was chosen into the magistracy, and continued in it, except while he was absent in England, until after the year 1680. Sir Richard was son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Lord Mayor of London in 1597. He lived many years after his return to England. I have seen his name among the commissioners for the trial of Lilburn, or some other offender against the state. By a will made in 1658, he gave a legacy to the college in New-England. His great-grandson, Gurdon Saltonstall, was many years governor of Connecticut; and some of his posterity in that colony, and Massachusetts, are in esteem and honour to this day. Sir John Foche, a city knight in King William's reign, married his great-granddaughter.

Mr. Johnson, in a will uncancelled, and which remains on the Massachusetts files, executed April 28, in the 5th of King Charles the First, calls himself of Clipsham in the county of Rutland, son of Abraham Johnson, Esq. and grandson of Robert Johnson. Doctor Chaderton was his mother's father. He had much the largest estate of any of the undertakers. It lay in Rutland, Northamptonshire, and Lincolnshire. He values his interest at that time in the New-England adventure, at six hundred pounds. He had no children. After providing for his lady, he gave a great number of legacies to his friends, and to pious and charitable uses; his lands he gave to his father and brethren. To Mr. Cotton, from whom, to the praise of God's grace, he acknowledges to have received much help and comfort in his spiritual estate, he gave thirty pounds, and a gown cloth. The advowson and right of patronage of the parish church of Clipsham, he gave to Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton. He limited his funeral charges to 250l. As Providence ordered it, a small part of that sum sufficed. His heart was set on the New-England concern, and he ordered his executors to carry on his share or part in it. He made another will before his death, and appointed John Hampden, Esq. one of his executors with Winthrop and Dudley. Upon his death bed, he is said to have rejoiced that he had lived to see a church of Christ gathered in America, and professed that he thought his life better spent, than in any other way. He was buried, at his own request, in part of the ground upon Trimontain or Boston, which he had chosen for his lot, the square between School street and Queen street. He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him, and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial what is now called the old burying place, adjoining to King's chapel. He married the lady Arabella, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

Mr. Endicot, the next named, was among the most zealous undertakers, and the most rigid in principles, as will appear in the course of the history. This disposition distinguished him more than his other mental accomplishments, or his outward condition in life. I have seen a letter from the secretary of state in King Charles the Second's time, wherein is this expression: "The King would take it well, if the people would leave out Mr. Endicot from the place of governor." Some of his posterity remain at or near Salem.

Mr. Nowell was nephew to Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, or else the Dean was his great uncle. He was a ruling elder, some time, of the church at Charlestown; but that place, and a place in the civil order, were thought, in that day, not well to consist, and therefore he quitted it, choosing the places of assistant and secretary.

Mr. William Vassall, as well as his brother Samuel Vassall, were gentlemen of good circumstances in England, but do not seem to have been fully of the same sentiment in matters of religion with the planters in general; and although William

* Samuel Sharp came over afterwards and lived at Salem, but was never restored to the magistracy. *Mass. Rec.*

were at Southampton (March 18) Sir Bryan Janſen, William Coddington and Simon Bradſtreet were choſen in the room of Mr. Wright, Eaton and Goffe, and yet Sir Bryan never

liam came over with the firſt company, yet he ſoon went back to England. He returned a few years after to New-England, and ſettled at Scituate in Plymouth colony, not becauſe they were reputed more rigid than the Maſſachuſetts people. When Jamaica was taken by Cromwell he laid the foundation of ſeveral fine eſtates there, enjoyed by his poſterity to the preſent time.

Mr. Pynchon was a gentleman of learning as well as religion. He laid the foundation of Roxbury, but ſoon removed to Connecticut river, was the father of the town of Springfield, where his family hath flouriſhed ever ſince.

Edward Roſſiter was of a good family in the Weſt of England. He died the firſt year. His ſon lived afterwards at Combe. His grandſon, Edward Roſſiter, in the year 1682 was deacon of Mr. Joſeph Alleine's church in Taunton. He ſays in a letter, dated March 28, 1682, that his grandfather, a pious gentleman of good eſtate, left England for the ſake of religion.

Thomas Sharp and John Revell made but a ſhort ſtay in New-England.

Mr. Eaton was an Eaſt country merchant. His father was a miniſter in Coventry. He did not come to New-England until 1637; and then ſettled New-Haven colony, of which he was governor all his life after. His correſpondence, both with the governor of Maſſachuſetts and with the Dutch governor of Manhadoes, or New-York, diſcover a good underſtanding and a virtuous mind.

Mr. Coddington was of Lincolnſhire, zealous to a great degree; was afterwards the father of Rhode-Iſland colony, where his zeal abated and he promoted a general toleration. He was many years their governor, and would gladly have joined in confederacy with the other colonies, but different ſentiments upon religion prevented.

Mr. Bradſtreet was of Emanuel college, Cambridge, from whence he removed to the family of the Earl of Lincoln as his ſteward, and afterwards he lived in the ſame capacity with the Counteſs of Warwick. He married one of Mr. Dudley's daughters, and after her death a ſiſter of Sir George Downing. He lived to be the Neſtor of New-England, was born the beginning of the century in 1603, and wanted but three or four years of completing it. I ſuppoſe Sir Simon Bradſtreet and Dudley Bradſtreet, of the kingdom of Ireland, are deſcended from him.

Mr. Venn, commonly called Colonel Venn, was in the deſign from the beginning, and intended to have removed, but never did. Upon the change of affairs in England he made a figure there, being one of the members for the city in the long parliament, and among the moſt active in the oppoſition to the court, and was one of the King's judges.

Mr. Cradock was more forward in advancing out of his ſubſtance than any other, being generally the higheſt in all ſubſcriptions. He was an eminent merchant in London, and continued divers years to carry on a trade in the colony by his ſervants, but he never came over. His ſon or grandſon, Samuel Cradock, was a diſſenting miniſter at Wickambrook in 1690. George Cradock, Eſq. now in public poſts in the colony, is deſcended from him.

I can give no account of the other aſſiſtants.

Sir William Brereton was one of the company, and ſeems to have been preparing to come over, but he found employment alſo in the long parliament and in the army, and was at the head of the forces which reduced Cheſter. Several others, as Mr. Blackhouſe, Mr. Whichcote, Captain Waller, Mr. Pocock, Mr. Harwood, and other perſons of note, were of the company and great promoters of the plantation. Lincolnſhire contributed greatly, and more of our principal families derive their origin from thence than from any part of England, unleſs the city of London be an exception. The Counteſs of Warwick was a benefactor. In 1634 the general court voted, "that there ſhould be letters of thankfulneſs ſigned by the court and ſent to the Counteſs of Warwick, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Wood, and others that have been benefactors to this plantation." The Earl of Warwick her ſon was a patron of the colony, and was very able as well as willing to do kind

offices

never came to New-England. Even after they had embarked, at a court on board the Arabella, Mr. Dudley was chosen deputy governor, in the room of Mr. Humphry, who staid behind. It is not matter of wonder that they discovered so great want of resolution. It is strange, that so many persevered. It shews some little fortitude in a man in health and vigour, who goes through the fatigues of a long voyage, and spends but a few months in a wilderness, among savages, and in a climate more severe than he had ever experienced. What must we think then of persons of rank and good circumstances in life, bidding a final adieu to all the conveniences and delights of England, their native country, and exposing themselves, their wives and children, to inevitable hardships and sufferings, in a long voyage across the Atlantic, to land upon a most inhospitable shore, destitute of any kind of building to secure them from the inclemency of the weather, and of most sorts of food, to which they had been always used at their former home? The sickness and mortality which prevailed the first winter, they did not foresee. It is an observation since made, that most parts of America have proved unhealthy (except where the country is cleared) until persons have had a seasoning in it.

Eleven ships, which sailed from different ports in England, arrived in New-England before the end of July. Six more arrived before the end of the year. They brought above 1500 passengers. The Arabella, on board which was the governor and several of the assistants, left Yarmouth between the 7th and 10th of April. On the 7th, the governor and divers others on board signed a paper* directed to their brethren of the church of England, to remove suspicions or misconstructions, and to ask their prayers. This paper has occasioned a dispute, whether the first settlers of Massachusetts were of the church of England, or not. However problematical it may be what they were while they

offices to it as long as he lived. Some of the ministers were of families of distinction. Mr. Bulkley from Bedfordshire of an honourable family there. Samuel Whiting, who was minister of Lynn, married a daughter of Oliver St. John. She came with him to New-England. John Shearman, minister of Watertown, married a grand-daughter of Earl Rivers. Her father, Mr. Laume, was a gentleman of 1400l. a year. She was alive in 1697, the mother of 20 children.

* Appendix, No I.

they remained in England, they left no room for doubt after they arrived in America. The Arabella arrived at Salem the 12th of June.* The common people immediately went aſhore, and regaled themſelves with ſtrawberries, which are very fine in America, and were then in perfection. This might give them a favourable idea of the produce of the country; but the gentlemen met with enough to fill them with concern. The firſt news they had, was of a general conſpiracy, a few months before, of all the Indians as far as Narraganſet, to extirpate the Engliſh. Eighty perſons out of about three hundred had died in the colony the winter before, and many of thoſe that remained were in a weak, ſickly condition. There was not corn enough to have laſted above a fortnight, and all other proviſions were very ſcant. They were obliged to give all the ſervants † they had ſent over their liberty, that they might ſhift for themſelves, although they had coſt from ſixteen to twenty pounds a head. They had not above three or four months to look out proper places for ſettlements, and to provide ſhelter againſt the ſeverity of the winter. With this proſpect of difficulties, great enough for them to encounter, ſickneſs began among them. Being deſtitute of neceſſary accommodations, they dropped away one after another. Among others, the lady Arabella, who, to uſe Mr. Hubbard's words, "came from a paradiſe of plenty and pleaſure in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderneſs of wants; and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adverſity ſhe was ſurrounded with; and, in about a month after her arrival, ſhe ended her days at Salem, where ſhe firſt landed." Mr. Johnſon, her huſband, highly eſteemed for his piety and wiſdom, overcome with grief, ſurvived her a ſhort time only, and died at Boſton, the 30th September, to the great loſs of the colony. Mr. Roſſiter, another of the aſſiſtants, died ſoon after. Before December, they had loſt two hundred of their number, including a few who died upon their paſſage. The

* Maſconomco, the Sagamore of Cape-Ann, came on board the next morning after the governor's arrival to bid him welcome. *Hub.*

† The whole number ſent over was 180. This was a heavy loſs.

The governor, and ſome of the principal perſons, left Salem the 17th of June, and travelled through the woods to Charleſtown, about twenty miles, to look out for a convenient place for their chief town, which they had determined ſhould be in ſome part of the bay or harbour between Nantaſket and Cambridge. At firſt they pitched upon the north ſide of Charles river, or rather northweſt, by the major voice; but a number of the principal gentlemen having fixed their cottages, ſhelters intended for one winter only, upon the oppoſite ſide of the river, the governor and moſt of the aſſiſtants removed to them in November. They were however undetermined where to build in the ſpring. A fortified town, at leaſt paliſadoed, was thought neceſſary to defend them againſt the natives, and they could not agree upon the moſt convenient place for that purpoſe.

They found, when they arrived, a few families ſcattered about, in ſeveral parts of the bay. Samuel Maverick, who will often appear in the courſe of this hiſtory, lived upon Noddle's iſland, a grant or confirmation of which he afterwards obtained from the court. He had built a ſmall fort, and had four cannon mounted there.* At a point upon Shawmut, ſince Boſton,† lived William Blackſtone, who had left England, being diſſatisfied there, and not a thorough conformiſt; but he was more diſſatisfied with the non-conformity of the new comers. He told them he came from England becauſe he did not like the Lords Biſhops; but he could not join with them, becauſe he did not like the Lords Brethren. He claimed the whole peninſula upon which Boſton is built, becauſe he was the firſt that ſlept upon it. He had a grant of a very handſome lot there at the weſt part of the town; but he choſe to quit all, and removed to the ſouthward, at or near what is ſince called Providence,‡ where he lived to old age. There were

[* He was the firſt perſon who introduced *Negroes* into the country. His ſon, Samuel Maverick, was one of the commiſſioners appointed by Charles II. in 1664, to ſubjugate the Dutch, and ſettle controverſies in the Engliſh colonies. *Jeſſelyn's voyage, p.* 28. 252. *See Appendix, No.* 15.]

† Said to be called ſo from reſpect to Mr. Cotton, miniſter of Boſton in England, whom they expected to follow them.

‡ One Maſter Blakeſtone, a miniſter, went from Boſton, having lived there 9 or 10 years, becauſe he would not join with the church. He lives near Maſter Williams, but is far from his opinion. *Leckford.*

were alſo ſeveral families at Mattapan, ſince called Dorcheſter, or rather Dorcheſter Neck; here * Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Roſſiter pitched with two miniſters, Mr. Warham and Mr. John Maverick. On the north of Charles river (Charleſtown) were the remains of thoſe who had moved the laſt year from Salem; here Mr. Nowell and ſome of his friends made their pitch, but conſidered themſelves and Boſton at firſt as but one ſettlement, and one church, with Mr. Wilſon for their miniſter. When he went to England in the ſpring, Charleſtown became a diſtinct church and town, and took Mr. James for their miniſter. Sir Richard Saltonſtall choſe a place ſome miles up Charles river, which has taken the name of Watertown. His company took Mr. Phillips for their miniſter. Mr. Pynchon was at the head of another company, who ſettled between Dorcheſter and Boſton. Their town took the name of Roxbury. They had Mr. Eliot† for their miniſter. Medford and Miſtick were then diſtinct places, though not ſo at preſent. At Medford,‡ which I take to have been a ſmall village at the lower part of Miſtick river, now called a neck of land, where a creek alſo ran into Charles river, it was intended a ſettlement ſhould be made for Mr. Cradock and the people he was ſending and had ſent over. Here by his agents he built ſeveral veſſels of burden. At theſe ſeveral places, together with Salem, the whole company were ſettled for the firſt winter. They had little time enough to provide their huts. As ſoon as December came, their out door work was over. On the 6th of December, the governor and aſſiſtants met, and agreed to fortify the neck between Boſton and Roxbury, and orders were given for preparing the materials; but at another meeting on the 21ſt, they laid that deſign aſide, and agreed on a place || about three miles above Charleſtown, and moſt of them engaged to build houſes there the next year. The weather held tolerable until the 24th of December; but the cold then came on with violence. Such a Chriſtmas eve they had never ſeen

* They arrived at Nantaſket the 30th of May, from Plymouth, in England.
† He did not come over until 1631. Mr. Weld was his colleague.
‡ *Wood.*
|| Firſt called Newtown, ſince Cambridge.

ſeen before. From that time to the 10th of February, their chief care was to keep themſelves warm, and as comfortable in other reſpects as their ſcant proviſion would permit. The poorer ſort were much expoſed, lying in tents and miſerable hovels, and many died of the ſcurvy and other diſtempers. They were ſo ſhort of proviſions, that many were obliged to live upon clams, muſſels, and other ſhell fiſh, with ground nuts and acorns inſtead of bread. One that came to the governor's houſe, to complain of his ſufferings, was prevented, being informed that even there the laſt batch was in the oven. Some inſtances are mentioned of great calmneſs and reſignation in this diſtreſs. A good man, who had aſked his neighbour to a diſh of clams, after dinner returned thanks to God, who had given them to ſuck of the abundance of the ſeas, and of treaſure hid in the ſands. They had appointed the 22d of February for a faſt; but on the 5th, to their great joy, the ſhip Lyon, Capt. Pierce, one of the laſt year's fleet, returned, laden with proviſions, from England, which were diſtributed according to the neceſſities of the people. They turned their faſt into a thankſgiving.

In the ſpring of 1631, they purſued their deſign of a fortified town at Newtown. The governor ſet up the frame of a houſe, the deputy governor finiſhed his houſe, and removed his family. About this time, Chicketawbut, the chief of the Indians near Boſton, came to viſit the governor, and made high profeſſions of friendſhip. The apprehenſions of danger leſſened by degrees; the deſign of a fortified town went off in the ſame proportion, until it was wholly laid aſide. The governor took down his frame, and carried it to Boſton. Mr. Dudley, the deputy, was offended, and perſiſted, for ſome time, in his firſt determination of reſiding at Newtown, but at length removed to Roxbury.

This ſcheme of a fortified town was well enough, while they were uncertain what the temper of the natives would be. Their deſign was to make improvements, and to extend their ſettlements in the ſeveral parts of the country. Unleſs they were upon ſuch terms with the Indians, that they could do this with ſafety, the colony could not long ſubſiſt.

ſubſiſt. If they were upon ſuch terms, fortified towns were unneceſſary.*

The high price of proviſions this year in England impoveriſhed the colony. Every buſhel of wheat meal coſt, including the freight, 14s. ſterling; every buſhel of peas 10s. and indian corn, imported from Virginia, ſold at 10s.† Some were diſcouraged, and returned to England, viz. Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Thomas Sharp, &c. and never came back; but others, in hopes of better times, went over to fetch their families, and returned with them; viz. Mr. Wilſon, Coddington,‡ &c. They went in the Lyon, which brought their ſupply. In the ſame ſhip, Sir Chriſtopher Gardner was ſent home under confinement. He was a knight of the ſepulchre, but concealed his true character, and came over laſt year, under pretence of ſeparating himſelf from the world, and living a life of retirement and devotion. He offered to join to ſeveral of the churches, but he was ſuſpected to be an immoral man, and not received. He had a comely young woman which travelled with him. He called her his couſin. For ſome miſcarriages in Maſſachuſetts, he fled to the Indians. They carried him to Plymouth, having firſt uſed him pretty roughly. From thence he was ſent to Boſton. He joined afterwards with Gorges, Maſon and others in complaints againſt the colony.

Mr. Wilſon left the church on the ſouth ſide of the river without a miniſter. At his parting he recommended them to the care of the governor, deputy-governor, and other godly and able chriſtians, to carry on the worſhip of God, on the Lord's day, by propheſying until his return.

So

* Mr. Dudley ſays, they laid aſide all thought of a fort, becauſe upon any invaſion, when they ſhould retire to it, they muſt neceſſarily loſe their houſes. *Letter to Counteſs of Lincoln.* There was the ſame objection to a fortified town, if the inhabitants of other towns and villages ſhould retire to it.

† It was the year 1633 before they knew they ſhould be able to raiſe Engliſh grain, if we may credit Johnſon. "This year a ſmall glean of rye was brought to the court as the firſt fruits of Engliſh grain, at which this poor people greatly rejoiced to ſee the land would bear it." *Johnſon*, 1633.

‡ The following paragraph in a letter to Mr. Cotton from Mr. Coddington, London June 4, 1632, ſhews with what zeal he had embarked in this undertaking. "I am I thank God in bodily health, yet not enjoying that freedom of ſpirit, being withheld from that place which my ſoul deſireth and my heart earneſtly worketh after; neither I think ſhall I ſee it till towards the next ſpring, my wife being with child, and all her friends unwilling ſhe ſhould go in that condition."

So much of their attention was neceſſary, in order to provide for their ſupport, that little buſineſs was done by the aſſiſtants, or by the general court. The removal of the charter made many new regulations neceſſary, which were ſettled by degrees. The firſt court of aſſiſtants was at Charleſtown, Aug. 23d, about two months after their arrival. A beadle, a corporation officer, was appointed. It was then ordered that the governor and deputy for the time being, ſhould be juſtices of the peace; four of the then aſſiſtants were alſo appointed juſtices. All juſtices whatſoever were to have the ſame power for reformation of abuſes and puniſhing offenders, which juſtices have in England; but no corporeal puniſhment to be inflicted, except by an aſſiſtant. In high offences, the governor and aſſiſtants ſat as a court, as well as in civil matters. There was a trial by a jury this year for murder, and the perſon charged was acquitted. The firſt general court was held the 19th of October, not by a repreſentative, but by every one that was free, of the corporation, in perſon. None had been admitted freemen ſince they left England. The governor and aſſiſtants had a great influence over the court. It was ordered, that for the future the freemen ſhould chooſe the aſſiſtants, and the aſſiſtants from among themſelves chooſe the governor and deputy governor. The court of aſſiſtants were to have the power of making laws, and appointing officers. This was a departure from their charter. One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court. Maverick, Blackſtone, and many more who were not of any of the churches, were of this number. This was all that was tranſacted, that was any thing material, the firſt year. The next general court was the court of election for 1631. The ſcale was now turned, and the freemen reſolved to chooſe both governor, deputy and aſſiſtants, notwithſtanding the former vote; and made an order, that, for the time to come, none ſhould be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but ſuch as were church members.*

This

* None may now be a freeman of that company, unleſs he be a church member among them. None have voice in elections of governor, deputy and aſſiſtants, none are to be magiſtrates, officers or jurymen, grand or petit, but freemen. The miniſters

This was a moſt extraordinary order or law; and yet it continued in force until the diſſolution of the government, it being repealed in appearance only * after the reſtoration of King Charles the Second. Had they been deprived of their civil privileges in England, by an act of parliament, unleſs they would join in communion with the churches there, it might very well have been the firſt in the roll of grievances. But ſuch were the requiſites to qualify for church memberſhip here, that the grievance was abundantly greater.

The ſcarcity of the former year excited the inhabitants to make the greater improvements by tillage, as ſoon as the ſpring advanced; and it pleaſed God to give them ſuch favourable ſeaſons, that they had a very plentiful harveſt; and indian corn,† which could not be purchaſed with money the year before, at the end of this year was made a tender in diſcharge of all debts, except money or beaver had been ſpecially agreed for. Cattle were extremely dear, a great part of what had been ſhipped from England being dead, and a milch cow was valued at twenty-five to thirty pounds ſterling.

The ſame governor and deputy governor, and ſuch of the aſſiſtants of 1630 as were living, and in the colony, were re-elected for the year 1631.‡ They continued to make the ſame choice for 1632, with the addition of Mr. John Humphry, who had been deputy governor in England, but was prevented coming the firſt year, and John Winthrop, jun. the governor's eldeſt ſon, who, with his wife, mother, and ſome others of the family, arrived in October the year before.

miniſters give their votes in all elections of magiſtrates. Now the moſt of the perſons at New-England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen, and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or eſtate, or whatſoever, they muſt be tried and judged too by thoſe of the church who are in a fort their adverſaries. How equal that hath been or may be, ſome by experience do know, others may judge. *Lechford.*

* The miniſter was to certify, that the candidates for freedom were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and converſations.

† This however was mean diet and diſtaſteful to Europeans in general. "The want of Engliſh grain, wheat, barley and rye, proved a ſore affliction to ſome ſtomachs who could not live upon indian bread and water, yet were they compelled to it." *Johnſon.*

‡ *Hubbard.* This year, and this only, the aſſiſtants choſen, are not named in the colony records.

before. They were frequently alarmed, this year,* by the Indians, which put them into confuſion; happy for them, that in this their feeble infant ſtate they were only alarmed. A company of Eaſtern Indians, called Tarrateens, about an hundred in number, aſſaulted the wigwams of the Sagamore of Agawam.† They came by water in thirty canoes, ſlew ſeven Indians, and wounded two Sagamores, who lived near Boſton, and carried away captives one of their wives, with divers other Indians. The governor likewiſe received advice from the governor of Plymouth, of a broil between ſome Engliſh of that colony and ſome of the Narraganſet Indians, who ſet upon the Engliſh houſe at Sowam;‡ alſo of motions made by the Pequods, which cauſed the Dutch governor of Manhadoes to give notice to the Engliſh to be upon their guard. A ſhallop, belonging to Dorcheſter, having been miſſing all the winter, it appeared this ſummer, that the crew, conſiſting of five men, had been ſecretly murdered by the Eaſtern Indians. However, the Sagamores near Boſton made profeſſions of friendſhip; and on the 5th of Auguſt, this year, Myantinomo, one of the great Sachems of the Narraganſets, the moſt numerous of all the Indians between Boſton and Hudſon's river, came down to Boſton, whether out of fear or love they could not tell, to enter into a league of friendſhip with the colony. He and his followers were invited to attend the public worſhip; but three of them withdrew in ſermon time, and to ſatisfy their hunger broke into an Engliſh houſe to get victuals. The Sagamore, who was a very high ſpirited fellow, could hardly be perſuaded to order them any corporeal puniſhment; but he was ſo aſhamed of his attendants, that he ordered them out of town, and followed them himſelf ſoon after.

The French alſo occaſioned ſome uneaſy apprehenſions. They had been drove from Acadie by Sir Samuel Argall, in 1613. The people of New-Plymouth had ſet up a trading houſe at Penobſcot, about the year 1627. Intelligence

* There was an alarm in 1631 at Saugus or Lynn. Lieut. Walker, then upon the watch, was ſhot through his clothes by two arrows, but by an immediate diſcharge of a culverin it was ſuppoſed the Indians withdrew. *Johnſon*, &c.

† Ipſwich.

‡ In part of what is now Briſtol.

ligence was brought this year to Maſſachuſetts, that in 1630 or 1631 Sir William Alexander had ſold the country of Nova-Scotia to the French, and that the fort with all the ammunition and ſtores were delivered to them; that Cardinal Richlieu had ordered ſome companies there, and that more were expected the next year, with prieſts, jeſuits, &c. This news alarmed the governor and council, and put them upon conſultations for their defence. They determined to finiſh a fort which was begun at Boſton, to build another at Nantaſket, and to haſten the ſettlement of Agawam (Ipſwich) it being one of the beſt places both for paſture and tillage, leſt an enemy ſhould take poſſeſſion and prevent them. Mr. Winthrop, the governor's ſon, was accordingly ſent to begin a plantation there.* It appears that their apprehenſions of the French deſigns to take poſſeſſion of ſome part or other of the coaſt were not ill founded, for they ſent a ſhip this year, 1632, to Penobſcot, as a prelude to what was to come after. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, gives this account of it. "This year the houſe "at Penobſcot is robbed by the French in this manner: "While the maſter of the houſe, and part of the company "with him, is come with one veſſel to the weſtward, to "fetch a ſupply of goods, brought over for us, a ſmall French

* The Tarrateen or Eaſtern Indians, who had a ſpite againſt the Indians of Agawam, and had attacked them and drove them from their ſettlement, intended miſchief againſt the Engliſh alſo, as appears by the following account preſerved among the papers of Mr. Cobbett, the miniſter of Agawam or Ipſwich:

"At the firſt planting of Ipſwich, as a credible man informed me, namely, "Quartermaſter Perkins, the Tarrateens or Eaſterly Indians had a deſign to have "cut them off at the firſt, when they had but between 20 and 30 men, old and "young, belonging to the place, and at that inſtant moſt of them gone into the "bay about their occaſions, not hearing of any intimations thereof. It was thus. "One Robin, a friendly Indian, came to this John Perkins, then a young man, "living then in a little hut upon his father's iſland on this ſide of Jeoffry's neck, "and told him, on ſuch a Thurſday morning early there would come four In"dians to draw him to go down the hill to the water ſide to truck with them, "which if he did, he and all near him would be cut off, for there were 40 birchen "canoes would lie out of ſight at the brow of the hill, full of arm'd Indians for "that purpoſe. Of this he forthwith acquainted Mr. John Winthrop, who then "lived there in a houſe near the water, who adviſed him, if ſuch Indians came, "to carry it ruggedly towards them and threaten to ſhoot them if they would not "be gone, and when their backs were turned to ſtrike up a drum he had with "him, beſides his two muſkets, and then diſchage them, that ſo 6 or 8 young "men who were in the marſhes hard by, a mowing, keeping their guns ready "charged by them, might take the alarm, and the Indians would perceive their "plot was diſcovered and haſte away to ſea again, which accordingly was ſo acted "and took like effect, for he told me, he preſently after diſcerned 40 ſuch canoes "ſhove off from under the hill and make as faſt as they could to ſea."

" French veſſel, having a falſe Scot aboard, goes into the " harbour, pretends they are newly come from ſea, knows " not where they are, that the veſſel is very leaky, and de- " ſires they may haul her aſhore, and ſtop her leaks, mak- " ing many French compliments and congées: and ſeeing " but three or four ſimple men, who are ſervants, and by " the Scotchman underſtanding the maſter and the reſt of " the company are gone from home, fall to commending " the guns and muſkets, which lie on the racks by the wall " ſide, take them down to look on them, aſking if they " were charged, and when poſſeſſed of them, one preſents " a loaded piece againſt the ſervants, another a piſtol: they " bid them not to ſtir, but deliver the goods, and made " them help in carrying them all aboard, to the value of " four or five hundred pounds ſterling, prime coſt; three " hundred weight of beaver, the reſt in trading goods, as " coats, rugs, blankets, &c. then ſet the ſervants at liberty, " and go away with this taunting meſſage, Tell your maſ- " ter, when he returns, that ſome of the Iſle of Rhée gen- " tlemen have been here."

It appears that the Maſſachuſetts people took poſſeſſion of the country at a very critical time. Richlieu in all probability would have planted his colony nearer the ſun, if he could have found any place vacant. De Monts and company had acquired a thorough knowledge of all the coaſt from Cape-Sables beyond Cape-Cod in 1604; indeed it does not appear that they then went round or to the bottom of Maſſachuſetts-Bay. Had they once gained footing there, they would have prevented the Engliſh. The frenchified court of King Charles the Firſt would, at the treaty of Saint Germain's, have given up any claim to Maſſachuſetts-Bay as readily as they did to Acadie; for the French could make out no better title to Penobſcot and the other parts of Acadie than they could to Maſſachuſetts. The little plantation at New-Plymouth would have been no greater bar to the French in one place than in the other. The Dutch the next year would have quietly poſſeſſed themſelves of Connecticut river, unleſs the French inſtead of the Engliſh had prevented them. Whether the people of either nation would have perſever-

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ed, is uncertain. If they had done it, the late conteſt for the dominion of North-America would have been between France and Holland, and the commerce of England would have borne a very different proportion to that of the reſt of Europe from what it does at preſent.

The new ſettlers were in perils alſo from their own countrymen. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Maſon, two of the council of Plymouth, who, with a view to the advancement of their fortunes had expended large ſums to little purpoſe in attempts to ſettle colonies in New-England, beheld Maſſachuſetts with an envious eye. They intended for themſelves all that part of the colony which lies to the eaſtward of Naumkeag. Gardiner and Morton,* to revenge the affronts they had received, joined with

* Morton wrote the following letter to one Jeffries in New-England. "My very good goſſip, If I ſhould commend myſelf to you, you would reply with this proverb, *propria laus ſordet in ore*: but to leave impertinent ſalutes and really proceed, you ſhall hereby underſtand, that altho' when I was firſt ſent to England to make complaint againſt Ananias and the brethren, I effected the buſineſs but ſuperficially (through the brevity of time) I have at this time taken deliberation and brought the matter to a better paſs, and it is brought about that the King hath taken the matter into his own hands. The Maſſachuſetts patent by an order of council was brought in view, the privileges therein granted well ſcanned, and at the council board, in preſence of Sir R. Saltonſtall and the reſt, it was declared, for manifold abuſes therein diſcovered, to be void. The King hath re-aſſumed the whole buſineſs into his own hands, and given order for a general governor for the whole territory to be ſent over. The commiſſion is paſſed the privy ſeal, I ſaw it, and the ſame was ſent to my Lord Keeper to have it paſs the great ſeal, and I now ſtay to return with the governor, by whom all complainants ſhall have relief. So that now Jonas being ſet athore may fately cry, repent ye cruel ſchiſmatics, repent, there are yet but 40 days. If Jove vouchſafe to thunder, the charter and the kingdom of the ſeparatiſts will fall aſunder.—My lord of Canterbury with my lord privy ſeal, having cauſed all Mr. Cradock's letters to be viewed, and his apology for the brethren particularly heard, proteſted againſt him and Mr. Humfries that they were a couple of impoſturous knaves, ſo that for all their great friends they departed the council chamber in our view with a pair of cold ſhoulders. I have ſtaid long, yet have not loſt my labour. The brethren have found themſelves fruſtrated and I ſhall ſee my deſire upon mine enemies.—Of theſe things I thought good by ſo convenient a meſſenger to give you notice leſt you ſhould think I died in obſcurity, as the brethren vainly intended I ſhould. As for Ratcliffe he was comforted by their lordſhips, with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which ſhews what opinion is held amongſt them of king Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amſterdam and fantaſtical ordinances, his preachings, marriages and other abuſive ceremonies which exemplify his deteſtation of the church of England and contempt of his Majeſty's authority and wholeſome laws. I reſt your loving friend,

May 1, 1634. Thomas Morton."

Morton came to New-England again in 1643, when this letter and a book he had wrote full of invectives were produced againſt him. He was truly called the accuſer of the brethren. The court fined him 100l. He was poor and unable to pay it. Nothing but his age ſaved him from the whipping poſt. He went to Acamenticus and there died a year or two after.

with them in a complaint to the King in council againſt the colony. At this time they failed of ſucceſs, and an order was made in council, 19th January, 1632, "declar- "ing the fair appearances and great hopes which there then "were that the country would prove beneficial to the "kingdom, as well as profitable to the particular perſons "concerned; and that the adventurers might be aſſured, "that if things ſhould be carried on as was pretended "when the patents were granted and according as by the "patent is appointed, his Majeſty would not only main- "tain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but "ſupply any thing further which might tend to the good "government, proſperity and comfort of the people "there."*

In the year 1633, the people ſtill continued the admin- iſtration of government in the ſame hands. Freſh ſupplies of inhabitants had been brought from England from time to time in the courſe of the two former years, but there were many who were willing to ſee the ſucceſs of the firſt adventurers before they embarked themſelves. The re- ports carried over were very encouraging, ſo that this year there was a very great addition made, ſhips arriving all ſummer, in ſome months twelve or fourteen in a month; an exportation ſo great, and of ſuch ſort of perſons, that it produced the following order of the King in council, 21ſt February, 1633.

"Whereas the board is given to underſtand of the fre- "quent tranſportation of great numbers of his Majeſty's "ſubjects out of this kingdom to the plantation of New- "England, among whom divers perſons, known to be ill "affected, diſcontented not only with civil but eccleſi- "aſtical government here, are obſerved to reſort thither, "whereby ſuch confuſion and diſtraction is already grown "there, eſpecially in point of religion, as beſide the ruin of "the ſaid plantation cannot but highly tend to the ſcan- "dal both of church and ſtate here: And whereas it was "informed in particular, that there are at this preſent "divers ſhips in the river of Thames ready to ſet ſail thi- "ther, freighted with paſſengers and proviſions: It is "thought

* Hubbard.

" thought fit and ordered that ſtay ſhould be forthwith " made of the ſaid ſhips until further order from this " board. And the ſeveral maſters and freighters of the " ſame ſhould attend the board on Wedneſday next in the " afternoon, with a liſt of the paſſengers and proviſions in " each ſhip. And that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer " in that plantation, now preſent before the board, ſhould " be required to cauſe the letters patent for the ſaid planta- " tion to be brought to this board."*

Mr. Hubbard ſays, that this order was the effect of a new complaint, preferred by Gardiner, Morton and others, of their hardſhips and ſufferings from the ſeverity of the government; and that ſuch of the company as were in England were called before the committee of council, and delivered an anſwer in writing; and that upon reading thereof it pleaſed God ſo to work with the Lords of the council, and afterwards with the King's Majeſty, that when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermayne, one of the council, who had been preſent at the three days of hearing, and ſpake much in commendation of the governor, both to the Lords and after to his Majeſty, the King ſaid he would have ſuch ſeverely puniſhed as ſhould abuſe his governor and the plantation; and the defendants were diſmiſſed with a favourable order for their encouragement; being aſſured from ſome of the council that his Majeſty did not intend to impoſe the ceremonies of the church of England upon them, for that it was conſidered it was for the ſake of freedom from thoſe things that people went over thither. It is certain a ſtop was not put to the emigration. There came over amongſt many others in this year, 1633, Mr. Haynes, of the civil order; Mr. Cotton,† Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, three of the moſt famous men of the religious order. Mr. Cotton is ſuppoſed to have been more inſtrumental in the ſettlement of their civil as well as eccleſiaſtical polity, than any other perſon. The church of Boſton, by advice of the

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Cotton's removal was haſtened by letters miſſive which were out againſt him to convent him before the high commiſſion court for non-conformity. His friends adviſed him to keep cloſe until he had an opportunity of embarking. *Mſ. letter Sam. Whiting.*

the governor and council, and of the elders in the colony, received him for their teacher, to which office he was ordained the 17th October. Mr. Thomas Leverett, an ancient member of Mr. Cotton's church in England, was at the same time ordained ruling elder. The circumstances and order of proceeding in Mr. Cotton's ordination were intended as a precedent, and the congregational churches in New-England have generally conformed thereto ever since. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, with their friends, settled at Newtown (Cambridge.)*

In the year 1634, they thought proper to give their governor

* In the year 1633, the small pox made terrible havock among the Indians of Massachusetts. Whether or no their food and irregular diet furnishes greater quantities of the morbifick matter than in more temperate persons, I leave to physicians. They were destitute of every thing proper for comfort and relief, and died in greater proportion than is known among the English. John, Sagamore of Winisimet, and James of Lynn, with almost all their people, died of the distemper. All writers agree, that, a few years before the English came to New-Plymouth, a mortal contagious distemper swept away great numbers of Indians, so that some tribes were in a manner extinct; the Massachusetts particularly are said by some to have been reduced from thirty thousand to three hundred fighting men. The small pox proving since so fatal to Indians, caused some to suppose that to have been the distemper; but the Indians themselves always gave a very different account, and, by their description, it was a pestilential putrid fever. In one of the voyages collected by Purchase, it is said to have been the plague; and that some of the Indians which recovered shewed the scars of the boil. An instance of mortality among the Indians of Nantucket, in the year 1763, strengthens the probability of their account of the distemper itself, and of the amazing effects of it.

In the beginning of October, there were belonging to the island of Nantucket about 320 Indians of every age and sex, in 90 families. A fever then began among them, and before the end of January between 260 and 270 persons had been seized with it, of which number 6 men and 9 women only recovered, and but 15 families and about 85 souls remained, 15 of which had wintered in the straits of Belleisle and escaped the distemper. A physician of note supposed this mortality to be occasioned by a dearth among the Indians the two preceding years, so that they had but little corn or any other farinaceous food, and this year had been some months without, which caused them to fall upon their pumpkins, squashes, &c. before they were ripe, and this food brought their blood into a putrid and broken state. It is remarkable, that the English inhabitants were free from the distemper, and not one person died of it. The infection was supposed by some to be taken from an Irish brigantine; but Mr. Timothy Folger, a sensible gentleman of the island, from whom I received the foregoing account, assured me there was no room to suppose so, or that it came from abroad.

Our ancestors supposed an immediate interposition of Providence in the great mortality among the Indians, to make room for the settlement of the English. I am not inclined to credulity; but should not we go into the contrary extreme if we were to take no notice of the extinction of this people in all parts of the continent? In some the English have made use of means the most likely to have prevented it, but all to no purpose. Notwithstanding their frequent ruptures with the English, very few, comparatively, have perished by wars. They waste, they moulder away, and, as Charlevoix says of the Indians of Canada, they disappear.

governor ſome reſpite, Mr. Dudley being choſen in his ſtead, and Roger Ludlow deputy governor.

Mr. Haynes, who had lately come over, was choſen to the place of aſſiſtant. The governor and aſſiſtants kept the powers of government, both legiſlative and executive, very much in their hands the three firſt years. The people began to grow uneaſy; and the number of freemen being greatly multiplied, an alteration of the conſtitution ſeems to have been agreed upon or fallen into by a general conſent of the towns; for at a general court for elections, in 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as the repreſentatives of the body of freemen, and before they proceeded to the election of magiſtrates, the people aſſerted their right to a greater ſhare in the government than had hitherto been allowed them; and reſolved, "That none but the general court had power to make and eſtabliſh laws, or to elect and appoint officers, as governor, deputy governor, aſſiſtants, treaſurer, ſecretary, captains, lieutenants, enſigns, or any of like moment, or to remove ſuch upon miſdemeanor, or to ſet out the duties and powers of theſe officers——That none but the general court hath power to raiſe monies and taxes, and to diſpoſe of lands, viz. to give and confirm proprieties." After theſe reſolutions, they proceeded to the election of magiſtrates. Then they further determined, "That there ſhall be four general courts held yearly, to be ſummoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be diſſolved without the conſent of the major part of the court——That it ſhall be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to chooſe two or three before every general court, to confer of and prepare ſuch buſineſs as by them ſhall be thought fit to conſider of at the next court; and that ſuch perſons as ſhall be hereafter ſo deputed by the freemen of the ſeveral plantations to deal in their behalf in the affairs of the commonwealth, ſhall have the full power and voices of all the ſaid freemen derived to them for the making and eſtabliſhing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magiſtrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own

own voice."—And, to ſhow their reſentment, they impoſed a fine upon the court of aſſiſtants for going contrary to an order of the general court.*

The freemen were ſo increaſed, that it was impracticable to debate and determine matters in a body; it was beſides unſafe on account of the Indians, and prejudicial to their private affairs, to be ſo long abſent from their families and buſineſs; ſo that this repreſentative body was a thing of neceſſity, but no proviſion had been made for it in their charter.

Thus they ſettled the legiſlative body; which, except an alteration of the number of general courts, which were ſoon reduced to two only in a year, and other not very material circumſtances, continued the ſame as long as the charter laſted. This I ſuppoſe was the ſecond houſe of repreſentatives in any of the colonies. There was, as has been obſerved, no expreſs proviſion for it in the charter; they ſuppoſed the natural rights of Engliſhmen, reſerved to them, implied it. In Virginia, a houſe of burgeſſes met firſt in May 1620. The government in every colony, like that of the colonies of old Rome, may be conſidered as the *effigies parva* of the mother ſtate.

There was great diſturbance in the colony this year, occaſioned by Roger Williams, miniſter of Salem. He had been three or four years at Plymouth, and for ſome time was well eſteemed, but at length advanced divers ſingular opinions in which he did not meet with a concurrence, whereupon he deſired a diſmiſſion to the church of Salem, which was granted him. That church had invited him upon his firſt coming to New-England, but the governor and council interpoſed with their advice, and prevented his ſettlement at that time. He had refuſed to join in communion with the church at Boſton, becauſe they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the church of England whilſt they lived there. He was charged with divers exceptionable tenets, as "that it is not lawful for a godly man to have communion in family prayer or in an oath with ſuch as they judge unregenerate, and therefore he refuſed the oath

* Maſſ. Records.

oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do—that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray—that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table." Another tenet is added, which ought not to have been ranked with the former, viz. "that to punish a man for any matters of his conscience, is persecution."* The magistrates sent a second time to the church of Salem, to desire them to forbear calling him to office; but they refused to hearken to their advice, and proceeded to ordain him, Mr. Skelton, their former minister, dying a little before. Mr. Williams caused the church of Salem to send their letters of admonition to the church at Boston and to several other churches, accusing the magistrates which were members of them of divers heinous offences, and admitting no church to be pure but the church of Salem; but at length, because the members of that church would not separate not only from all the churches in Old-England, but from all in New-England also, he separated from them; and to make complete work of it he separated from his own wife, and would neither ask a blessing nor give thanks at his meals if his wife was present, because she attended the public worship in the church of Salem.† But what gave just occasion to the civil power to interpose, was his influencing Mr. Endicot, one of the magistrates and a member of his church, to cut the cross out of the King's colours, as being a relique of antichristian superstition.‡ A writer of the history of those times questions, whether his zeal would have carried him so far as to refuse to receive the King's coin because of the cross upon it. Endeavours were used to reclaim him, but to no purpose; and at length he was banished the jurisdiction. He removed to the southward to look out for a new settlement among the Indians, and fixed upon a place called by them Moshawsick, but by him Providence.‖ After

* Hubbard.

† Hubbard.

‡ Many of the militia refused to train with the mangled, defaced colours. This scruple afterwards prevailed, and the cross was left out of the colours, and generally condemned as unlawful.

‖ The inhabitants have a veneration for a spring which runs from the hill into the river above the great bridge. The sight of this spring caused him to stop his canoe and land there.

After all that has been ſaid of the actions or tenets of this perſon while he was in Maſſachuſetts, it ought forever to be remembered, to his honour, that for forty years after, inſtead of ſhewing any revengeful reſentment againſt the colony from which he had been baniſhed, he ſeems to have been continually employed in acts of kindneſs and benevolence, giving them notice from time to time not only of every motion of the Indians, over whom he had very great influence, but alſo of the unjuſt deſigns of the Engliſh within the new colony, of which he himſelf had been the founder and governor, and continued the patron.*

Mr.

* Mr. Calender, in his century ſermon at Rhode-Iſland, queſtions Mr. Williams's ever profeſſing himſelf a baptiſt; but Mr. Hubbard ſays, he was rebaptized at Providence by one Holman, and that Mr. Williams in return baptized him and ten more, but afterwards renounced this baptiſm, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apoſtles, but through the miniſters of the church of England, whom he judged to be antichriſtian. He refuſed communion with all chriſtians of every profeſſion, and conceived that God would raiſe up new apoſtles, and expected to be one himſelf; but afterwards changed from theſe principles, and would preach and pray with all that would hear him, without any diſtinction. In the year 1677 he publiſhed a defence of ſome fundamental doctrines of chriſtianity, againſt the quakers. In 1643 he went to England, and by the intereſt of Sir Henry Vane obtained from the Earl of Warwick a charter of incorporation of Providence plantation, in Narraganſet bay. He ſeems to have been well reſpected in England. He brought a letter to the governor of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, of which the following is a copy.

To the right worſhipful the governor and aſſiſtants and the reſt of our worthy friends in the plantation of Maſſachuſetts-Bay.

Our much honoured friends,

Taking notice ſome of us of long time of Mr. Roger Williams, his good affections and conſcience, and of his ſufferings by our common enemy and oppreſſors of God's people the prelates, as alſo of his great induſtry and travels, in his printed Indian labours in your parts (the like whereof we have not ſeen extant from any part of America) and in which reſpect it hath pleaſed both houſes of parliament to grant unto him and friends with him a free and abſolute charter of civil government for thoſe parts of his abode, and withal ſorrowfully reſenting, that amongſt good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exerciſed with the trials of a wilderneſs, and who mutually give good teſtimony each of the other (as we obſerve you do of him, and he abundantly of you) there ſhould be ſuch a diſtance: We thought it fit, upon divers conſiderations, to profeſs our great deſires of both your utmoſt endeavours of nearer cloſing, and of ready expreſſing thoſe good affections (which we perceive you bear each to other) in the actual performance of all friendly offices: the rather becauſe of thoſe bad neighbours you are likely to find too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly viſits from the Weſt of England and from Ireland. That howſoever it may pleaſe the Moſt High to ſhake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and proſperous plantations may be ſome refreſhings to

Your true and faithful friends,

Cor. Holland	Oliver St. John	Northumberland
John Blackiſtow	Gilbert Pickering	P. Wharton
Iſaac Pennington	Robert Harley	Tho. Barrington
Miles Corbett	John Gurdon	William Maſham

This letter produced a profeſſion of readineſs to all offices of chriſtian love and mutual correſpondence; but unleſs he could be brought to lay down his danger-

ous

Mr. Endicot was ſentenced by the court, "for his raſh-
"neſs, uncharitableneſs, indiſcretion, and exceeding the
"limits of his commiſſion, to be ſadly admoniſhed, and
"alſo diſabled for bearing any office in the commonwealth
"for the ſpace of a year next enſuing." He proteſted againſt the proceeding of the court, and an order paſſed for his commitment, but upon his ſubmiſſion he was diſmiſſed.

Mr. Winthrop's conduct had been ſuch from his firſt aſſociating with the company in England until his being dropped this year from his place of governor, that, unleſs the oſtraciſm of the ancient Greeks had been revived in this new commonwealth, it was reaſonable to expect that he ſhould be out of all danger of ſo much as the leaſt thought to his prejudice; and yet he had a little taſte of what, in many other popular governments, their greateſt benefactors have taken a large potion. After he was out of the chair, he was queſtioned, in ſuch a manner as appears to have been diſagreeable to him, concerning his receipts and diſburſements for the public during his adminiſtration. Having diſcharged himſelf with great honour, he concludes his declaration and account in theſe words:*

"In all theſe things which I offer, I refer myſelf to the
"wiſdom and juſtice of the court, with this proteſtation,
"that it repenteth me not of my coſt or labour beſtowed
"in the ſervice of this commonwealth, but do heartily bleſs
"the Lord our God that he hath pleaſed to honour me
"ſo far as to call for any thing he hath beſtowed upon
"me for the ſervice of his church and people here, the
"proſperity whereof and his gracious acceptance ſhall be
"an abundant recompence to me.

"I conclude with this one requeſt (which in juſtice
"may not be denied me) that as it ſtands upon record,
"that

ons principles of ſeparation, they ſaw no reaſon why to concede to him, or any ſo perſuaded, free liberty of ingreſs and egreſs, leſt the people ſhould be drawn away with ſuch erroneous opinions. He died in 1682, forty-eight years after his baniſhment.

* He might have torn his books of accounts, as Scipio Africanus did, and given the ungrateful populace this anſwer: A colony, now in a flouriſhing eſtate, has been led out and ſettled under my direction. My own ſubſtance is conſumed. Spend no more time in harangues, but give thanks to God.

" that upon the diſcharge of my office I was called to ac-
" count, ſo this my declaration may be recorded alſo, leſt
" hereafter, when I ſhall be forgotten, ſome blemiſh may
" lie upon my poſterity, when there ſhall be nothing to
" clear it. JOHN WINTHROP.

" Sept. 4, 1634."*

In the year 1635† there was a great addition made to the numbers of inhabitants: among others, Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, was admitted to the freedom of the colony on the 3d of March; and at the ſame time Mr. Harlakenden, a gentleman of good family and eſtate. There were many others; as Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Dummer, of the magiſtrates; Mr. R. Mather, Mr. Norton, Mr. Shepard, and Mr. Peters, of the miniſters, who came over in this and the laſt year, determined to take up their abode; and many other perſons of figure and diſtinction were expected to come over, ſome of which are ſaid to have been prevented by expreſs order of the King, as Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Oliver Cromwell, &c. I know this is queſtioned by ſome authors; but it appears plainly, by a letter from Lord Say and Seal to Mr. Vane, and a letter ‡ from Mr. Cotton to the ſame nobleman as I take it, though his name is not mentioned, and an anſwer ‡‡ to certain demands made by him, that his Lordſhip himſelf, and Lord Brooke and others, were not without thoughts of removing to New-England, and that ſeveral other perſons of quality were in treaty about their removal alſo, but undetermined whether to join the Maſſachuſetts or to ſettle a new colony. By the charter, the number of aſſiſtants might be eighteen; but hitherto they had

* Mr. Winthrop about this time received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, congratulating the ſucceſs of the plantation, and offering his aſſiſtance in their proceedings. *Hubbard.*

† Mr. Maverick, the miniſter of Dorcheſter, died the 3d of February, 1635, aged about 60. *Hubbard.*

In the ſpring of 1634 they firſt turned their thoughts to fortifying the harbour of Boſton. Mr. Winthrop the governor and 8 or 10 of the principal men went down to what is now called caſtle iſland in a boat, the day being warm and pleaſant, the winter as they ſuppoſed breaking up; but they were ſurpriſed by a northweſter, and the cold ſo great as to freeze all up, ſo as that for a day and a night they could not get off the iſland, and were forced to lodge upon the ground and in heaps to prevent freezing. *Johnſon.*

‡ Appendix, No. 2 and 3.

had chosen a less number, from 6 to 9; which left room, as any gentleman of distinction came over, to admit him to a share in the government, without leaving out any of the former assistants.

It appears by the demands just mentioned, that some of the nobility and principal commoners of that day had what appears at this day to be *very strange apprehensions of the relation they should stand in to Great-Britain, after their removal to America.* Many of the proposals were such as imply, that *they thought themselves at full liberty, without any charter from the crown, to establish such sort of government as they thought proper, and to form a new state as fully to all intents and purposes as if they had been in a state of nature and were making their first entrance into civil society.* The importance of the colonies to the nation was not fully understood and considered. Perhaps the party which then prevailed in England would have been content to have been rid of the heads of what was deemed a faction in the government, and to have had no further connexion with them. Be that as it may, this sentiment in persons of such figure and distinction will in a great measure excuse *the same mistake, which will appear to have been made by our first settlers, in many instances in the course of our history.* The answer made to the demands seems not to have been satisfactory; for these Lords and gentlemen soon after again turned their thoughts to Connecticut, where they were expected to arrive every year, until after 1640.

Mr. Haynes was chosen governor for this year, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor; Mr. Dummer and Mr. Haugh were added to the assistants.* The inhabitants of the plantation, being so much increased, found it difficult to pitch upon convenient places for settlements. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were deservedly in high esteem; some of the principal persons were strongly attached to the one of them, and some to the other. The great influence which Mr. Cotton had in the colony inclined Mr. Hooker and his friends to remove to some place more remote from Boston

* Mr. Ludlow, aiming at the governor's place the year before and being disappointed, had protested against the choice; which so offended the freemen, that this year they left him out of the magistracy. He removed soon after to Connecticut.

Boſton than Newtown. Beſides, they alleged as a reaſon for their removal, that they were ſtraitened for room; and thereupon viewed divers places on the ſeacoaſt, but were not ſatisfied with them. Three or four perſons had ſome time before * travelled weſtward into the country an hundred miles upon diſcovery, until they ſtruck a great river, which afterwards they found to be Connecticut or the freſh river, where there were many ſpots of interval land, and land in other reſpects to be deſired for ſettlement. The Dutch at Manhadoes had ſome knowledge of this place, and had given intimations of it to the people of New-Plymouth, with whom they had commerce; but Plymouth government kept their intelligence ſecret.† A letter from Mr. Winſlow of New-Plymouth, Sept. 26, 1633, mentions their having been up the river. They forbad the Dutch making any ſettlements there, and ſet up a trading houſe themſelves.‡ The governor of Maſſachuſetts alſo this year, 1635, ſent a bark round the cape to the Dutch governor, to acquaint him that the King had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own ſubjects, and deſired him to forbear building any where thereabouts. This river Mr. Hooker and his friends pitched upon, as the moſt likely place to accommodate them. The latter end of the laſt year, 1634, they intended to remove, and applied to the court for leave.‖ Of 21 members of the lower houſe, 15 were for their removal; but of the magiſtrates, the governor and two aſſiſtants only were for it; the deputy governor (Mr. Winthrop) and the reſt of the aſſiſtants, againſt it; but ſtill, as the lower houſe was ſo much more numerous than the upper, the major part of the whole court was for it. This diviſion was the occaſion of firſt ſtarting the queſtion about the negative voice. The deputies

* In the year 1633. Theſe were John Oldham before mentioned, Samuel Hall and others. *Hubb.*

† The commiſſioners of the united colonies, in a declaration againſt the Dutch in 1653, ſay, that "Mr. Winſlow, one of the commiſſioners for Plymouth, diſcovered the freſh river when the Dutch had neither trading houſe nor any pretence to a foot of land there."

‡ Hubbard.

‖ It was the general ſenſe of the inhabitants, that they were all mutually bound to one another by the oath of a freeman as well as the original compact, ſo as not to be at liberty to ſeparate without the conſent of the whole.

deputies or repreſentatives inſiſted, that the voice of a major part of the aſſiſtants was not neceſſary: the aſſiſtants refuſed to give up their right, and the buſineſs was at a ſtand. The whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation and prayer, to ſeek the divine direction in all the congregations in the colony, and to meet again the next week after. At the opening of the court, Mr. Cotton preached from Hag. ii. 4. "Yet now be ſtrong O Zerubbabel ſaith the Lord, and be ſtrong O Joſhua the ſon of Joſedech the high prieſt, and be ſtrong all ye people of the land, ſaith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, ſaith the Lord of hoſts." His ſermon was as pertinent to the occaſion as his text, and prevailed upon the deputies to give up the point at that time.* Here was a criſis when the *patricians*, if I may ſo ſtyle them, were in danger of loſing great part of their weight in the government. It may ſeem a matter of leſs conſequence than it would have been if the office of aſſiſtant had by charter been hereditary, or even for life; but the aſſiſtants, aided by the elders, who had great influence with the people, were in a good meaſure ſecure of their places. It was by the ſame aid that they now carried the point againſt the *plebeians*. There was no occaſion for prodigies, or other arts of the prieſts of old Rome. A judicious diſcourſe from a well choſen text was more rational, and had a more laſting effect.

There were ſome circumſtances very diſcouraging, particularly the neighbourhood of the Dutch on the one ſide, and ſome intelligence received of the deſigns of the Pequod† Indians on the other, and of their having killed Capt. Stone and his company as he was going up the river; but they could not be ſatisfied until they had accompliſhed their intentions, and obtained the leave of the court.

They met with a new company which arrived this year, who purchaſed their eſtates and ſettled at Newtown in their

* Hubbard.

† I ſuppoſe the chief country of the Pequods to be at or near the mouth of the river at Stonington, towards New-London, which is ſituated at the mouth of what was properly Pequod river. The chief Sachem was called Tatobam, a very ſtout fellow. Tatobam hated the Engliſh, and was ever moving the other Indians to join with him againſt them. *Winſ. anſ. to Gorton.*

their ſtead, with Mr. Shepard for their miniſter. They did not take their departure until June the next year; and then about an hundred perſons in the firſt company, ſome of whom had lived in ſplendour and delicacy in England, ſet out on foot to travel an hundred and twenty or thirty miles with their wives and children, near a fortnight's journey, having no pillows but Jacob's, and no canopy but the heavens—a wilderneſs to go through, without the leaſt cultivation—in moſt places no path, nor any marks to guide them, depending upon the compaſs to ſteer by; many hideous ſwamps and very high mountains, beſides five or ſix rivers, or different parts of the ſame winding river (the Chickapi) not every where fordable, which they could not avoid. The greateſt part of the lands they were going to were evidently without the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſetts; nevertheleſs, they took a commiſſion from the authority of that colony to govern in Connecticut. There are other inſtances which ſhew that they ſuppoſed they retained ſome authority over their inhabitants, even when out of the limits of the colony.*

The Plymouth people, notwithſtanding the French piracy in 1632, kept poſſeſſion of their houſe at Penobſcot, and carried on trade with the Indians; but in 1635, Roſſillon, commander of a French fort at La Have upon the Nova-Scotia ſhore, ſent a French man of war to Penobſcot, which took poſſeſſion of the trading houſe and all the goods. The French gave their bills for the goods, and ſent away all the men. The commander wrote to the governor of Plymouth, that he had orders to diſplace all the Engliſh as far as Pemaquid, but to thoſe weſtward he would

* They were reduced to great extremity the firſt winter, their proviſions being detained at the river's mouth by the ſeverity of the weather, the ſtream being frozen all the way. Some ſcattered down towards the mouth of the river; others ventured through the woods back to the bay, one or two of whom periſhed. A few only remained to look after the cattle, many of which were loſt. *Hubbard.*

Several authors, and Douglaſs among the reſt, ſuppoſe this ſettlement to have been began by the more rigid brethren, who ſeparated from the reſt. I queſtion whether they had any grounds for their ſuppoſition. The peculiar tenets of Mr. Vane and Mrs. Hutchinſon did not prevail until 1636. Mr. Hooker oppoſed them. "A copy of Mr. Vane's expreſſions at Roxbury I deſire to ſee and receive by the next meſſenger. I have heard my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion; I have writ to him about it. I would fain come to a bandy where I might be a little rude in the buſineſs, for I do as verily believe it to be falſe as I do believe any article of my faith to be true." *Hooker to Shepard.*

would ſhew all courteſy. The Plymouth government, who ſuppoſed they had good right to the place, were not willing to put up the injury quietly, and hired a large ſhip of ſome force, the Hope of Ipſwich in England, —— Girling commander, to diſplace the French. Girling was to have two hundred pounds if he effected it. A bark with 20 men was ſent with him as a tender. But the French, having notice of the deſign, fortified the place; and Girling, having near ſpent his ammunition, ſent the bark to Maſſachuſetts for aid. Two perſons came from Plymouth alſo to treat about it, and the court agreed to aſſiſt their neighbours by a ſubſcription among themſelves; but proviſion was ſo ſcarce, that there could not ſufficient be had ſuddenly to fit out an expedition of an hundred men only; ſo the matter was deferred to a further time, and Girling returned, leaving the French in poſſeſſion, which they continued until 1654.

The ſituation the colony was in at this time muſt have given them a threatening proſpect. The French on their borders on one ſide, the Dutch on the other, the Indians in the midſt reſtrained only by want of union among themſelves from breaking up all ſettlements, they being utterly defenceleſs.

This year Mr. Winthrop, jun. returned from England, whither he had gone the year before, and brought a commiſſion * from the Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook and others to be their governor of their plantation at Connecticut. A fort was built at the mouth of the river, known by the name of Saybrook fort. He brought alſo a number of men, with arms, ammunition and ſtores, and two thouſand pounds in money, to bring forward a ſettlement. This commiſſion interfered with the intended ſettlements by Maſſachuſetts; notwithſtanding that, as a number of the inhabitants of Watertown had poſſeſſed themſelves of a fine piece of meadow at Weathersfield, below Hartford, where Mr. Hooker and his company ſettled, the agents for the Lords, being well diſpoſed to promote the general

* *How can we account for it that they ſhould imagine they had a right to ſettle colonies and eſtabliſh what form of government they pleaſed?* Ten years after it might well enough be ſuppoſed, but this was ſeveral years before the confuſions in England began.

general good, permitted theſe ſettlers quietly to enjoy their poſſeſſions. The fortreſs below ſtruck terror into the Indians, and quieted the minds of the Engliſh. Plymouth was diſſatisfied with being thus ſupplanted by Maſſachuſetts (the Dorcheſter men, as I ſuppoſe, having pitched upon the ſpot where Plymouth had built a trading houſe, and, as they alleged, had purchaſed the lands of the Indians) and demanded an hundred pounds or part of the land. There was great danger of a warm contention between the two colonies; but at length the Dorcheſter men made ſuch offers of ſatisfaction, that Plymouth accepted them. The Dutch alſo ſent home to Holland for inſtructions, intending to maintain their claim to the river or the place where they had poſſeſſion; but upon a treaty afterwards with the commiſſioners of the united colonies, they quitted all claim to all parts of the river, reſigning it up to the Engliſh.*

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Maſon having been at more expenſe and taken more pains than any other members of the grand council of Plymouth, and perceiving no proſpect of any equivalent return, and fearing from the great clamour in the nation againſt monopolies that they ſhould ere long be forced to reſign up their grand charter, they entered this year upon a new project, viz. to procure a general governor for the whole country of New-England to be forthwith ſent over; and becauſe the Maſſachuſetts charter ſtood in their way, they endeavoured a revocation of it, that ſo the whole from St. Croix to Maryland might be brought under the ſame form of government. The ſettlement of the Dutch at Manhadoes, which lay within thoſe limits, both then and at all other times was conſidered by the Engliſh court as an intruſion, as indeed it was.† In

* Hubbard.

† In 1609, Henry Hudſon, an Engliſhman, from ſome miſunderſtanding between the Eaſt-India company and him, engaged in the Dutch ſervice. On his return from the ſtreights and bay which bear his name, he made the firſt diſcovery of Hudſon's river, and went up as far as Aurania (Albany) or near to it. The Dutch a few years after built a ſmall houſe or fort there, for the ſake of trade, pretending no title to the country. It has been obſerved, that the Engliſh, who came to New-Plymouth, intended in 1620 to have ſettled there. Neglected by the Engliſh court, the Dutch began a ſettlement ſoon after. It has been ſometimes urged that the line of the Maſſachuſetts charter, which extends to the South-Sea, or until it meets the ſettlements of ſome other chriſtian prince or ſtate, was ſo expreſſed from a particular regard to this Dutch ſettlement, and that a line to extend

In June letters were received from Lord Say, adviſing that petitions had been preferred to the King and to the Lords of the council, by the Duke of Lenox, Marquis of Hamilton, and divers other noblemen, together with Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Maſon, but conceived to be the project of Sir. F. Gorges only. That to the Lords was as follows, viz.

" May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

" Whereas it pleaſed your Lordſhips to give orders to " Sir Ferdinando Gorges to confer with ſuch as were chief- " ly intereſted in the plantation of New-England, to re- " ſolve whether they would reſign wholly to his Majeſty " the patent of New-England, and to leave to his Majeſty " and his council the ſole management of the public af- " fairs, with reſervation of every man's right formerly grant- " ed; or whether they would ſtand to the ſaid patent, and " proſecute the buſineſs among themſelves, and have the " ſaid patent renewed, with the reformation or addition of " ſuch things as ſhould be found expedient: we whoſe " names are here underwritten, being intereſted in that bu- " ſineſs, do humbly ſubmit to his Majeſty's pleaſure to do " therewith as he pleaſeth. But withal we humbly deſire, " that upon our reſignation of our ſaid patent, his Majeſty " being to diſpoſe of the whole country ſeverally and im- " mediately from himſelf, thoſe diviſions upon the ſeacoaſt " that are hereunder deſigned may be inſtantly confirmed " and beſtowed by new grants from his Majeſty unto us, " to be holden of his Majeſty, paying the fifth part, &c. " and with the privilege of the ſaid patent, and ſuch fur- " ther royalties as the Lord of Baltimore hath in his patent " for the country of Maryland; ſaving only that we ſhould " ſubmit ourſelves to the general governor now preſently " to be eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty for the whole country, " and

extend to the Spaniſh ſettlements, was too extravagant to have been intended; but the Dutch were never allowed by the Engliſh to have any title to the country, and at the time of granting the charter, there were only a few ſtragglers there. Cromwell and the Parliament before him conſidered them as intruders, and blamed the Engliſh colonies that they had not extirpated them. The geography of this part of America was leſs underſtood than it is at preſent. A line to the Spaniſh ſettlements was imagined to be much ſhorter than it really was. Some of Champlain's people, in the beginning of the laſt century, who had been but a few days on a march from Quebec, returned with great joy, ſuppoſing, tha from the top of a high mountain, they had diſcovered the South Sea.

"and after his deceaſe, or other determination of his office, "that then from the Lords of his province there may be an "election of three by lot, which ſaid three perſons ſo elect-"ed ſhall be preſented to the King, that out of the num-"ber one may be choſen by his Majeſty to ſucceed in the "place of the general governor, who ſhall in perſon or by "his ſufficient deputy reſide in the country during the "ſpace of three years only, and ſo from three years to three "years another governor to be choſen ſucceſſively, and the "old governor to be left out of the lot of choice."

The propoſed diviſions of the twelve provinces were as follows: the firſt was from St. Croix to Pemaquid; the ſecond from Pemaquid to Sagadehoc; the third contained the land between the rivers Amaraſcoggin and Kennebeck; the fourth along the ſeacoaſt from Sagadehoc to Piſcataqua; the fifth from Piſcataqua to Naumkeag; the ſixth from Naumkeag round the ſeacoaſt by Cape-Cod to Narraganſet; the ſeventh from Narraganſet to the half-way bound betwixt that and Connecticut river, and ſo fifty miles up into the country; the eighth from the half-way bound to Connecticut river, and ſo fifty miles into the country; the ninth from Connecticut river along the ſeacoaſt to Hudſon's river, and ſo up thirty miles; the tenth from the thirty miles end to croſs up forty miles eaſtward; the eleventh from the weſt ſide of Hudſon's river thirty miles up the country towards the 40th degree, where New-England beginneth; the twelfth from the end of the thirty miles up the ſaid river, northward thirty miles further, and from thence to croſs into the land forty miles. And out of every one of theſe provinces was 5000 acres to be granted to certain perſons there named, in lieu of ſome former grants made to each of them in thoſe diviſions which they were now to ſurrender, and to hold to each man his 5000 acres in fee of the Lord of the province. And the Lord of every one of thoſe twelve provinces was to ſend the ſame year ten men with the general governor, well provided.

To all which was added,

"It is humbly deſired that your Lordſhips would be pleaſed to order theſe things following:

"1. That the patent for the plantation of Maſſachuſetts-Bay

Bay may be revoked; and that all thoſe who have any other grants within any of theſe provinces, whether they have planted or not upon any part of the ſame, yet they ſhall enjoy their lands, laying down their jura regalia, if they had any, and paying ſome reaſonable acknowledgment as freeholders to the Lord of the province, of whom they are now to take new grants of their ſaid lands; and in caſe any of their lands ſhall be found having exorbitant bounds to have been unlawfully obtained, they ſhall be reduced to a leſſer proportion, as may be fit for the grantor, who is undertaker under the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. And if the grantee ſhall be any ways refractory, and refuſe to ſurrender and hold anew of the ſaid Lord of the province, that then your Lordſhips will take order, by ſuch courſe as law will permit, to make void the ſame.

"2. That every river which parts two provinces ſhall equally belong half way over to the provinces they lie contiguous unto.

"3. That the iſlands upon the ſeacoaſt or within the river of any province, being not here named, ſhall belong to the province they lye neareſt unto.

"4. That there is offered to your Lordſhips conſideration the building of a city for the ſeat of the governor, unto which city forty thouſand acres of land may be allotted, beſides the diviſions above mentioned. And that every one who is to have any of theſe provinces ſhall be at the charge of ſending over with the governor ten men towards the building the ſaid city, wherein every ſuch adventurer ſhall not only have his ſhare of the trade and buildings, but alſo ſhall have all other fruit of the ten men's labour ſent as aforeſaid.

"Moreover there is humbly dedicated to the foundation of a church in the ſaid city, and maintenance of clergymen to ſerve in the ſaid church, 10,000 acres of land near adjoining to the ſaid city."

The petition to the King was of this form.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"It is humbly deſired by the Duke of Lenox, &c. an-
"cient patentees and adventurers in the plantation of New-
"England, that foraſmuch as they are now preſently to join

"in

" in the ſurrender to your Majeſty of the grand patent of " their corporation, that your royal Majeſty will be gra- " cioufly inclined to give order to your attorney general to " draw ſeveral patents of ſuch parcels of land as by their " mutual conſent have been allotted to them, and to have " the ſame patents prepared fit for your royal ſignature, with " ſuch titles, privileges and immunities as have been here- " tofore granted either to them or to any other by your " Majeſty or by your late royal father King James of " bleſſed memory, with reſervations of appeal to the gov- " ernor or lieutenant of the territories in caſes reaſonable ; " that they, knowing their own intereſt, may be the better " able to plant and govern them to your Majeſty's honour, " their particular profit, and their people's civil government " and faithful obedience to the laws of your ſacred Ma- " jeſty."*

April 6, 1635.

A copy of ſome grant or agreement concerning one of the provinces to Capt. Maſon was ſent over, ſigned Lenox, Hamilton, Arundel and Surry, Carliſle, Stirling, Edward Gorges, Ferd. Gorges. Atteſted by Thomas Maydwell, Not. Pub. It has been ſaid that the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Stirling both obtained the like inſtruments, and it is poſſible all the others might alſo. It is not material at this day whether they did or not. It is certain that above an hundred years are paſt, and no poſſeſſion taken, or improvements made by them or their aſſigns in conſequence thereof ; and all the territory is either included in other grants, ſome made before this ſurrender by the council itſelf, and ſome made ſince by the crown ; or has been purchaſed of the natives ; which, if done *bonâ fide*, ſo far as reſpects the property, has been thought by ſome to be the beſt title.†

In the year 1636, Mr. Vane was choſen governor, Mr. Winthrop

* Gorges—Hubbard.

† Mention is made by Hubbard of a ſtorm, Aug. 15, 1635, which, by his deſcription, was more violent than any that has ever happened ſince. Many houſes were blown down, and many more uncovered ; the Indian corn every where beat down to the ground, ſo as not to riſe again : the tide roſe twenty feet perpendicular. At Narraganſet, the Indians were obliged to betake themſelves to the trees ; and yet many of them were drowned, the tide of flood returning before the uſual time for it.

Winthrop deputy governor; and Mr. Harlakenden, who came in the ſame ſhip with Mr. Vane, was added to the aſſiſtants. The people of the colony very early diſcovered that they were not without diſpoſition to novelty and change. It was not merely out of policy to encourage others that they took early notice of ſuch as came over from year to year. Beſides this motive, they were eaſily captivated with the appearance only of wiſdom and piety, profeſſions of a regard to liberty and of a ſtrong attachment to the public intereſt. Mr. Haynes, who ſeemed to ſtand moſt in the way of Mr. Winthrop, had left the colony, and was ſettled at Connecticut; and Mr. Winthrop would have had a good proſpect of recovering his former ſhare of the people's favour, if Mr. Vane's grave, ſolemn deportment, although he was not then above 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almoſt the whole colony in his favour. There was a great friendſhip between Mr. Cotton and him, which ſeems to have continued to the laſt.* He had great reſpect ſhewn him at firſt. He took more ſtate upon him than any governor had ever done before. When he went either to the court or to church, four ſerjeants walked before him with their halberds. His adminiſtration for ſeveral months met with great applauſe. Towards the end of the year the people grew diſcontented. He perceived it, and grew weary of the government. Receiving letters from London in December urging his return home, he firſt communicated them to the council, and then called the general court together to aſk their conſent to his quitting the adminiſtration. He declared to them the neceſſity of his departure; and ſuch of the council as had ſeen the letters affirmed that the reaſons were very urgent, but not fit to be imparted to the whole court. The court took time until the morning to conſider; when one of the aſſiſtants, lamenting the loſs of ſuch a governor in a time of ſuch danger both from French and Indians, the governor burſt into tears, and profeſſed, that howſoever the cauſes propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward eſtate, yet he would rather have hazarded

* A ſmall houſe which he lived in at the ſide of the hill above Queen-ſtreet, he gave to Mr. Cotton, who made an addition to it after Mr. Vane went away, and lived and died there.

arded all than have gone from them at such a time, if something else had not prefled him more, viz. the inevitable danger of God's judgments which he feared were coming upon them for the differences and dissentions which he saw amongst them, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all, and therefore he thought it was best for him to give place for a time. The court did not think fit to consent to his going for such reasons. He found he had gone too far, and recalled himself, professing that the reasons which concerned his own estate were sufficient to satisfy him, and therefore desired he might have leave; the other passage slipped from him out of passion, not judgment. Whereupon the court agreed that it was necessary to give way to his departure, and ordered another meeting of the general court to make choice of a governor and deputy governor;* and as it was in the midst of winter (15 December) the freemen had liberty to send their votes in writing, if they did not come in person. Some of the church of Boston, loth to part with the governor, met together, and agreed that it was not necessary for the reasons alleged that the governor should depart, and sent some of their number to signify as much to the court. The governor pretended to be overpowered, and expressed himself to be such an obedient son of the church, that notwithstanding the license of the court, yet without the consent of the church he durst not go away. A great part of the people who were informed of this transaction declared their purpose still to continue him; and it was thought advisable, when the day appointed for election came, to adjourn the court to May, the time of the annual choice.† Mr. Vane has been charged with as dark dissimulation a few years after, in affairs of vastly greater importance, particularly in the manner of giving his testimony in the case the Earl of Strafford.

There came over with Mr. Cotton, or about the same time, Mr. Hutchinson and his family, who had lived at Alford, in the neighbourhood of Boston. Mr. Hutchinson had a good estate, and was of good reputation. His wife,

* In case the deputy should be chose governor, as was expected.

† Mass. records—Hubbard.

wife, as Mr. Cotton says, "was well beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses."* After she came to New-England, she was treated with respect, and much notice was taken of her by Mr. Cotton, and other principal persons, and particularly by Mr. Vane the governor. Her husband served in the general court several elections as a representative for Boston, until he was excused at the desire of the church.† So much respect seems to have increased her natural vanity. Countenanced and encouraged by Mr. Vane and Mr. Cotton, she advanced doctrines and opinions which involved the colony in disputes and contentions; and, being improved to civil as well as religious purposes, had like to have produced ruin both to church and state. The vigilance of some, of whom Mr. Winthrop was the chief, prevented and turned the ruin from the country, upon herself and many of her family and particular friends. Mr. Wheelwright, a zealous minister, of character for learning and piety, was her brother in law, and firmly attached to her, and finally suffered with her. Besides the meetings for public worship on the Lord's day, the stated lecture every Thursday in Boston, and other occasional lectures in other towns, there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson thought fit to set up a meeting of the sisters also, where she repeated the sermons preached the Lord's day before, adding her remarks and expositions. Her lectures made much noise, and sixty or eighty principal women attended them. At first they were generally approved of. After some time, it appeared she had distinguished the ministers and members of churches through the country, a small part of them under a covenant of grace, the rest under a covenant of works. The whole colony was soon divided into two parties, and however distant one party was from the other in principle, they were still more so in affection. The two capital errors with which she was charged, were these: That the Holy Ghost dwells personally

* Answer to Bailey.

† Mr. William Hutchinson was discharged from assisting at the particular courts, at the request of the church. *Mass. Rec. Dec.* 1636.

ally in a juſtified perſon; and, that nothing of ſanctification can help to evidence to believers their juſtification. From theſe two a great number of others were ſaid to flow, which were enumerated and condemned at a ſynod held the next year. The miniſters of the ſeveral parts of the country, alarmed with theſe things, came to Boſton, whilſt the general court was ſitting, and ſome time before the governor, Mr. Vane, aſked his diſmiſſion. They conferred with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright upon thoſe two points. The laſt they both diſclaimed, ſo far as to acknowledge that ſanctification did help to evidence juſtification: the other they qualified at leaſt by other words; they held the indwelling of the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, but not ſtrictly a perſonal union, or, as they expreſs it, not a communicating of perſonal proprieties. The governor not only held with Mr. Cotton, but went further, or was more expreſs, and maintained a perſonal union. Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, denied both; and Mr. Wilſon, the other miniſter of Boſton, and many of the miniſters in the country, joined with him. A conference or diſputation was determined on, which they agreed ſhould be managed in writing, as moſt likely to tend to the peace of the church. When they could not find that the ſcriptures, nor the primitive church for the firſt three hundred years, ever uſed the term Perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, they generally thought it was beſt it ſhould be forborn, as being of human invention. Upon the other queſtion, Mr. Cotton, in a ſermon, the day the court met, had acknowledged that evident ſanctification is a ground of juſtification; and went on to ſay, that in caſes of ſpiritual deſertion, true deſire of ſanctification was found to be ſanctification as divines uſually held; and further, if a man was laid ſo flat upon the ground, as that he could ſee no deſires, but only as a bruiſed reed did wait at the foot of Chriſt, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true ſanctification in the root and principle of it. Mr. Vane and he both denied that any of theſe, or any degree of ſanctification, could be evident without a concurrent ſight of juſtification.* The town and country were diſtracted

* Hubbard.

tracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman who had brains enough to form some imperfect conceptions of them, inferred and maintained some other point, such as these: a man is justified before he believes; faith is no cause of justification; and if faith be before justification, it is only a passive faith, an empty vessel, &c. and assurance is by immediate revelation only. The fear of God and love of our neighbour seemed to be laid by, and out of the question. All the church of Boston, except four or five, joined with Mr. Cotton. Mr. Wilson, the other minister, and most of the ministers in the country, opposed him.

To increase the flame, Mr. Wheelwright preached a sermon (Jan. 19) in which, besides carrying antinomianism to the height, he made use of some expressions, which were laid hold of by the court as tending to sedition, for which he was sent for and examined, whilst Mr. Vane was in office; but a full inquiry and determination was suspended, until a more convenient time.

Whilst these contentions were thus increasing within, the Pequods, the most warlike of all the Indians, were plotting destruction from without. After Stone and his company were murdered, they sent messengers to Boston to make peace, pretending that the murder was committed by a few bad fellows, who had fled to the Dutch. Their ambassadors were courteously treated, and the terms of peace were agreed on. In confidence of their fidelity, John Oldham, of whom mention has been made before, went in a small bark to trade with the Indians at Block-Island. They murdered him, but spared two boys, and two Narraganset Indians, who were of his company. The murderers were discovered by the crew of a small vessel, one Gallop master, from Connecticut, which happened to come upon them soon after the fact. Gallop had with him only one man and two boys, and no arms, except two muskets and two pistols. Although the deck was full of Indians, who had guns, swords, &c. yet as they were then not much used to them, they made but little resistance; and when he boarded the vessel, they jumped into the sea, and many of them were drowned.

drowned. He found Oldham's body not cold, his brains beat out, and his limbs hacked off. Block-Iſland was under the Narraganſet Indians, but they denied their having any concern in the murder. The murderers were ſheltered and protected by the Pequods, who at the ſame time ſurpriſed divers Engliſh in Connecticut river. Theſe proceedings cauſed Maſſachuſetts to ſend fourſcore men by water, under Capt. Endicot, who had inſtructions to offer peace to the Indians, upon their delivering up the murderers; if they refuſed to do it, then to attack them. A great number of them entered into ſome ſort of parley, by a meſſenger and interpreter, keeping at a great diſtance themſelves: but as ſoon as they knew the terms, they fled into the woods. Winter was approaching, and Mr. Endicot thought it adviſable to return home, in order to prepare for a more general attack the next ſummer. There were ſome ſevere reflections caſt upon him, for not purſuing the enemy at that time. The Pequods in the winter attempted an union with the Narraganſets. There had been a fixed, inveterate enmity between the two tribes; but on this occaſion the Pequods were willing to ſmother it, their enmity againſt the Engliſh being the ſtrongeſt of the two; and although they had never heard the ſtory of Polyphemé and Ulyſſes, yet they artfully urged that the Engliſh were come to diſpoſſeſs them of their country, and that all the Narraganſets could hope for from their friendſhip was the favour of being the laſt devoured: whereas, if the Indians would unite, they might eaſily deſtroy the Engliſh, or force them to leave the country, without being expoſed themſelves to any hazard. They need not come to open battles: firing their houſes, killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary buſineſs, would ſoon deprive them of all means of ſubſiſting. But the Narraganſets * preferred the preſent pleaſure of revenge upon their mortal enemies to the future happineſs of themſelves and their poſterity. † They are ſaid to have wavered at firſt, but at length Myantinomo their chief ſachem

* The Narraganſet ſachem, and Uncas, ſachem of the Moheges, ſent to the Engliſh, and offered their ſervice to join with them againſt the Pequods. Winſlow's anſ. to Gorton.

† MS. Journal.

chem with twenty attendants went to Boſton, where all the magiſtrates and miniſters were called together to receive them, and a guard of twenty muſketeers ſent to Roxbury to attend them. They propoſed to join in war againſt the Pequods, and that neither Engliſh nor Indians ſhould make peace with them, but utterly deſtroy them. The governor for form ſake took time until the next morning to give an anſwer, and then the following articles were agreed to.

1. A firm and perpetual peace betwixt them and the Engliſh.

2. Neither party to make peace with the Pequods without the conſent of the other.

3. That the Narraganſets ſhould not harbour any Pequods.

4. That they ſhould put to death or deliver up any murderers of the Engliſh.

5. That they ſhould return fugitive ſervants.

6. The Engliſh to give them notice when to go out againſt the Pequods, and the Narraganſets to furniſh guides.

7. Free trade to be carried on between the parties.

8. None of the Narraganſets to come near the Engliſh plantation during the war with the Pequods, without ſome Engliſhman or Indian known to the Engliſh.

Cuſhamaquin, a ſachem of the Maſſachuſetts Indians, alſo became a party to the treaty.

Indian fidelity is proverbial in New-England, as Punic was in Rome. The Narraganſets are ſaid to have kept to the treaty until the Pequods were deſtroyed, and then they grew inſolent and treacherous.

Towards the end of the year, religious heats became more violent, and the civil affairs more ſenſibly affected by them. The people of Boſton in general were in favour of Mr. Vane the governor, the reſt of the towns in general for Mr. Winthrop the deputy governor. At a ſeſſions of the court in March, it was moved that the court of elections for 1637 ſhould not be held in Boſton, but in Newtown (Cambridge.) Nothing could be more mortifying to the governor; and as he could not hinder the vote by a negative, he refuſed to put the queſtion. Mr. Winthrop the deputy

deputy governor, as he lived in Boſton, excuſed himſelf, and the court required Mr. Endicot, one of the aſſiſtants, to do it. It was carried for the removal.

The more immediate occaſion of the court's reſentment againſt Boſton, was a petition ſigned by a great number of the principal inhabitants of that town, together with ſome belonging to other towns, judging and condemning the court for their proceedings againſt Mr. Wheelwright. At this ſeſſion, Mr. Vane the governor could not prevent a cenſure upon one Stephen Greenſmith, for ſaying that all the miniſters, except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and he thought Mr. Hooker, preached a covenant of works. He was required to make an acknowledgment to the ſatisfaction of the magiſtrates and miniſters, was fined forty pounds, &c.*

At the opening of the court of election for 1637, which was not done until one o'clock (May 17th) a petition was again offered from many of the town of Boſton, which the governor, Mr. Vane, would have had read; but Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, oppoſed it as being out of order; this being the day by charter for elections, and the inhabitants all convened for that purpoſe, if other buſineſs was allowed to take up the time, the elections would be prevented; after the elections were over, the petition might be read. The governor and thoſe of his party would not proceed, unleſs the petition was read. The time being far ſpent, and many perſons calling for election,† the deputy governor called to the people to divide, and the greater number ſhould carry it; which was done, and the majority was for proceeding. Still the governor refuſed until the deputy governor told him they would go on without him. This cauſed him to ſubmit. Mr. Winthrop was choſen governor, Mr. Dudley deputy governor, Mr. Saltonſtall, ſon of Sir Richard, and Mr. Stoughton, new

* Maſſ. Records.

† Mr. Wilſon, the miniſter, in his zeal, gat upon the bough of a tree (it was hot weather, and the election like that of parliament men for the counties in England was carried on in the field) and there made a ſpeech, adviſing the people to look to their charter, and to conſider the preſent work of the day, which was deſigned for the chooſing the governor, deputy governor, and the reſt of the aſſiſtants for the government of the commonwealth. His ſpeech was well received by the people, who preſently called out election, election, which turned the ſcale.—*MS. Life of J. Wilſon.*

new assistants; and Mr. Vane and his friends of the same persuasion, Dummer, Haugh and Coddington, left out of the magistracy. There was great danger of a violent tumult that day. The speeches on both sides were fierce, and they began to lay hands on one another, but the manifest majority on one side was a restraint to the other.* Boston waited the event of this election of magistrates before they would choose their representatives for the other business of the general court, and the next morning they chose Mr. Vane the late governor, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Haugh. This election of Boston was immediately determined by the court to be undue. The reason is not assigned in the record, but it is said † this reason was given, that all the freemen were not notified. A warrant issued for a new choice, and Boston returned the same men again, and then they were not rejected. The serjeants, who used to attend Mr. Vane, laid down their halberds and went home as soon as the new governor was elected,‡ and they refused to attend him to and from the meetings on the Lord's days as had been usual. They pretended this extraordinary respect was shewn to Mr. Vane as a person of quality. The court would have appointed others, but Mr. Winthrop took two of his own servants to attend him. Mr. Vane professed himself ready to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity. He was notwithstanding much mortified, and discovered his resentment. Although he had sat at church among the magistrates from his first arrival, yet he and those who had been left out with him placed themselves with the deacons, and when he was invited by the governor to return to his place, he refused it.

An extraordinary act made by the general court this session very much heightened the discontent. Many persons of the favourite opinions in Boston, were expected from England; a penalty therefore was laid on all persons who should entertain in their houses any stranger who came with intent to reside, or should allow the use of any lot or habitation above three weeks, without liberty from one of the standing

* Hubbard—Mass. Records.

† Hubbard.

‡ The military companies elected their officers, otherwise the court would undoubtedly have appointed other serjeants.

ſtanding council, or two other aſſiſtants. The penalty on private perſons was forty pounds, and twenty pounds beſides for every month they continued in the offence. And any town which gave or ſold a lot to ſuch ſtranger was ſubject to 100l. penalty; but if any inhabitant of ſuch town ſhould enter his diſſent with a magiſtrate, he was to be excuſed his part of the fine.* This was a very ſevere order, and was ſo diſliked by the people of Boſton that upon the governor's return from court they all refuſed to go out to meet him or ſhew him any reſpect.† Mr. Winthrop, however firm and reſolute in the execution of his office and ſteady to his principles, yet in private life behaved with much moderation. He was obliging and condeſcending to all, and by this means in a ſhort time recovered their affections and was in greater eſteem than ever. Indeed while Boſton thus ſlighted him, the other towns increaſed their reſpect; and in travelling the ſame ſummer to Ipſwich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he deſired.‡

Mr. Vane, in company with Lord Leigh, ſon of the Earl of Marlborough, who came to ſee the country, ſailed for England the beginning of Auguſt, where he had a much larger field opened. The nation at that time was diſpoſed to receive very favourably men of his genius and caſt of mind. The ſhare he had in the revolution there, and his unhappy fate upon the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond, are too well known to need any notice here. He came into New-England under peculiar advantages. His father was one of the privy council. He himſelf had the friendſhip of the Lord Say and Seal, who was in the higheſt eſteem in the colony. He made great profeſſions of religion, and conformed to the peculiar ſcruples of that day. I have ſeen a long letter wrote to him while he was on ſhip-board by one of the paſſengers in the ſame ſhip, applauding him for honouring God ſo far as to ſhorten his hair

* Maſſ Records.

† Mr. Cotton was ſo diſſatisfied with this law, that he ſays he intended to have removed out of the juriſdiction to Quinnypiack, ſince called New-Haven; but finding the law was not improved to exclude ſuch perſons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind. *Anſ. to Bailey.*

‡ Hubbard.

hair upon his arrival in England from France, and urging a complete reformation by bringing it to the primitive length and form. It was with much difficulty he could obtain his father's conſent to come over, but his inclination was ſo ſtrong that at length he had leave of abſence for three years. It is ſaid that the King being acquainted with Mr. Vane's diſpoſition, commanded the father, who had no great affection for the religion of New-England, to gratify him.* However this may have been, it was believed in New-England to be true, and with the other circumſtances mentioned ſtrongly recommended him. Part of his buſineſs was the ſettlement of Connecticut, in conjunction with Mr. Winthrop the governor's ſon, as agents for Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, &c.† The moſt valuable places for townſhips had been taken up before, by people from Maſſachuſetts, as we have already obſerved; and the agents, not being willing to diſturb them, contented themſelves at preſent with the poſſeſſion of the mouth of the river, and Mr. Vane was ſtopped by the general deſire of the colony in order to his being elected governor. The adminiſtration of a young and unexperienced but obſtinate and ſelf-ſufficient governor, could not but be diſliked by the major part of the people, and at the next election they not only would not ſo much as chooſe him an aſſiſtant, but made an order that no man for the time to come ſhould be qualified for the place of governor until he had been at leaſt one whole year in the country.‡ A letter wrote from New-England ſhews the ſenſe they had of him after they had made trial. "Mr. Vane coming from England a "young gentleman, was preſently elected governor, and "before

* Hubbard.

† The Earl of Warwick obtained a grant of the ſeacoaſt from Narraganſet river to the ſouth-weſt 40 leagues to keep the breadth to the ſouth ſea. This he aſſigned in 1631 to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphry, and Herbert Pelham, Eſq. Theſe with their aſſociates are the noblemen and gentlemen often mentioned in private letters to be expected over every year, and Mr. Fenwick kept poſſeſſion, and would not ſuffer ſettlements until affairs in England had taken ſuch a turn that perſons of their character had no occaſion for an aſylum.

‡ I do not find this order in the records. It is mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, who was then on the ſpot.

" before he was half warm in his ſeat, to ſhew his ſpirit,
" began to broach new tenets drawn from the lees of one
" Mr. Wheelwright, agitated with ſuch violence as if they
" had been matters of that conſequence, that the peace
" and welfare of New-England muſt be ſacrificed rather
" than they ſhould not take place. Diviſions are always
" dangerous, never ſafe, never more dangerous than in a
" new ſettled government. Yet this man, altogether ig-
" norant of the art of government, thinks it not enough to
" ſet the houſe on fire, but muſt add oil to the flame, and
" ſo far had the bandying of theſe things proceeded, that
" it was of God's great mercy it ended not in our deſtruc-
" tion. It is fit that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of the man
" that put us into this danger. Truly by his aſpect you
" would judge him a good man. Yet I am perſuaded he
" hath kindled thoſe ſparks among us which many ages
" will not be able to extinguiſh. But the wiſdom of the
" ſtate put a period to his government before he had run
" out his circuit. They were neceſſitated to undo the
" work of their own hands, and leave a blemiſh upon
" that raſh undertaking for poſterity to deſcant upon, and
" a caveat to us, that all men are not fit for government,
" and none ſo dangerous when he is up as one that makes
" his affection his rule. But this diſgrace took ſo deep an
" impreſſion, that partly from a ſenſe of it, and partly
" from a conſciouſneſs how ill he had deſerved of us through
" his heat of indiſcretion, he exchanged New-England for
" Old." Lord Say and Seal ſpeaking of him after his arrival in England, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, ſays, " For
" the young man Mr. Vane whom your love followeth,
" and its well it doth ſo, for he may be recovered, I have not
" been wanting to do my endeavour to ſhew him the dan-
" ger of his way and what hath been the ſad iſſue thereof
" in others, from whence I think it cometh, and whither
" Satan's aim is to drive it, as might have appeared to you
" by my letters written to him unto New-England when I
" firſt did perceive his deluſions, if he had ſhewn my let-
" ters to you. I ſhall be glad to do my beſt to that end ſtill,
" but I have not that frequent converſe with his family

" now

" now as heretofore, whereof there are the moſt in Holland, " and the reſt will ſhortly be there alſo."*

The

* After all that has been ſaid to the diſadvantage of Mr. Vane's character, it ought to be remembered, to his honour, that notwithſtanding the ſlights put upon him by the colony, he ſhewed a truly chriſtian ſpirit of forgiveneſs; for when in the year 1644 an attachment was made of the effects of alderman Berkley of London, in the Maſſachuſetts colony, at the ſuit of the lady La Tour, and judgment given for 2000l. ſterling, and no appeal admitted, a heavy complaint was made againſt the government, and they were threatened with the loſs of their privileges, Sir H. Vane ſtood their friend, and by his great intereſt with the parliament appeaſed their reſentment, and laid the ſtorm which was gathering and hung over them. *MS letter.*

The author of the life and death of Sir Henry Vane, printed in 1662, ſays— " That it was ſuggeſted by the biſhops to the then King concerning him, that the heir of a conſiderable family about his Majeſty was grown into diſlike of the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church of England, and that his Majeſty might do well to take ſome courſe about him. On this the then biſhop of London took him to taſk, who ſeemed to handle him gently in the conference, but concluded harſhly enough againſt him in the cloſe. In fine, ſeeing himſelf on all hands in an evil caſe, he reſolved for New-England. In order to this, ſtriking in with ſome non-conformiſts which intended that way, his honourable birth, long hair, and other circumſtances of his perſon, rendered his fellow travellers jealous of him as a ſpy to betray their liberty, rather than any way like to advantage their deſign. But he that they thought at firſt ſight to have too little of Chriſt for their company, did ſoon after appear to have too much for them. For he had not been long in New-England but he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Chriſt than the churches there could bear the teſtimony of. Even New-England could not bear all his words, though there was no King's court or King's chapel. Then he returns for Old-England."

The following letter was wrote by a perſon of quality to a near relation of Sir Henry Vane, about a week after his execution :

" Madam,

" If I do later than others give you an account of the ſhare I have in the loſs of your generous kinſman, it is becauſe I would not rudely diſturb the motions of ſo juſt a ſorrow: but I hope that you are aſſured I have ſo real a concern in all that relates to you, that it was not neceſſary by an early haſte to ſend you an information of it. I have, Madam, whilſt I own a love to my country, a deep intereſt in the public loſs which ſo many worthy perſons lament. The world is robbed of an unparalleled example of virtue and piety. His great abilities made his enemies perſuade themſelves that all the revolutions in the laſt age were wrought by his influence, as if the world was moved only by his engine. In him they lodged all the dying hopes of the party. There was no opportunity that he did not improve for the advantage of his country. And when he was in his laſt and much deplored ſtate, he ſtrove to make the people in love with that freedom they had ſo fooliſhly and laviſhly thrown away.——He was great in all his actions, but to me he ſeemed greateſt in his ſufferings, when his enemies ſeemed to fear that he alone ſhould be able to acquaint them with a change of fortune. In his loweſt condition, you have ſeen him the terror of a great prince ſtrengthened by many potent confederates and armies. You have ſeen him live in high eſtimation and honour, and certainly he died with it. Men arrive at honours by ſeveral ways. The martyrs, though they wanted the glittering crowns the princes of thoſe ages diſpenſed, have rich ones in every juſt man's eſteem.— Virtue, though unfortunate, ſhines in ſpite of all its enemies, nor is it in any power to deface thoſe laſting monuments your friend hath raiſed of his in every heart that either knew him or held any intelligence with his fame. But Madam I treſpaſs too long upon your patience. This is a ſubject I am apt to dwell on, becauſe I can never ſay enough of it. I ſhall now only deſire you to make uſe of that fortitude and virtue that raiſed your friend above the power and malice of his enemies, and do not by an immoderate ſorrow deſtroy that which was ſo dear

to

The party in New-England loſt their head. Mrs. Hutchinſon notwithſtanding continued her lectures. The court for the preſent took no notice of her conduct, nor of any erroneous opinions, but waited the determination of the churches in a general council: accordingly, a ſynod was appointed to be held at Newtown the 30th of Auguſt, where were preſent not only the miniſters and meſſengers of churches, but the magiſtrates alſo, who, Mr. Weld ſays (I ſuppoſe he was a member) were not only hearers, but ſpeakers alſo, as they thought fit. Mr. Cotton, although at the head of the miniſters, was too much a party to be proper for a moderator, and Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bulkley were choſen. Three weeks were ſpent in diſputing pro and con, and at length above fourſcore points or opinions ſaid to have been maintained by ſome or other in the country were condemned as erroneous, and the reſult was ſigned by all the members but Mr. Cotton. He had expreſſed his diſlike of moſt of them, but declined condemning them, all maintaining that union to Chriſt preceded faith in him; but at the ſame time, declared that the other new opinions were heretical, abſurd, and ſome of them blaſphemous, and promiſed to bear teſtimony againſt them.* This general agreement ſtruck a damp upon the opinioniſts, and gave further life and vigour to the other party. Mr. Hooker at firſt diſapproved of determining the points in controverſy by a ſynod. He writes to Mr. Shepard of Newtown, April 8, 1636 (it ſhould be 37) "For your general ſynod, I cannot yet ſee either how reaſonable or how ſalutable it will be for your turn, for the "ſettling and eſtabliſhing the truth in that honourable way "as were to be deſired. My ground is this. They will "be chief agents in the ſynod who are chief parties in the "cauſe; and for them only who are prejudiced in the con-"troverſy to paſs ſentence againſt cauſe or perſon, how "improper! how unprofitable! My preſent thoughts "run thus: That ſuch concluſions which are moſt extra, "moſt

to him, yourſelf, but live the lively repreſentation of his virtue, the exerciſe of which hath made you always the admiration of

Your humble ſervant, &c.

The 21ſt June, 1662." *Life of Sir H. Vane.*

* Hubbard—Johnſon.

" moſt erroneous, and croſs to the common current, ſend " them over to the godly learned to judge in our own " country, and return their apprehenſions. I ſuppoſe the " iſſue will be more uncontroulable. If any ſhould ſug- " geſt this was the way to make the clamour too great and " loud, and to bring a prejudice upon the plantations, I " ſhould ſoon anſwer, there is nothing done in corners here, " but it is openly there related, and in ſuch notorious caſ- " es which cannot be kept ſecret, the moſt plain and na- " ked relation ever cauſeth the truth moſt to appear, " and prevents all groundleſs and needleſs jealouſies, where- " by men are apt to make things more and worſe than they " are."

Although two of the elders were the moderators or prolocutors of the aſſembly, yet Mr. Winthrop ſeems to have had a controuling power. An anonymous writer of a manuſcript ſent from New-England the ſame year gives this account of it. " The ſynod being met, much " time is ſpent in ventilation, and emptying of private paſ- " ſions; at length divers truths are concluded upon, as the " nature of grace and faith, the neceſſity of repentance " and good works, the perfection of the ſcriptures, and like " truths of common allay were aſſented unto by common " ſuffrage: but when they came to the nature of the cov- " enant, the qualifications preceding it, the uſe of it, the " ſeal of the ſpirit, the Helenæs for which they ſtrive, there " they were as different as ever, reſolved in nothing but " this, that no one would be reſolved by another; but " therein was the wiſdom and excellent ſpirit of the gov- " ernor ſeen, ſilencing paſſionate and impertinent ſpeech- " es, as another Conſtantine, deſiring the divine oracles " might be heard, ſpeak and expreſs their own meaning, " adjourning the aſſembly when he ſaw heat and paſſion, " ſo that through the bleſſing of God the aſſembly is diſ- " ſolved, and jarring and diſſonant opinions if not reconcil- " ed, yet are covered, and they who came together with " minds exaſperated, by this means depart in peace, and " promiſe by a mutual covenant, that no difference in o- " pinion ſhall alienate their affections any more, but that " they will refer doubts to be reſolved by the great God,

" at

" at that great day, when we ſhall appear at his tribunal." The ſynod being thus over, the minds of the people were prepared for a further proceeding againſt the opinioniſts.* The court at their ſeſſions the 2d of November, took notice of the petition preſented and called ſeditious in March preceding. They expelled two of their own members, Aſpinwall and Coggeſhall, one for ſigning, and the other for juſtifying it, and ſent a warrant to the town of Boſton to return two other deputies in their room. The town agreed to ſend them back, but Mr. Cotton hearing of it, went to the meeting, and prevented it, and they choſe two others, one of which had ſigned the petition, and was therefore diſmiſſed.† The court then ſent for Mr. Wheelwright, and requiring of him an acknowledgment of his offence, he refuſed it, and juſtified his conduct; but the court reſolved that it tended to diſturb the civil peace, diſfranchiſed and baniſhed him, allowing 14 days to ſettle his affairs, &c.‡

Mrs. Hutchinſon was next called to her trial, before the whole court and many of the elders. An ancient manuſcript of the trial at large having been preſerved, diſcovers nothing in her conduct but what might naturally be expected from a high degree of enthuſiaſm.‖ Her notions of revelations do not ſeem to have been altogether diſcountenanced by Mr. Cotton himſelf. Her ſentence upon record ſtands thus: " Mrs. Hutchinſon, the wife of Mr. " William Hutchinſon, being convented for traducing the " miniſters and their miniſtry in the country, ſhe declar- " ed voluntarily her revelations, and that ſhe ſhould be " delivered, and the court ruined with their poſterity, and " thereupon was baniſhed, and in the mean while was " committed to Mr. Joſeph Weld (of Roxbury) until the " court ſhall diſpoſe of her." Having received her ſentence from the court, ſhe had a further trial to go through in the church. She was firſt admoniſhed. Mr. Cotton

* This ſpiritual court did not pronounce particular perſons to be hereties, but it determined what was hereſy, and made the way plain for the ſecular power to proceed.

† Hubbard.

‡ Maſſ. Records.

‖ See Appendix to Vol. ii. No. 2.

Cotton says that Mr. Davenport and he imagined they had convinced her of her errors, and she presented what was called a recantation under her hand, but at the same time professed that she never was of any other judgment than what she now held forth. The recantation is not preserved. She had, no doubt, some fine-spun distinctions, too commonly made use of in theological controversies, to serve as a subterfuge if there be occasion,* and perhaps, as many other enthusiasts have done, she considered herself divinely commissioned for some great purpose, to obtain which she might think those windings, subtleties and insinuations lawful which will hardly consist with the rules of morality. No wonder she was immoderately vain when she found magistrates and ministers embracing the novelties advanced by her. The whole church of Boston, a few members excepted, were her converts. At length she forsook the public assemblies, and set up what she called a purer worship in her own family. It is not improbable she was encouraged herein by Mr. Vane, who some years after fell into the same practice in England. Mr. Hooker, who had been charged by her with want of soundness in the faith, in return expresses himself with some acrimony concerning her. "The expression of providence against this wretched wo-
"man hath proceeded from the Lord's miraculous mercy,
"and his bare arm hath been discovered therein from first
"to last, that all the churches may hear and fear. I do
"believe such a heap of hideous errors at once to be vented
"by such a self-deluding and deluded creature, no history
"can record; and yet, after recantation of all, to be cast
"out as unsavoury salt, that she may not continue a pest
"to the place, that will be forever marvellous in the eyes
"of all the saints. It will not get out of my mind and
"heart, but there is a mystery in the closure and upshot of
"this business; but he that carries the wisdom of the craf-
"ty headlong, is able to lay open that also in his season.
"At the first reading of your relation, I could not but sus-
"pect

* Mr. Cotton in a letter to Mr. Stone at Hartford says, "Mrs. Hutchinson, of whom you speak, though she publicly revoked the errors, yet affirming her judgment was never otherwise, though her expressions were contrary, she was excommunicated by the whole church, nem. con. Some other of the members that joined with her were gone away before," &c.

"pect ſo much; may be it is but my melancholic ſuſpi-
"cion, but theſe three things preſented themſelves in open
"view to my mind: 1. That it was never intended ſhe
"ſhould be excommunicated. 2. That her recantation
"was ſtill with ſo much reſervation as ſinks the mind of
"ſuch who would have made way for her eſcape, viz. That
"our election is firſt evidenced. 3. That this conceit is
"a neſt egg to breed and bring in many other falſe imag-
"inations, if it be ſtretched to its breadth. Add alſo
"hereunto, that there is no odds from herſelf, but only in
"ſome expreſſions and miſpriſions that way as ſhe would
"have men think, and then you have the whole cauſe
"where it was conceived in a narrower compaſs, and un-
"der a double vizard, that the appearance of it may ſuit
"every purpoſe, as the occaſion fits."

Mr. Hutchinſon her huſband ſold his eſtate, and remov-ed with his wife and family firſt to Aquidneck* (Rhode Iſland) being one of the purchaſers of that iſland from the Indians, where, by the influence of his wife,† the people laid aſide Mr. Coddington and three other magiſtrates, and choſe him for their ſole ruler; but he dying about the year 1642, and ſhe being diſſatisfied with the people or place, ſhe removed to the Dutch country beyond New-Haven, and the next year ſhe and all of her family which were with her, being 16 perſons, were killed by the In-dians, except one daughter, whom they carried into cap-tivity.‡

The

* Canonicus, chief ſachem of Narraganſet and Nianſick, ſold the iſland to William Coddington and his aſſociates, March 29, 1637. *MS.*

† Hubbard.

‡ For the falſhood of her declaration ſhe was excommunicated. Some writers mention the manner of her death as being a remarkable judgment of God for her hereſies. Her partiſans charged the guilt of the murder upon the colony. Mr. Weld ſays ſhe was delivered of as many unformed fœtus's at a birth as the main-tained errors, and that another actreſs was delivered of a monſter, and that all the women were ſeized with a violent vomiting and purging—ſtories as credible as that of the Flanders Counteſs, who is ſaid to have had as many children at a birth as there are days in the year.

The author of a little tract publiſhed in 1676 under the title of *A Glaſs for the People of New-England*, by S. G. (it ſeems by the language and the malevo-lent ſpirit to be Samuel Gorton) ſays, "The next piece of wickedneſs I am to mind you of is your barbarous action committed againſt Mrs. Ann Hutchinſon, whom you firſt impriſoned, then baniſhed, and ſo expoſed her to that deſolate condition that ſhe fell into the hands of the Indians, who murdered her and her family except one child, and after that made a notorious lie on the deſtroyed woman

The confuſion in the colony occaſioned by theſe religious diſputes was very great, and it appears from the letters then wrote from England that they made great noiſe there, but after all it is highly probable that if Mr. Vane had remained in England or had not craftily made uſe of the party which maintained theſe peculiar opinions in religion to bring him into civil power and authority and draw the affections of the people from thoſe who were their leaders into the wilderneſs, theſe like many other errors might have prevailed a ſhort time without any diſturbance to the ſtate, and, as the abſurdity of them appeared, ſilently ſubſided, and poſterity would not have known that ſuch a woman as Mrs. Hutchinſon ever exiſted.* We may ſuppoſe that they who from the beginning had gone along with her in her errors were not diſpleaſed at a good pretence for getting rid of her without condemning themſelves. It is difficult to diſcover from Mr. Cotton's own account of his principles, publiſhed ten years afterwards in his anſwer to Bailey, wherein he differed from her. Her warm imagination was more wrought

woman, which Samuel Clark, prieſt of London, taking the lie out of his brother Weld's ſhort ſtory, muſt needs put into his book called God's judgments againſt hereſy—The woman before mentioned having been by the prieſts and profeſſors pumped and ſifted to get ſomething againſt her, laying their ſnares to entrap her, and taking their opportunity when her huſband and friends, as it was ſaid, were abſent, examined and baniſhed her.—So ſhe goes by water with many others who perceived they muſt go to pot next, and providentially fell in with Rhode-Iſland, where they made a cave or caves, and in them lived until the cold winter was paſt, in which time it was known to the profeſſors where they were, and that they had bought the iſland of the Indians. And the profeſſors began to ſtir and endeavour to bring the iſland within the compaſs of their patent; ſo the poor moleſted woman it is like let in fear, and thought ſhe would go far enough from their reach; ſo going ſouthward to ſeek a place to ſettle upon, where ſhe and her family might live in quietneſs, fell upon a piece of land that was in controverſy between the Dutch and the natives, and the natives being in a heat came upon them and were the executioners of what the New-England prieſts, magiſtrates and church members, were the occaſion, through their wicked and cruel proceedings in forcing them to flee from their rage and fury.——So, reader, thou mayeſt ſee the rage and envy of this profeſſing generation, for they impriſoned and baniſhed this tenderly bred woman in or towards winter, and what with fears and toſſings to and fro the woman miſcarried, upon which they grounded their abominable untruth. Many witneſſes might be produced to prove this, and to diſprove their abominable frequently told ſlander and alſo printed by prieſts and New-England profeſſors and their confederates here in England."

* A great number of the principal inhabitants, moſt of them being diſarmed and deprived of their civil privileges, removed. Mr. Coddington and Dummer had been aſſiſtants; Mr. Hutchinſon, Aſpinwall and Coggeſhall, repreſentatives; Rainsford, Sanford, Savage, Eliot, Eaſton, Bendall, Denſon, were all perſons of diſtinction. About 60 were diſarmed in Boſton beſides.

wrought upon by the enthuſiaſtic tenet than his placid temper. He ſeems to have been in danger when ſhe was upon trial. Mr. Dudley the deputy governor bore hard upon him: Hugh Peters ſhewed that he was well diſpoſed to bring him upon trial. The other miniſters treated him coldly; but Mr. Winthrop, whoſe influence was now greater than ever, protected him. Not long after, in a ſermon at a faſt, Dec. 13, 1638, he confeſſed and bewailed the churches and his own ſecurity and credulity, by means whereof ſo many dangerous errors had ſpread, and ſhewed how he came to be deceived; the errors being formed in words, ſo near the truth which he had preached, and the falſehood of the maintainers of them being ſuch that they uſually would deny to him what they had maintained to others.* His conduct in this day of temptation was forgotten, and he ſoon recovered, and to his death preſerved, the eſteem and reſpect of the whole colony.

Mr. Wheelwright went to New-Hampſhire and laid the foundation of the town and church of Exeter, and afterwards removed to Hampton, and from thence to Saliſbury. He was reſtored in 1644 upon a ſlight acknowledgment. He was in England in 1658, and in favour with Cromwell, as appears by a letter to the church at Hampton. He lived to be the oldeſt miniſter in the colony, which would have been taken notice of, if his perſecutors had not remained in power.†

The court, to prevent tumults, required about ſixty of the inhabitants of Boſton to deliver up their arms and ammunition of every ſort, under penalty of 10l. upon each perſon neglecting, and laid the like penalty upon every one of them who ſhould afterwards borrow any arms or ammunition. And at the ſame time made a law to puniſh any perſon by fine, impriſonment or baniſhment, who ſhould defame any court, or any of their ſentences.

A great number removed out of the juriſdiction, ſome of them being baniſhed, ſome diſfranchiſed; more to Rhode-

* Hubbard.

† He died in 1680. His ſon, grandſon, and great-grandſon, have been of the council for the province.

Rhode-Iſland than to any other place. In a ſhort time, moſt of them were permitted to return, and were reſtored to their former privileges. The moſt of thoſe errors which were condemned by the ſynod, it is probable, they never would have owned as their principles, and they appear rather to be deduced by ſome of the ſynod as naturally following from the capital opinions, than to have been advanced by the opinioniſts themſelves, or perhaps may have been unguardedly dropped by particular perſons in the heat of their diſputes, or during an enthuſiaſtic frenzy, and in others may have been the effect of a fond fancy for paradoxical tenets. They were charged indeed with principles which admit and introduce all kinds of immorality, and which make no diſtinction between virtue and vice. So are fataliſts and predeſtinarians. Many of them were afterwards employed in poſts of honour and truſt, were exemplary in their lives and converſations, and their letters and private papers ſhew that they were pious and devout, and with the name of antinomians paid the ſtricteſt regard to moral virtue. The opinioniſts were puniſhed for being deluded enthuſiaſts. The other ſide were deluded alſo by a zeal for the puniſhment, for the honour of God, of ſuch of his creatures as differed in opinion from themſelves. It is evident not only by Mrs. Hutchinſon's trial, but by many other public proceedings, that inquiſition was made into men's private judgments as well as into their declarations and practice. Toleration was preached againſt as a ſin in rulers which would bring down the judgments of heaven upon the land.*

This unhappy controverſy did not take off the attention of the government from their neceſſary defence againſt the Pequod Indians, who continued their hoſtilities. Governor Vane had ſent Capt. Underhill the winter before to ſtrengthen

* Mr. Dudley died with a copy of verſes in his pocket wrote with his own hand. The following two lines made part of it:

Let men of God in court and churches watch
O'er ſuch as do a toleration hatch.

This was the prevailing doctrine many years, and until their eyes were opened by a freſh perſecution coming upon themſelves from King James. This made his declaration for a general liberty of conſcience welcome, and they thanked the King for allowing to them what they before thought themſelves bound in conſcience to deny to others.

ſtrengthen the garriſon at Saybrook fort, which they laid ſiege to for ſeveral weeks together. The three colonies, Maſſachuſetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, agreed, with their joint forces, to go into the Indian country, and attempt their entire deſtruction. Maſſachuſetts ſent 160 men, under the command of Capt. Stoughton. The number raiſed by each town gives us ſome idea of the proportion which the ſeveral ſettlements bore to one another at this time.* Connecticut men being ſettled near the Indian country, it was expected they would be early in action; the firſt of the Maſſachuſetts men that could be raiſed were therefore ordered to march. This party conſiſted of 40 men. Capt. Patrick,† who had the command of them, by letters diſpatched from Providence acquainted Capt. Maſon, the commander of the Connecticut men, that he was haſtening to join him. The body of the Indians were in two forts or incloſures, which on all ſides they had rendered as defenſible as they could by paliſadoes, their ſkill in fortification carrying them no farther. Saſſacus the chief ſachem was in one of them, and to that the Engliſh intended. Capt. Maſon went with about 80 Engliſh (20 of which under Capt. Underhill of the Maſſachuſetts he had taken from Saybrook fort) and 100 river ‡ Indians by water to the Narraganſets' country, where 200 of that tribe joined him. He would gladly have waited for Patrick's company, but was afraid the friend Indians would attribute the delay to want of courage, and therefore on the 24th of May he began his march for Saſſacus's fort. The Narraganſet Indians were ſtruck with terror at the name of Saſſacus, and endeavoured to diſſuade Maſon; but finding him determined, many of them left him, and near an hundred of them went back to Providence, where they

* Boſton 26, Charleſtown 12, Roxbury 10, Dorcheſter 15, Weymouth 5, Hingham 6, Medford 3, Newbury 8, Ipſwich 17, Salem 18, Saugus (Lynn) 16, Watertown 14, Newtown 19, Marblehead 3.

† Patrick had ſerved in Holland in the Prince of Orange's guard, and was ſent for to inſtruct the people of the colony in military diſcipline. In order to his being made a freeman he was admitted a member of the church at Watertown, but the ſtrict manners of the New-England men did not agree with a Dutch ſoldier. He ſoon removed to the Dutch at New-Netherland. He was ſhot dead by a Dutchman at Stamford in 1643. *Hubbard.*

‡ Connecticut river.

they reported that the Pequods had killed all the Engliſh. This report was carried to Boſton, and muſt have cauſed great concern there.* Soon after, one of Underhill's men fell lame, and the reſt of the company, wearied in travelling, being loaded with arms, ammunition and proviſions, and Saſſacus's fort being eight miles further diſtant, they reſolved to attack the Indians in the other, which was called Miſtick fort.† Wequaſh,‡ originally a Pequod, who was born at Miſtick but now lived with the Narraganſets, was their guide to the deſtruction of his own countrymen and neareſt relations. They ſent him forward to reconnoitre; and he returned with intelligence, that the Pequods had taken great ſtore of baſs that day, and were in a high feaſt, ſinging, dancing, and bleſſing their god‖ for that the Engliſh were gone away. They had ſeen the veſſels paſs by their river from Saybrook towards Narraganſet, and ſuppoſed they were gone off. Some of the Engliſh advanced, and heard the Indians at their revels until midnight. The next morning (May 26) about break of day, after a march of three or four miles from the place where they halted the night before, they came within ſight of the fort, which was upon a hill. Wequaſh piloted them to the gate. The centinel happened juſt then to be gone into a wigwam to light his pipe. The Indians were all in a deep ſleep. One of their dogs barking at the approach of the Engliſh cauſed a diſcovery. The Indians within the fort began their tremendous yell; and the Indians without, who were in the Engliſh rear and afraid to come up, ſeconded them. No ſound that was ever made can be more horrid than the Indian yell. The Engliſh immediately fired into the fort, the paliſadoes not being ſo cloſe as to hinder the muzzles of their guns going

* MS letter.

† A manuſcript journal ſays, that Underhill, upon his man's lameneſs, reſolved that he and his company would go to Miſtick, reading God's mind by that providence; and that Maſon, unwilling to part conformed: but Hubbard ſays, they were both of a mind, for the other reaſons mentioned. Underhill was one of the forwardeſt of the Boſton enthuſiaſts.

‡ Wequaſh became a chriſtian and an apoſtle among his own people, travelling up and down to make converts, and when he died gave his ſoul to Chriſt and his only child to the Engliſh, hoping it would know more of Chriſt than its poor father ever did. *Mr. Shepard's Letter to London.*

‖ This may be the conjecture of the journaliſt.

going between. Not being able eaſily to enter at the gate, Maſon went round to the other ſide of the fort, where was another opening or entrance barred with branches of forked trees only, at which he entered with thoſe that were with him. His lieutenant and the reſt of the Engliſh entered at the ſame time by other parts. The Indians, who had no arms but bows, tomahawks and Engliſh hatchets, made ſtout reſiſtance at firſt, and wounded many of the Engliſh. Maſon intended to have ſpared the wigwams; but finding his men thus diſtreſſed, he entered one of them, and with a firebrand he found there ſet it on fire. While he was doing it, an Indian was drawing his bow, and would undoubtedly have killed him if his ſerjeant coming in had not cut the bow-ſtring with his hanger. The fire ſpread to the reſt of the wigwams, and the Engliſh all retreated without the fort, and ſurrounded it. The Indians ſome climbed to the top of the paliſadoes to avoid the fire, and ſo expoſed themſelves to the Engliſh bullets; others forced their way out of the fort; and if any of them brake through the Engliſh, the allied Indians were in a ring at ſome little diſtance, ſo that few if any eſcaped. There were about 60 or 70 wigwams in the fort or incloſure, and, it was imagined, four or five hundred Pequods, men women and children. Three of the Engliſh were ſlain, and many both Engliſh and Indians their friends wounded with arrows, and ſome very badly. The army was in diſtreſs, notwithſtanding their victory. The morning was cold. They had no ſort of refreſhment, not ſo much as water, nor any ſhelter for their wounded. They had no intelligence of their veſſels which had been ordered to come from Narraganſet to Pequod river. Many Indians were in the woods, who were not of the party in the fort. In the midſt of this perplexity, they eſpied their veſſels at a diſtance, ſailing towards them. They then took up their wounded upon mats faſtened to poles, ſome with the heads of the arrows in their bodies, and marched to the veſſels ſix miles through the woods and ſwamps, the Indians lying in wait at every convenient place, and with their arrows wounding many more; but many of the Indians were ſlain in their attempts upon the Engliſh. They put

put their wounded into one of the barks, which ſet ſail the ſame night and reached Saybrook fort. Patrick came in a pinnace from Providence to Narraganſet ſoon after the forces marched, and with the other veſſels went forward, taking Myantinomo the ſachem of Narraganſet with them; but their arrival was prevented by contrary winds until the morning of the action, after it was over. Moſt of the Engliſh and all the Indians marched through what was called Nianticut's country, to Saybrook fort, their veſſels alſo arriving there the next day. The Indians in alliance with the Engliſh had taken eighteen captives, ten males and eight females; four of the males were diſpoſed of, one to each of four ſachems, the reſt put to the ſword. Four of the females were left at the fort, the other four carried to Connecticut, where the Indians challenged them as their prize; the Engliſh not agreeing to it, they were ſacrificed alſo to end the diſpute. The policy as well as the morality of this proceeding may well be queſtioned. The Indians have ever ſhewn great barbarity to their Engliſh captives—the Engliſh in too many inſtances have retaliated it. This has only enraged them the more. Beſides, to deſtroy women and children for the barbarity of their huſbands and parents cannot eaſily be juſtified.

Saſſacus the ſachem, after the taking of Miſtick fort and ſo many of his warriors being ſlain, broke down his own fort, burned all their wigwams, put his goods into canoes, and men, women and children forſook their country and went away by land to Quinnipiack. The forces under Capt. Stoughton arrived at Saybrook the latter end of June. They purſued the Indians, meeting now and then two or three at a time, whom they killed or took priſoners; at length they were informed of a great body of Indians in a ſwamp,* which they ſurrounded. They ſeem to have been of other tribes as well as Pequods. One of the ſachems came out with 99 men, women and children, and delivered themſelves up to the Engliſh. Wampum he ſaid he had none, nor had he ever killed any Engliſh. The garment he had on, which was of black beaver ſkin, he preſented. An Indian was ſent in to tell the reſt, that if

* Mr. Hubbard ſays near Fairfield or Stratford.

if they would come out and deliver up their arms and clear themſelves from having murdered any Engliſh, they ſhould fare the better. After a ſhort parley they determined, that as they had lived together they would die together. Twelve of the murderers were among them. They were about eighty in all. The Engliſh fired upon them, and having ſurrounded the ſwamp all night, entered in the morning, but found great part had eſcaped. Some of the Indians had guns, and fired upon the Engliſh. This is the firſt account we have of their making uſe of guns. Saſſacus fled to the Mohawks, by whom it was reported he was murdered. It is more probable that he and his company incorporated with them. Many of the captives were ſent to Bermudas and ſold for ſlaves. The Pequod tribe was wholly extinguiſhed. The Narraganſets took charge of ſome of them, and promiſed to pay the Engliſh for their ſervice; the few that remained never dared own they belonged to that tribe, but mixed with the Narraganſet and other tribes. We have been more particular in relating this action, it being the firſt between the Engliſh and Indians, many circumſtances not having been publiſhed before, and the reſt of the Indians being thereby brought to be more afraid of the Engliſh, and reſtrained from open hoſtilities near forty years together.

This year, 1637, a number of the puritan miniſters in England wrote over to the miniſters of New-England, informing them of reports that they had embraced new opinions which they diſliked formerly and which they in England ſtill judged to be groundleſs and unwarrantable, viz. "That a ſtinted form of prayer and ſet liturgy is unlawful: That the children of godly and approved chriſtians are not to be baptized until their parents be ſet members of ſome particular congregations: That the parents themſelves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord's ſupper until they be admitted ſet members: That the power of excommunication is in the body of the church, though the miniſter ſhould be of another mind: That upon a miniſter's being diſmiſſed, though unjuſtly, from his particular congregation, he ceaſeth to be a miniſter: That one miniſter cannot per-

form

" form a miniſterial act in any but his own congregation :
" That members of one congregation may not communi-
" cate in another." They add, " that letters from New-
" England had influenced many in Old to leave their
" aſſemblies becauſe of a ſtinted liturgy, and to abſent
" themſelves from the Lord's ſupper becauſe ſuch as ought
" to be were not debarred from it." They therefore re-
queſted a ſeaſonable review might be taken of the grounds and reaſons that had ſwayed, and ſent over, and if they were found to have weight they would be ready to give the right hand of fellowſhip; if otherwiſe, they would animadvert upon them ſo far as they varied from the truth, &c. The famous puritan John Dod joined in the requeſt.* Mr. Hooker upon the occaſion of this letter writes thus to Mr. Shepard: " I confeſs freely to thee my
" fears that the firſt and ſecond queſtions touching a ſtint-
" ed form of prayer will prove very hard to make any
" handſome work upon, and I do ſadly ſuſpect a trouble-
" ſome anſwer may be returned to all the arguments.
" This is to yourſelf, wherein I crave ſilence."

An anſwer was wrote by Mr. Cotton, and a more full anſwer afterwards printed. In ſome of the points, I ſuppoſe the two laſt, the miniſters in England were miſinformed. In ſome of the others, particularly thoſe which it was thought moſt difficult to anſwer, in a few years after the clergy in England fully concurred with their brethren in New-England.

In June 1637 two large ſhips arrived from England with paſſengers. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins,† two London merchants, Mr. Davenport, a miniſter of great character for learning and piety, and many others of good note

* MS original letters and papers.

† Mr. Hopkins had been a Turkey merchant in London, of good credit and eſteem, but of puritan principles, and for the ſake of an undiſturbed enjoyment of the worſhip of God agreeable to thoſe principles came to New-England. He married Mr. Eaton's daughter in law. When Mr. Eaton removed to New-Haven, Mr. Hopkins went to Hartford, the chief town of Connecticut, and was choſen their governor ſeveral years, at length returned to England and was choſen member of parliament, was warden of the fleet, a commiſſioner of the navy and of the admiralty. He had notwithſtanding thoughts of returning to New-England, having an affection for the country, but death put an end to thoſe thoughts. He died at London in March 1657. He left a legacy to Harvard College, which was unpaid until 1710, when it was received by virtue of a decree in chancery.

note and condition, were of this company. Great pains were taken to perſuade them to ſtay in the juriſdiction. The court offered them any place they would pitch upon. The town of Newbury offered to give up their ſettlement to them. Quinnipiack and the country between that and the Dutch was repreſented as a very fruitful place, and well ſituated for trade and navigation. They flattered themſelves, but upon what grounds does not appear, that there they ſhould be out of the reach of a general governor, with which the country was from time to time threatened. Theſe were the reaſons publicly given for removing there. Beſides, the principal men of the new company would be at the head of the government there; here, it was natural to expect, the old ſtanders would be conſidered as their ſuperiors. They laid the foundation of a flouriſhing colony, of which Quinnipiack or New Haven was the chief town. They agreed among themſelves upon a model of government in church and ſtate, very like to that of Maſſachuſetts, and continued a diſtinct colony and government until the year 1665,* when Connecticut and New-Haven, having three years before been incorporated by a charter from King Charles the Second, united under one governor.† The people in Maſſachuſetts ſoon after reflected

* Connecticut charter was brought over by Mr. Winthrop in 1662, but New-Haven refuſed to ſubmit to it. At a general meeting at New-Haven, 4th Nov. 1662, Mr. Davenport being preſent inſiſted, 1. That the colony of New-Haven was not within the patent. 2. That it was not lawful to join, and they unanimouſly concluded to ſtand to their own combination. *Gaffe's Journal.* But in 1665, upon commiſſioners coming over to inquire into the ſtate of the colonies, they wiſely changed their reſolution, and of a colony became a county, and ſo have remained ever ſince.

† The heads of the combination or agreement were theſe, viz. That none ſhall be admitted to any office in the government, civil or military, or have a voice in any election, except he be a member of one of the churches in New-England:

That all the freemen, without ſummons, ſhall yearly meet the laſt fourth day in May and vote in the election of governor, deputy governor, magiſtrates and other officers—ſuch as cannot attend in perſon may vote by proxy or ſend their votes ſealed:

That there be a general court, conſiſting of governor, deputy governor and magiſtrates, and two deputies for each plantation where there is a church and freemen orderly admitted, every member of the court to have a voice, and all determinations to be by the major vote of the magiſtrates and the major vote of the deputies. This court to ſit the laſt fourth day of May in every year of courſe, and on other occations to be ſummoned by the governor, or in his abſence by the deputy governor, or in the abſence of both by two magiſtrates. To declare, publiſh and eſtabliſh the laws of God, the ſupreme legiſlator, and to make and repeal orders for ſmaller matters not particularly determined in ſcripture, according

reflected upon the favour of Providence in not gratifying them with the continuance of this company among them. It

according to the general rules of righteouſneſs. To order all affairs of war and peace, and all matters relative to the defending or fortifying the country. To receive and determine all appeals, civil or criminal, from any inferior courts, in which they are to proceed according to ſcripture light and laws, and orders agreeing therewith:

That there be a court of magiſtrates to meet or be held twice every year to determine all weighty cauſes civil or criminal, above thoſe limited to plantation courts, and to receive and try all appeals from plantation courts. In this court, when the voices are equal, the governor, or in his abſence the deputy governor, ſhall have a caſting voice:

That there be a court in each plantation in which there ſhall be one or more magiſtrates, the freemen to chooſe two, three or four deputies to aſſiſt the magiſtrate for the trial of civil cauſes not exceeding twenty pounds, and criminal the penalty not exceeding ſtocks, whipping, or five pounds fine.

Their laws and judicial proceedings varied in very few circumſtances from the Maſſachuſetts; one indeed was a material one, that they had no jury neither in civil nor criminal caſes. All matters of fact, as well as law, were determined by the court.

Mr. Davenport, the miniſter who came over with Mr. Eaton, had been a preacher of great note in Colman-ſtreet, London, and for his non-compliance in eccleſiaſtical matters abſconded and came over privately. Many of his principal hearers accompanied him, and formed a church at New-Haven. Another company came from Kent, Suffolk, and Surry, in England, among whom was Mr. William Leet, then a young man, after Mr. Eaton's death governor, and after the colonies were united ſome time governor of Connecticut. Theſe, with Mr. Whitfield their miniſter, choſe a place about 16 miles eaſt of New-Haven, ſince called Guilford. Another company removed from Hartford, with Mr. Peter Prudden for their miniſter, and ſettled a little weſt from New-Haven, and called the place Milford. Brainford on the eaſt and Stamford near forty miles weſt of New-Haven were both ſettled by people who removed from Weathersfield on account of diſturbances in the church there. Theſe towns, together with a plantation upon the eaſt end of Long-Iſland called Southold, are ſaid to have been all that were concerned in the combination which was firſt formed. The colony choſe their leader Mr. Eaton for their firſt governor, and continued him every year until he died, which was 14 years after the foundation. Their chief view was trade; and to be better accommodated they built on ſmall houſe-lots near the ſea, and fairer and more commodious houſes than thoſe in the other colonies. They built veſſels for foreign voyages, and ſet up trading-houſes upon lands which they purchaſed at Delaware bay for the ſake of beaver, but were unſucceſsful, and their ſtocks ſunk very faſt, and in five or ſix years they were much exhauſted. Unwilling to give over, they exerted themſelves, as a laſt effort, in building a ſhip for the trade to England, in which they put their whole ſtock of money, plate, and all the proper goods they could procure, to make a more valuble adventure. In her went paſſenger, Mr. Grigſon, one of the magiſtrates, in order to ſolicit a patent, and 8 or 10 more conſiderable perſons, who, to uſe Mr. Cotton's expreſſion, all went to heaven by water, the ſhip never being heard of after her ſailing. The loſs of this ſhip entirely broke them up as traders, and they turned to huſbandry for their ſupport. The manner of their ſettlement upon ſmall lots was inconvenient for huſbandmen, and the ſoil was not the beſt, ſo that they were much diſcouraged, and ſeveral projections were made for their removal in a body. They made further purchaſes of large tracts of land at Delaware bay, but were obſtructed and diſcouraged by oppoſition from the Dutch. They had offers from Ireland, after the wars were over, and were in treaty for the purchaſe of lands there for a ſmall diſtinct province by themſelves; and when Jamaica was conquered by Cromwell, propoſals were made to them to remove there in a body: but as the firſt generation went off, and the ſecond came on with the attachment natural to the place of their birth and education, they became more

It appeared that the Dutch were designing to take poſſeſſion of this country, and they oppoſed the Engliſh in the ſettlement even of New-Haven itſelf, threatening hoſtilities againſt them. Mr. Eaton, being a man of good abilities, was a fit perſon to reſiſt them; and finally, in the year 1650, the other colonies uniting in the cauſe with New-Haven, they were by treaty limited to Greenwich, ſaid to be ten or twelve miles on a ſtrait line diſtant from Hudſon's river. Indeed the ſuffering them to extend thus far was mere favour and indulgence, but there had been a good correſpondence always kept up between the Engliſh colonies and theſe intruders. They had mutual trade and commerce, and although the Dutch at that day, whatever they may now do, did not eſteem godlineſs to be the greateſt gain, yet their form of worſhip, their principles as to diſcipline and ceremonies, were more agreeable to the New-Englanders than thoſe of the high party in England. New-Haven was a barrier to the colony of Connecticut, and cauſed its increaſe. To which we may add, that Maſſachuſetts, by the removal of this company, were enabled to provide the better for the immediate accommodation of the great number of paſſengers which unexpectedly came over the next year.

In 1638, notwithſtanding the clamour againſt the plantation was revived in England, and a deſign was on foot to revoke or annul the charter, there arrived about twenty ſhips and three thouſand paſſengers. Theſe ſhips were the more welcome to the colony becauſe they were afraid, that in conſequence of the complaints againſt them, a ſtop would be put to any more paſſengers coming from England. In 1635 a commiſſion had been granted to ſeveral of the nobility and great officers of the crown for the regulation of the colonies.* The archbiſhop of Canterbury (Laud) kept a jealous eye over New-England. One Burdett of Piſcataqua was his correſpondent. A copy of a letter to the

more reconciled to their ſituation; and although they have never been remarkable for foreign commerce, the firſt intention of the ſettlement, yet their improvements in huſbandry have been equal to any of their neighbours. The ancient colony of New-Haven is at this day a principal part of the colony of Connecticut, on many accounts reſpectable, and to be placed with thoſe of the firſt rank.

* Appendix, No. 4.

the archbiſhop wrote by Burdett was found in his ſtudy and to this effect, viz. "That he delayed going to England "that he might fully inform himſelf of the ſtate of the "place as to allegiance, for it was not new diſcipline which "was aimed at, but ſovereignty, and that it was accounted "perjury and treaſon in their general court, to ſpeak of "appeals to the King." By the firſt ſhips which came this year, a letter was brought from the archbiſhop to Burdett, rendering him thanks for the care of his Majeſty's ſervice, and aſſuring him that they would take a time for the redreſs of the diſorders which he informed them of, but by reaſon of much buſineſs which lay upon them, they could not at that time accompliſh his deſire. This letter to Burdett was by ſome means or other, not mentioned, ſhewn to the governor of Maſſachuſetts. A quo warranto had been brought by Sir John Banks attorney general, a year or two before, againſt the governor, deputy governor and aſſiſtants of the corporation of Maſſachuſetts. This was never ſerved upon any perſons in New-England. Some which were or had been of the corporation, and who remained in England, appeared and diſclaimed the charter, and there was a determination that the liberties and franchiſes of the corporation ſhould be ſeized into the King's hands, but it is ſaid judgment was never entered in form againſt the corporation.* It is agreed that there was an order of the King in council, May 3d, 1637, that the attorney general be required to call for the patent of Maſſachuſetts, and this year (1638) Mr. Winthrop received a letter from Mr. Meautis clerk of the council, accompanied with an order from the Lords of the council of April 4th, 1638, requiring the governor or any other perſon who ſhould have the letters patent in their power or cuſtody without fail to tranſmit the ſame by the return of the ſhip which carried the order, and in caſe of contempt their Lordſhips would move his Majeſty to re-aſſume into his hands the whole plantation. An anſwer was drawn up and

* Mr. Hubbard ſays, judgment was given, &c. but the government themſelves, in ſome of their declarations in King Charles the Second's time, ſay that the proceſs was never completed. Judgment was entered againſt ſo many as appeared, and they which did not appear were outlawed.

and tranſmitted as appears by the files of the court, * in which after profeſſing their loyalty they ſay, that they were never called to anſwer to the quo warranto, if they had been they ſhould have had a good plea againſt it; that they came over with their families and eſtates with his Majeſty's licenſe and encouragement, had greatly enlarged his dominions, and if their charter ſhould be taken away they ſhould be forced to remove to ſome other place or return to their native country; that the other plantations would be broke up and the whole country fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, and that all men would be diſcouraged from ſuch undertakings in confidence of a royal grant; that the common people if caſt off by his Majeſty might confederate under ſome new form of government which would be of evil example and might expoſe the court to his Majeſty's diſpleaſure;† and for theſe reaſons they pray their Lordſhips that they may be ſuffered to live in this wilderneſs, that their liberties may not be reſtrained when others are enlarged, and that men of abilities may not be hindered from coming to them when they are encouraged to go to other plantations. It was never known what reception this anſwer met with. It is certain that no further demand was made. In a ſhort time the archbiſhop and ſeveral other of the Lords of the council who were preſent at this order loſt their authority and influence. They were as much perplexed when called to account for their own conduct as the colony could have been for theirs, had it been more exceptionable than it was. We may make ſome conjectures what would have been the conſequence of taking away the charter at this time. It is pretty certain the body of the people would have left the country. Two years after, merely from a diſſatisfaction with the ſoil and the climate, many did remove, and many more were a tiptoe and reſtrained only by the conſideration of their engagements to ſtand by and ſupport one another. But where they would have removed is the queſtion. It would not have been to the French. This would have been going further from the ſun. They were too far northward already.

* The records of the ſeſſion take no notice of it. Appendix, No. 5.

† For being the occaſion of it by giving up the charter.

ready. Beſides, they might well expect a heavier yoke under the romiſh hierarchy than what they complained of under the proteſtant. They would not have removed to any plantation or territory claimed by the King of England. What aſſurance could they have of ſecurity for the enjoyment of privileges in any other part, ſtronger than they had when they came here? After they had ſpent their ſubſtance, and many that came with them their lives, in poſſeſſing and improving a country in confidence that they ſhould enjoy their charter privileges, they and their poſterity forever, they would not have truſted to promiſes if any had been made them a ſecond time. It is moſt likely they would have gone to the Dutch at Hudſon's river. They had always kept up a friendly correſpondence with them. In their religious principles and form of worſhip and church government they were not very diſtant from one another. The Dutch were not generally very nice upon thoſe points. The only difficulty would have been to have obtained thoſe privileges in matters of government from the Dutch which they had from the Engliſh. And I think the Dutch would have been politic enough to have granted them. If they had failed with the Dutch, ſuch was their reſolution, that *they would have ſought a vacuum domicilium (a favourite expreſſion with them) in ſome part of the globe where they would according to their apprehenſions have been free from the controul of any European power.* In their firſt migration moſt of them could ſay, *omnia mea mecum porto.* All the difference as to the ſecond would have been, that ſo far as they had leſſened their ſubſtance ſo much leſs room would have been neceſſary for the tranſportation of what remained. *Such a ſcheme would have conſiſted very well with their notions of civil ſubjection, as we ſhall ſee in many inſtances. I do not ſay their notions were juſt. Allegiance, in an Engliſh born ſubject, is ſaid to be perpetual, and to accompany him wherever he goes.*

The ſame governor, deputy governor and aſſiſtants were choſen for 1638 as had been for 1637. The ſettlements were extended this year beyond Merrimack river. Saliſbury and Hampton had great quantity of ſalt meadows. They were an inducement to people to ſit down there, although the upland was a light ſandy ſoil and not very inviting.

inviting. Rowley and Sudbury were both ſettled this year alſo.

The inhabitants of Lynn being deſirous of larger accommodations, many of them removed to Long Iſland, near the weſt end, Lord Sterling by his agent there having ſold or quit-claimed to them a tract for a plantation; but they were ſoon diſturbed by the Dutch, and ſome of them were impriſoned under a pretence of an affront offered to the Prince of Orange's arms which they had taken down from a tree where the Dutch had hung them up. Not being able to keep their ground, they removed to the eaſt end and ſettled a church and town (Southampton) and entered into a civil combination, intending to be independent of any of the colonies. Another diſtinct government was forming at the mouth of Connecticut river by the agent of Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, who with other perſons of diſtinction were ſtill expected in New-England; and other companies who were intending to remove, intended likewiſe to form into ſeparate governments. But this humour did not laſt long. In a few years all the colonies found an union or confederacy neceſſary for their defence, not only againſt the Indians, but againſt the French and Dutch, and there could be no encouragement for ſmall bodies of men to ſit down any where independent or unconnected. All that had began any ſettlements between Maſſachuſetts and the Dutch (the Rhode-Iſlanders excepted, who were covered, except on the ſea, by the other colonies) joined with Connecticut or New-Haven; and all to the eaſtward, whether in New-Hampſhire, Province of Maine or the country further eaſt, applied to Maſſachuſetts that they might incorporate with them.

The year 1638 was memorable for a very great earthquake throughout New-England. The ſhake, by the printed accounts of it and from manuſcript letters, appears to have been equal to that in 1727, the pewter in many places being thrown off the ſhelves, and the tops of chimnies in ſome places ſhook down, but the noiſe, though great, not ſo ſurpriſing as that of the laſt mentioned. The courſe of it was from Weſt to Eaſt. This was a remarkable era; ſo, long after the earthquake, was as common with the people

ple of New-England for many years, as it ſeems to have been heretofore with the children of Iſrael.*

Harvard College takes its date from the year 1638. Two years before, the general court gave four hundred pounds towards a public ſchool at Newtown; but Mr. John Harvard, a worthy miniſter of Charleſtown, dying this year, and having given a great part of his eſtate, between ſeven and eight hundred pounds, to the ſame uſe, the ſchool took the name of Harvard College by an order of court.†

In 1639, the former governor and deputy governor were continued, and the ſame aſſiſtants, except Mr. Harlakenden, who died in the colony, and I ſuppoſe the laſt year.

Straits and difficulties at the beginning of the colony had produced induſtry and good huſbandry, and then they ſoon raiſed proviſions enough for their own ſupport, and an overplus for exportation. We hear but little of trade for the firſt ſeven years, except a ſmall traffick with the natives, by barter of toys, and the few utenſils, tools and clothing they at firſt thought neceſſary, in exchange for furs and ſkins. What the planters brought with them conſiſted principally of materials for their buildings, neceſſary tools for their huſbandry, ſtock for their farms, and clothing for themſelves and families; and thoſe who had more eſtate than was ſufficient for theſe purpoſes, were country gentlemen, and unacquainted with commerce, as Winthrop,

* Johnſon—Hubbard.

† The firſt maſter of the college was Nathaniel Eaton, who was a good ſcholar, but had not the other qualities requiſite for the inſtruction and government of youth. He was charged with avarice, in withholding neceſſary or convenient commons; and with cruelty, in beating his uſher with a cudgel whilſt two of his ſervants held him out by the legs and arms. His conduct having been inquired into by the court in 1639, he was thereupon diſplaced, fined 100 marks, and ordered to pay thirty pounds to Mr. Briſcoe whom he had cruelly beat. After the ſentence of the court, he was excommunicated from the church at Cambridge. He complained that the church had inquired into his caſe before and fully underſtood it and paſſed no cenſure upon him, but when they knew the opinion of the court they conformed to that. He went to Virginia. After the reſtoration he was in England, conformed and had a living, and is ſaid to have revenged himſelf on all nonconformiſts, being greatly inſtrumental in their perſecutions. He was educated under Dr. Ames in Holland, and known to Mr. Hooker whilſt there, who ſays he did not approve of his ſpirit, and feared the iſſue of his being received here, &c. He was ſucceeded by Mr. Henry Dunſtar, well eſteemed for his learning, piety, and ſpirit of government.

Winthrop, Dudley, Bellingham, Bradſtreet, &c. and never employed themſelves in it. (Mr. Winthrop built a ſmall bark, called the Bleſſing, which was employed to import corn from the ſouthern Indians, when the colony was in want, but ſhe was ſoon caſt away). And people in general turned their minds to provide comfortable lodgings, and to bring under improvement ſo much land as would afford them neceſſary ſupport, and this was enough to employ them. After a few years, by hard labour, and hard fare, the land produced more than was conſumed by the inhabitants; the overplus was ſent abroad to the Weſt-Indies, the Wine-Iſlands, &c. Returns were made in the produce of the reſpective countries, and in bullion, the moſt of which, together with the furs procured from the natives, went to England, to pay for the manufactures continually neceſſary from thence. As hands could be ſpared from huſbandry and labour in providing their houſes, they were taken off, and ſome employed in ſawing boards, ſplitting ſtaves, ſhingles and hoops, others in the fiſhery, and as many as were capable of it, in building ſmall veſſels for the fiſhery, and for coaſting and foreign trade. Thus gradually and inſenſibly they ſeem to have fallen into that trade moſt natural to the country, and adapted to their peculiar circumſtances, without any premeditated ſcheme, or projection for that purpoſe. Their primary views in their removal, were the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Merchants and others, for the ſake of gain, when they ſaw a proſpect of it, afterwards came over, and incorporated with them, and cauſed a great increaſe of commerce, and led the legiſlators to meaſures for the further improvement of it. For encouraging the fiſhery, an act was made this year to free all eſtates, employed in catching, making or tranſporting fiſh, from all duties and public taxes, and all perſons were reſtrained by a penalty from uſing any cod or baſs fiſh for manuring the ground; and all fiſhermen during the ſeaſon for buſineſs, and all ſhip-builders, were by the ſame act excuſed from trainings. Sumptuary laws were made for reſtraining exceſs in apparel, and other expenſes; a ſpirit of induſtry and frugality prevailed, and thoſe who lived in the next age, ſpeak of this as the *aurea ætas*, in which religion

gion and virtue flouriſhed: but it was not long before many became diſcontented, and encouraged projects for their removal.

In the year 1640, Mr. Dudley was governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor, Mr. Winthrop, the former governor, one of the aſſiſtants, the reſt the ſame as the laſt year. The importation of ſettlers now ceaſed. The motive to tranſportation to America was over, by the change in the affairs of England. They who then profeſſed to be able to give the beſt account ſay, that in 298 ſhips, which were the whole number from the beginning of the colony, there arrived * 21200 paſſengers, men, women and children, perhaps about four thouſand families.† Since which, more perſons have removed out of New-England to other parts of the world, than have come from other parts to it; and the number of families at this day in the four governments may be ſuppoſed to be leſs, rather than more, than the natural increaſe of four thouſand. This ſudden ſtop had a ſurpriſing effect upon the price of cattle. They had loſt the greateſt part of what was intended for the firſt ſupply, in the paſſage from Europe. As the inhabitants multiplied, the demand for the cattle increaſed; and the price of a milch cow had kept from 25 to 30l. but fell at once this year to 5 or 6l. A farmer, who could ſpare but one cow in a year out of his ſtock, uſed to clothe his family with the price of it, at the expenſe of the newcomers; when this failed, they were put to difficulties. Although they judged they had 12000 neat cattle, yet they had but about 3000 ſheep in the colony.

The year 1641 afforded not ſo pleaſing a proſpect. As ſoon

* Mr Neale ſuppoſes this to be impoſſible; but the number is not great for ſo many ſhips. If we allow half of them for tranſporting goods, and 140 ſouls to each of the other, it will make the number. Many of the ſhips were large, in the firſt fleet eſpecially.

† A modeſt computation then made of the whole charge of tranſportation of the perſons, their goods, the ſtock of cattle, proviſions, until they could ſupport themſelves, neceſſaries for building, artillery, arms and ammunition, amounts to 192,000l. ſterling. *Johnſon*. A dear purchaſe, if they had paid nothing before to the council of Plymouth, and nothing afterwards to the ſachems of the country. Well might they complain, when their titles to their lands were called in queſtion by Sir Edmund Andros; their labour in clearing and improving them was of more value than the lands after they were improved; and this other expenſe might be out of the queſtion.

ſoon as the country ceaſed to be neceſſary as an aſylum for oppreſſed people in England, ſome of thoſe who had been the greateſt benefactors there, not only diſcouraged any further tranſportation, but endeavoured to induce ſuch as had gone over to remove. Had the ſame changes happened in England ſix or eight years ſooner, the continent of North-America would in all probability have been at this day in a far leſs flouriſhing eſtate than it is. Some of the principal men wavered, but others were more reſolute, and determined not to forſake their undertaking.*

Lord Say and Seal had turned his thoughts to a more ſouthern ſettlement in the Bahama Iſlands. He had engaged Mr Humphrey, one of the aſſiſtants of the Maſſachuſetts colony, in the deſign, with a promiſe of being the governor of the new ſettlement. A new plan of government was framed, wholly ariſtocratical, and the magiſtracy to be hereditary; but exceptions being taken to this form by the people, it was altered, and brought nearer to that of Maſſachuſetts.† Mr. Winthrop, the uſual governor, and always

* Mr. Richard Saltonſtall about this time, and I ſuppoſe upon this occaſion, made a vow to God, that he would not leave the country whilſt the ordinances of God continued there in purity. Some years after, his wife was in a bad ſtate of health, and it was thought ſhe might have relief by phyſicians in England. He applied to Mr Cotton, not to abſolve him, but to ſatisfy his doubting conſcience. Mr. Cotton convinced him that the marriage vow was the moſt binding. *Manuſcript. J. Cotton.*

† It is obſervable, that all the colonies before the reign of King Charles the Second, Maryland excepted, ſettled a model of government for themſelves. Virginia had been many years diſtracted under the government of preſidents and governors, with councils, in whoſe nomination or removal the people had no voice, until in the year 1620 a houſe of burgeſſes broke out in the colony, the King nor the grand council at home not having given any powers or directions for it. The governor and aſſiſtants of Maſſachuſetts at firſt intended to rule the people, and, as we have obſerved, obtained their conſent for it; but this laſted 2 or 3 years only; and although there is no colour for it in the charter, yet a houſe of deputies appeared ſuddenly in 1634, to the ſurpriſe of the magiſtrates, and the diſappointment of their ſchemes for power. Connecticut ſoon after followed the plan of Maſſachuſetts. New-Haven, although the people had the higheſt reverence for their leaders, and for near 30 years in judicial proceeding ſubmitted to the magiſtracy (it muſt however be remembered that it was annually elected) without a jury, yet in matters of legiſlation the people from the beginning would have their ſhare by their repreſentatives. New-Hampſhire combined together under the ſame form with Maſſachuſetts. Lord Say tempts the principal men of Maſſachuſetts to make them and their heirs nobles and abſolute governors of a new colony, but under this plan they could find no people to follow them. Barbadoes and the leeward iſlands began in 1625, ſtruggled under governors and councils and contending proprietors for about 20 years: numbers ſuffered death by the arbitrary ſentences of courts martial or other acts of violence, as one ſide or the other happened to prevail: At length, in 1645, the firſt aſſembly was called,

always conſidered abroad as the head of the colony, had wrote to Lord Say, repreſenting to his Lordſhip, that it ſeemed evident that God had choſen New-England to plant his people in; and that it would be diſpleaſing unto him that this work ſhould be hindered, and that ſuch as had been well inclined, if not with their perſons, yet with their ſubſtance, to encourage it, ſhould deſiſt and diſcourage it, by inſinuating that there was no poſſibility of ſubſiſtence there; and added, that God would never have ſent ſo many of his people thither, if he had not ſeen the place ſufficient to maintain them, or intended to make it ſo. His Lordſhip anſwered, that he could not deny great part of what was written, particularly the evidence of God's owning his people in the country of New-England; but alleged, that it was a place appointed for a preſent refuge only, and a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove there.*

It is certain that a great part of the colony was under great

ed, and no reaſon given but this, viz. that by the grant to the Earl of Carliſle the inhabitants were to enjoy all the liberties, privileges and franchiſes of Engliſh ſubjects, and therefore, as it is alſo expreſsly mentioned in the grant, could not legally be bound or charged by any act, without their own conſent. This grant in 1627 was made by Charles the Firſt, a prince not the moſt tender of the ſubjects' liberties. After the reſtoration there is no inſtance of a colony ſettled without a repreſentative of the people, nor any attempt to deprive the colonies of this privilege, except in the arbitrary reign of King James the Second. The colonies which are to be ſettled in the new acquired countries have the fulleſt aſſurance by his Majeſty's proclamation that the ſame form of govetnment ſhall be eſtabliſhed there. Perhaps the ſame eſtabliſhment in Canada, and the full privileges of Britiſh ſubjects conferred upon the French inhabitants there, might be the means of firmly attaching them to the Britiſh intereſt, and civil liberty tend alſo to deliver them by degrees from their religious ſlavery. The inhabitants of Acadie or Nova-Scotia lived above forty years after the reduction of Port Royal under the government of their prieſts. No form of civil government was eſtabliſhed, and they had no more affection for England than for Ruſſia. The military authority ſerved as a watch to prevent confederacies or combinations. The people indeed choſe more or leſs deputies from each canton or diviſion, but their only buſineſs ſeems to have been to receive orders from the governor, and to preſent petitions to him from the people. Temporal offences, unleſs enormous, and all civil controverſies, were ordinarily adjudged and determined by their ſpiritual fathers. I aſked ſome of the moſt ſenſible of the Acadians, what puniſhment the prieſts could inflict to anſwer the ends of government? They anſwered me by another queſtion: What can be a greater puniſhment than the forfeiture of our ſalvation? In no part of the romiſh church, the blind perſuaſion of the power of the prieſt to ſave or damn was ever more firmly rivetted; and although theſe Acadians have for eight years paſt been ſcattered through the Engliſh colonies, yet I never could hear of one apoſtate, or ſo much as a wavering perſon among them all; and if the Canadians are treated in the ſame manner, they will probably remain under the ſame infatuation.

* Hubbard.

great doubts as to their subsistence. All could not be traders. Much labour was necessary to the clearing a new country for pasture or tillage; after three or four years improvement of a piece of ground, they found they had exhausted the goodness of the soil, and were obliged to go upon new improvements. They never used such manure as would keep it in heart. The common practice of manuring with fish left the land in a worse state than it would have been in if they had used no manure at all, or than any other manure, even lime, would have left it. This caused many of them to have an unfavourable opinion of the country, and to despair of obtaining a livelihood in it, and great numbers had determined to remove. Some were persuaded to alter their resolution, but others persisted. A church had been gathered at Providence, and news came that Mr. Sherwood the pastor with another minister had been sent home prisoners by Carter the deputy governor, and that the magistrates were inclined to persecution. This is not incredible, even in the year 1641, when they could not have expected that these measures would be approved in England, for Virginia persisted in opposition to the parliament many years after. Whilst some in New-England were discouraged by this advice, others were the more confirmed, looking upon it their duty to go over and strengthen their brethren. Mr. Humphrey had met with great losses by fire the year before, and was detained in New-England by his private affairs for this year; but a company embarked with Capt. William Peirce, who was of the first fleet which came over with the charter, and a very noted commander. Upon their arrival at Providence, they found the island in the possession of the Spaniards. They had shot in under the command of the fort before they discovered their danger, and in coming about Peirce was slain from the fort, but the vessel got clear and returned to New-England; and the designs of the rest, of course, were at an end. The Lords and others concerned in this attempt to settle the Bahama Islands spent sixty thousand pounds sterling, which was entirely lost by the island's being taken.*

The

* Hubbard.

The difficulties particular perſons were under, and the difference of ſentiment upon private affairs, had an influence upon the public affairs. The election this year (1641) notwithſtanding the great number of voters, was determined in favour of Mr. Bellingham for governor (Mr. Winthrop being his competitor) by a majority of ſix votes only. Mr. Endicot was choſen deputy governor. It was diſputed whether they had the majority; and it was ſome time, Mr. Hubbard ſays long, before either of them were admitted to their places. The choice ſeems not to have been agreeable to the general court, for the firſt order they made was to repeal a ſtanding law for allowing one hundred pounds annually to the governor.

The court this year, expecting great revolutions were at hand in England, ſent over as their agents two of the miniſters, Mr. Thomas Weld and Mr. Hugh Peters,* and one of the repreſentatives, Mr. William Hibbins, in order to eſtabliſh the intereſt of the colony. Their particular inſtructions have not been preſerved.

This year alſo the plantation at Springfield upon Connecticut river returned to the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſetts. In the year 1636, as has been obſerved, the towns or ſettlements on Connecticut river began. A more particular account of the ſettlement of that colony will perhaps be expected. The inhabitants of the towns of Roxbury, Dorcheſter, Cambridge and Watertown, in Maſſachuſetts, laid the foundation of the colony of Connecticut. Mr. William Pynchon being the principal perſon among thoſe from Roxbury, who had pitched upon a place higher up the river than the reſt, called by the Indians Agawam, he changed the name to Springfield.† His manſion houſe was at a town of that name in England, near to Chelmsford, in Eſſex. Thoſe from Dorcheſter pitched upon a place

* Weld and Peters never returned to New-England. The firſt, as appears by ſome of his letters, had a living at Gateſend in the Biſhoprick of Durham. He went to Ireland with Lord Forbes, but came back to England, and was ejected in King Charles the Second's reign. The latter, by buſying himſelf too much with politics, came to a tragical end, which he would have been in no danger of if he had returned to his church again. His wife, whom he married in New-England, was ſupported after his death by a collection of 30 l. a year, until 1671.

MS. letter.

† At firſt they called the new ſettlements by the names of the towns they had left in the bay.

place below, called by the Indians Mattaneaug or Cushankamaug. Mr. Ludlow was the principal person who removed with them. Mr. Warham, their minister, and the whole church followed the next year. They called their settlement Windsor. The Cambridge people, with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone their ministers, and Mr. Haynes, who the year before had been governor, at their head, were seated next below, at a place called Suckiang, which they changed into Hartford, the place of Mr. Stone's nativity in England. A few miles below there was another tract of interval land, called by the Indians Pauquiang, which those of Hartford intended to have included in their settlement, but a few of the Watertown people were too quick for them. They gave it the name of Weathersfield. The commission which they took from Massachusetts was of a pretty extraordinary nature. The preamble to it acknowledges that the lands which they intended to take possession of were without the commonwealth and body of Massachusetts; and that certain noble personages in England, by virtue of a patent, challenged the jurisdiction there; but their minds not being known as to a form of government, and there being a necessity that some authority should be established, they therefore appoint Roger Ludlow, Esq. * &c. with full power and authority to hear and determine in a judicial way all matters in difference between party and party, to inflict corporeal punishment, imprisonment and fines, and to make and decree orders for the present as shall be necessary for the plantation, relative to trading, planting, building, military discipline and defensive war if need require, and to convene the inhabitants in general court if it shall be thought meet. The commission to continue no longer than one year, and to be recalled if a form of government could be agreed upon between the noble personages, the inhabitants, and the commonwealth of Massachusetts, &c.

There would be no accounting for this stretch of power,

* The others were William Pynchon, Esq. John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Warner.

Mr. Ludlow, in a letter from Hartford, 1st of the 8th month, 1638, to the Massachusetts general court, observes, they had desired that Connecticut would forbear exercising jurisdiction at Agawam.

power, were it not for a principle at that time generally received, and which upon a queſtion was determined ſome years after by the general court, ſome of the members diſſenting: That the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth was binding, even though the perſon ſhould no longer reſide within the limits.

Notwithſtanding this commiſſion, they ſoon after entered into an agreement or combination, by virtue of which they called themſelves a body politic formed and eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent, and framed ſuch laws and conſtitutions as they thought neceſſary. The moſt material point in which they differed from Maſſachuſetts was, the not making memberſhip of their churches neceſſary to freedom in the civil government or to the holding any offices therein. Upon the petition of Mr. Pynchon and others to the court to receive them again, an order paſſed, aſſerting the court's right; and a commiſſion was granted to Mr. Pynchon to hold courts there,* from whoſe judgments an appeal lay to the court of aſſiſtants.†

The

* Maſſ. Records.

† George Fenwick, Eſq. a worthy, pious gentleman, and of a good family and eſtate, came from England with deſign to take poſſeſſion of the lands upon Connecticut river for the Lords Say and Brook, &c. The lands between Connecticut river and the Narraganſet country, ſixty miles in length and breadth, were aſſigned by the council of Plymouth in 1635 to the Marquis of Hamilton. The Lords Say, &c. had a patent from the Earl of Warwick, including all that part of New-England in America from Narraganſet river forty leagues upon a ſtrait line near the ſea ſhore towards the ſouthweſt, weſt and by ſouth or weſt, as the coaſt lies towards Virginia, and all lands within the breadth aforeſaid from the weſtern ocean to the ſouth ſea, ſo that the two grants or claims interfered. The Connecticut people purchaſed the title of the Lords of Mr. Fenwick, December 5, 1644. The thoughts of removing were then at an end, and Fenwick joined with the colony, and was choſen an aſſiſtant. The colony went on exerciſing the powers of government until the reſtoration, when they applied by Mr. Winthrop their agent to King Charles II. in 1661 for a charter, which was granted in 1662, with as ample privileges as they could deſire. Mr. Winthrop had been many years an aſſiſtant in Maſſachuſetts. He was ſenſible of the defects in the charter; and beſides, this colony being in America at the time of granting the charter, the powers granted them would naturally be better adapted to their circumſtances. Mr. Winthrop, it is ſaid, preſented the King with a ring which had been given by Charles the Firſt to his grandfather, and that the King was much pleaſed with it. When they were finding fault with Maſſachuſetts, they notwithſtanding eſtabliſhed another government much of the ſame form and the ſame ſort of people. Rhode-Iſland about the ſame time obtained the like charter. Certain powers aſſumed by Maſſachuſetts not mentioned in their charter, by theſe new charters are expreſsly granted to the two colonies. Had theſe applications been delayed two or three years longer, they would hardly have ſucceeded. Plymouth, which had as much reaſon to expect ſuch a favour, never could obtain it. They kept ſoliciting one time after another, and were amuſed with general promiſes of favour, until they were comprehended in a commiſſion

to

The ſettlers at Piſcataqua about the ſame time ſubmittted themſelves to the Maſſachuſetts government. The ſubmiſſion and agreement upon record is as follows:

"The 14th of the 4th month, 1641.

"Whereas ſome Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, "did purchaſe of Mr. Edward Hilton and ſome mer- "chants of Briſtol two patents, the one called Wecohamet "or Hilton's point, commonly called or known by the "name of Dover or Northam, the other patent ſet forth "by the name of the ſouth part of the river Piſcataquack, "beginning at the ſea ſide or near thereabouts and coming "round the ſaid land by the river ſide unto the falls of "Quamſcot, as may more fully appear by the ſaid grant: "And whereas alſo the inhabitants reſiding at preſent "within the limits of both the ſaid grants have of late and "formerly complained of the want of ſome good govern- "ment amongſt them, and deſired ſome help in this par- "ticular from the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, "whereby they may be ruled and ordered according unto "God both in church and common weal, and for avoid- "ing of ſuch unſufferable diſorders whereby God hath "been much diſhonoured amongſt them, theſe gentlemen "whoſe names are here ſpecified, George Willys, gent. "Robert Saltonſtall, gent. William Whiting, Edward "Hollioke, Thomas Makepeace, partners in the ſaid "patent, do in the behalf of the reſt of the patentees diſ- "poſe of the lands and juriſdiction of the premiſes as fol- "loweth; being willing to further ſuch a good work, "have hereby, for themſelves and in the name of the reſt "of

to Sir Edmund Andros, which put an end to their expectations. Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Fenwick, above-mentioned, by his laſt will, proved in Suſſex in England April 27, 1657, gave five hundred pounds to the public uſe of the country of New-England, if his loving friend Mr. Edward Hopkins ſhould think fit, and to be employed as he ſhould order and direct. Mr. Hopkins died a day or two before Col. Fenwick, and by his will left at leaſt 2000l. to be employed for breeding youth at the grammar ſchool and univerſity in New-England. The queſtion was, whether the 500l. mentioned in Mr. Fenwick's will, be not recoverable from the executrix of the ſaid will. This was propoſed to ſerjeant Maynard. Anſ. The diſpoſition to the charitable uſe being with condition of Mr. Hopkins's approvement, and Mr. Hopkins dying before the teſtator, it is impoſſible, and the charitable uſe becomes abſolute and ought now to be performed. John Maynard.—I never heard that any part of this legacy was recovered. Mr. Hopkins's or part of it was decreed by Lord Chancellor Cowper as we have before obſerved, and the college eſtate in Hopkinton was purchaſed therewith. *MS letters.*

" of the patentees, given up and ſet over all that power or " juriſdiction of government of the ſaid people dwelling or " abiding within the limits of both the ſaid patents unto " the government of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, by them to be " ruled and ordered in all cauſes criminal and civil as in- " habitants dwelling within the limits of Maſſachuſetts " government, and to be ſubject to pay in church and " commonwealth as the ſaid inhabitants of Maſſachuſetts- " Bay do, and no other : and the freemen of the ſaid two " patents to enjoy the like liberties as other freemen do " within the ſaid Maſſachuſetts government ; and that " there ſhall be a court of juſtice kept within one of the " two patents, which ſhall have the ſame power that the " courts at Salem and Ipſwich have. Provided always, " and it is hereby declared, that one of the ſaid patents, " that is to ſay, that on the ſouth ſide of the river Piſcata- " quack, and in the other patent one third part of the " land, with all improved land in the ſaid patent, to the " Lords and gentlemen and owners ſhall be and remain, " unto them, their heirs and aſſigns forever, as their prop- " er right, as having true intereſt therein, ſaving the in- " tereſt of juriſdiction to Maſſachuſetts. And the ſaid " patent of Wecohamet ſhall be divided, as formerly is " expreſſed, by indifferent men, equally choſen on both " ſides, whereby the plantation may be furthered, and all " occaſion of difference avoided. And this honoured court " of the Maſſachuſetts doth hereby promiſe to be help- " ful to the maintenance of the right of the ſaid patentees " in both the patents, all legal courſes in any part of their " juriſdiction.

" Subſcribed by the aforenamed gentlemen, in the preſ- " ence of the general court aſſembled the day afore- " written."*

The river of Newichewannock or Piſcataqua is ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered by Capt. Smith, or ſome employed by him, in 1614 or 1615. De Monts ten years before had been at Kennebeck and Saco, and ſome leagues further weſtward along ſhore, but ſtruck over from ſome part of Wells, by the deſcription he gives of the coaſt, to Cape-Ann,

* Maſſ. Records.

Ann, which he calls Cape-Louis, and from thence to Cape-Blanc, which muſt be Cape-Cod. In the year 1623, ſeveral gentlemen, merchants and others, in the weſt of England, belonging to Briſtol, Exeter, Dorcheſter, Shrewſbury, Plymouth, &c. having obtained patents from the council of Plymouth for ſeveral parts of New-England, and being encouraged by the plantation of New-Plymouth, and the reports of fiſhermen who had made voyages upon the coaſt, projected and attempted a fiſhery about Piſcataqua, and ſent over David Thompſon, together with Edward Hilton and William Hilton, who had been fiſhmongers in London, and ſome others, with all neceſſaries for their purpoſe. The Hiltons ſet up their ſtages ſome diſtance above the mouth of the river, at a place ſince called Dover. Some others of the company about the ſame time ſeized on a place below, at the mouth of the river called Little Harbour, where they built the firſt houſe. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Maſon were of this company; and the place where this houſe was built, with three or four thouſand acres of land for a manor or lordſhip, by conſent of the reſt of the undertakers was aſſigned to Capt. Maſon, and the houſe took the name of Maſon-hall.*

Theſe ſettlements went on very ſlowly for ſeven years after; and in 1631, when Edward Colcott † firſt came over, there were but three houſes in all that ſide of the country adjoining to Piſcataqua river. There had been ſome expenſe beſides about ſalt works. The affairs of the great council of Plymouth from firſt to laſt were carried on in a confuſed manner. There have been ſix or ſeven ſeveral grants of the lands between Merrimack and Kennebeck. Whether any of them, beſides thoſe to Gorges and Maſſachuſetts, are at this day of any validity, I will not determine.‡ In 1629, Gorges and Maſon are ſaid to have taken a patent together for all the lands between the two rivers, and by mutual agreement and by a diſtinct patent all the lands from Piſcataqua to Merrimack were aſſigned to

* The chimney and part of the ſtone wall were ſtanding in the year 1680. *Hub.*

† He was afterwards choſe by ſome of the planters at Dover their head or governor. *Hubbard.*

‡ Benighton's patent upon Saco river was early, and divers perſons hold under it.

to Maſon * Gorges ſeems to have laid no great ſtreſs upon his title, for in 1639 he obtained a patent under the great ſeal from King Charles the firſt. The Lords Say and Brooke, who were very general adventurers, purchaſed the Briſtol men's ſhare, which was two thirds of the firſt company's intereſt. Some perſons of Shrewſbury held the other third. Capt. Wiggan was made the agent for the Shrewſbury men. In the year 1630 Capt. Neale with three others came over to Piſcataqua to ſuperintend the affairs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Maſon, and the reſt, but principally to diſcover a new country, to which they gave the name of Laconia, and which in Gorges's hiſtory is very pompouſly deſcribed. Champlain many years before this had given his own name to Lake Iroquois; and the Engliſh, it may be, were informed by the Indians ſomething of the geography of the country, and of other lakes on the back of New-England, and no doubt the rumour was carried over to England. Neale ſpent three years in ſearching out his new country, but could not find it, and ſo returned. Nothing elſe memorable is mentioned of Neale, except that he forbad Wiggan ſettling a point of land betwixt Dover and Exeter. Wiggan went on, and determined to defend his right by the ſword. The other threatened as high; and from what might have happened, the diſputed land took the name of Bloody Point, which it retains to this day. The Lords Say and Brooke alſo made Wiggan their agent for the term of ſeven years, during which time the intereſt was not greatly advanced, the whole being ſold to him at the expiration of the term for ſix hundred pounds.

Soon after the year 1631, one Mr. Williams came over from England, ſent alſo by Gorges and Maſon to take care of their ſalt works. Mr. Chadburne, † with ſeveral other planters and traders, came over with him. Theſe began the ſettlement of Strawberry Bank (Portſmouth); and after Neale went away, they are ſuppoſed either to have entered into an agreement and to have choſen Williams for their governor, who is ſaid to have been a diſcreet, ſenſible man, and

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Chadburne had the direction of the artificers who built what was called the great houſe at Strawberry Bank. His poſterity are ſettled on the other ſide the river in the province of Main.

and a gentleman, or elſe he was appointed by the company in England. There was a grant of a ſum of money for building a parſonage houſe and a chapel, and for a glebe of 50 acres of land to be annexed, made by the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank to Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburn, church wardens, and their ſucceſſors, &c. and this was ſigned by Francis Williams governor, Ambroſe Gibbons aſſiſtant, and 18 Inhabitants, dated May 25, 1640. Williams ſoon after removed to Barbados. The firſt who enterpriſed the ſettlement of Piſcataqua had ſome religious as well as civil views; and a puritan miniſter, Mr. Leveridge, a worthy man, came over with Capt. Wiggan in 1633; but not being ſupported, he removed to the ſouthward, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Burdet, who has not left ſo good a character. Not contented with his ſacred function, he invaded the civil government, and thruſt out Capt. Wiggan, and aſſumed the place of governor himſelf.

In the mean time the Lords and others concerned had prevailed upon ſeveral perſons of good eſtates, and who made profeſſion of religion, to tranſplant themſelves and families to Piſcataqua, ſo as to be able to make inhabitants enough for a conſiderable townſhip; and having no charter, commiſſion or power of government from the crown, they were under neceſſity of entering into a combination or agreement among themſelves, which was in the following form:

"Whereas ſundry miſchiefs and inconveniences have "befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard of want "of civil government, his gracious Majeſty having ſettled "no order for us to our knowledge; we whoſe names are "under written, being inhabitants upon the river Piſcata-"qua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourſelves into a "body politic, that we may the more comfortably enjoy "the benefit of his Majeſty's laws, and do hereby actually "engage ourſelves to ſubmit to his royal Majeſty's laws, "together with all ſuch laws as ſhall be concluded by a "major part of the freemen of our ſociety, in caſe they be "not repugnant to the laws of England, and adminiſtered "in behalf of his Majeſty. And this we have mutually "promiſed and engaged to do, and ſo to continue, till his "excellent

" excellent Majeſty ſhall give other orders concerning us. " In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our hands, " Octob. 22, 1640, in the 16th year of the reign of our " ſovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of " Great-Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the " faith, &c."

Signed by Thomas Larkham, Richard Waldron, William Waldron, with thirty-eight more.

About the ſame time, viz. in 1638, Mr. Wheelwright the miniſter, who had been baniſhed from Maſſachuſetts, with a number of perſons who adhered to him, began a plantation on the ſouth ſide of the great bay up Piſcataqua river, to which they gave the name of Exeter. They thought it neceſſary likewiſe to form themſelves into a body politic, in order to enable them to carry on the affairs of their plantation. The inſtrument which they determined upon was of the following form :

" Whereas it hath pleaſed the Lord to move the heart " of our dread Sovereign Charles, &c. to grant licenſe " and liberty to ſundry of his ſubjects to plant themſelves " in the weſtern parts of America : We his loyal ſubjects, " members of the church of Exeter, ſituate and lying upon " the river Piſcataqua, with other inhabitants there, con- " ſidering with ourſelves the holy will of God and our own " neceſſity, that we ſhould not live without wholeſome " laws and civil government amongſt us, of which we are " altogether deſtitute, do in the name of Chriſt and in the " ſight of God combine ourſelves together to erect and ſet " up among us ſuch government as ſhall be to our beſt " diſcerning agreeable to the will of God, profeſſing our- " ſelves ſubject to our Sovereign Lord King Charles accord- " ing to the liberty of the Engliſh colony of the Maſſachu- " ſetts, and binding ourſelves ſolemnly, by the grace and " help of Chriſt and in his name and fear, to ſubmit our- " ſelves to all ſuch chriſtian laws as are eſtabliſhed in the " realm of England, to our beſt knowledge, and to all other " ſuch laws which ſhall upon good grounds be made and " enacted among us according to God, that we may live " quietly and peaceably together in all godlineſs and hon- " eſty. October 4, 1639. John Wheelwright, William " Wentworth,

" Wentworth, George Walton," with 32 more. Captain Underhill, an enthuſiaſt, who obtained his aſſurance, as he expreſſed himſelf before the church of Boſton, while he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco,* and who was at the ſame time a very immoral man, and for adultery had been excommunicated, obtained the place of governor at Dover, they having quarrelled with Burdet the miniſter, who removed to York. There was a ſtrong party againſt Underhill, which cauſed great diſturbance and confuſion. At the ſame time they were as much divided in their eccleſiaſtical affairs. They at Dover had one Mr. Knolles for their miniſter; but Mr. Larkham arriving there from Northam near Barnſtable in England, many people were taken with him and determined to diſmiſs Knolles; but his party ſtood by him, and he and his company excommunicated Larkham. He in return laid violent hands on Knolles. The magiſtrates took part, ſome on one ſide and ſome on the other; but Larkham's party, being weakeſt, ſent to Williams the governor below, for aſſiſtance, who came up with a company of armed men, beſet Knolles's houſe where Underhill the governor then was, called him to account, ſet a fine upon him and ſome others who had been concerned in the riot, and obliged them to remove from the plantation. Knolles was a rigid antinomian, his practice was agreeable to his principles. He was charged with being too familiar with ſome of his female domeſtics, and found it neceſſary to depart. Larkham, a zealous churchman, ſoon followed him, for an offence of the ſame nature.† Thus we ſee three diſtinct colonies and independent governments formed upon Piſcataqua river.

During theſe tranſactions, the Maſſachuſetts people were inquiring into the bounds of their patent. In 1639 they ſent perſons to find out the northernmoſt part of Merrimack river. A line to run eaſt from three miles north of the head of the river will take in the whole of New-Hampſhire.

* Hubbard, &c.

† I have taken the principal facts relative to the ſettlement of Piſcataqua from Hubbard's and other original ancient manuſcripts.

Hampſhire.* They determined therefore that it came within their juriſdiction; and from that time they allowed plantations to be ſettled, particularly at Hampton, as readily as in any other part of the colony, and exerciſed juriſdiction over them; but they left thoſe upon the river to their liberty; and it was their inability to preſerve order among themſelves which occaſioned the application and ſubmiſſion which has already been mentioned. At their ſeſſion in October the court paſſed the following order.

"Whereas it appeareth that by the extent of the line "according to our patent the river of Piſcataquack is with- "in the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts, and conference "being had at ſeveral times with the ſaid people and ſome "deputed by the general court for the ſettling and eſtab- "liſhing of order in the adminiſtration of juſtice there; it "is now ordered by the general court holden at Boſton "this 9th day of the 8th month 1641, and with the con- "ſent of the inhabitants of the ſaid river, as followeth. "Imprimis, That from henceforth the ſaid people inhabit- "ing there, are and ſhall be accepted and reputed under "the government of the Maſſachuſetts, as the reſt of the in- "habitants within the ſaid juriſdiction are. Alſo, that "they ſhall have the ſame order and way of adminiſtration "of juſtice, and way of keeping courts, as is eſtabliſhed at "Ipſwich and Salem.† Alſo, they ſhall be exempted from "all public charges, other than thoſe that ſhall ariſe for or "from among themſelves, or from any action or courſe "that may be taken to procure their own good or benefit. "Alſo, they ſhall enjoy all ſuch lawful liberties of fiſhing, "planting, and felling timber, as formerly they have en- "joyed in the ſame river. Mr. Simon Broadſtreet, Mr. "Iſrael Stoughton, Mr. Samuel Simonds, Mr. William "Tyng, Mr. Francis Williams, and Mr. Edward Hilton, "or any four of them, whereof Mr. Broadſtreet or Mr. "Stoughton

* The bounds in the charter being three miles ſouth of Charles river and all and every part thereof, and three miles north of Merrimack and all and every part thereof, and all lands within the limits aforeſaid in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude, &c. they ſuppoſed they had a right to ſtretch their line eaſt from the head of Merrimack to the ocean.

† Parts of Maſſachuſetts neareſt to Piſcataqua.

" Stoughton to be one, theſe ſhall have the ſame power " that the quarter courts at Salem and Ipſwich have. " Alſo, the inhabitants there, are allowed to ſend two de- " puties from the whole river to the court at Boſton. Alſo, " Mr. Broadſtreet, Mr. Stoughton, and the reſt of the " commiſſioners, ſhall have power at the court at Piſcata- " quack to appoint two or three to join with Mr. Wil- " liams and Mr. Hilton to govern the people as the ma- " giſtrates do here, till the next general court, or till the " court take further order. It is further ordered, that " until our commiſſioners ſhall arrive at Piſcataquack, " thoſe men who already have authority by the late com- " bination to govern the people there, ſhall continue in the " ſame authority and power, to be determined at the com- " ing of the ſaid commiſſioners, and not before." Although nothing is ſaid of Strawberry Bank in the ſubmiſſion, yet all the ſettlements ſeem to have concurred, and Williams the governor below was made one of the magiſtrates.

Maſſachuſetts, by thus extending its wing over the inhabitants of New-Hampſhire, nouriſhed and cheriſhed them for near 40 years; and to this muſt be attributed the growth and the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of that colony. The principal inhabitants, when the benefit was recent, in 1680, made a public and grateful acknowledgment of it. Upon this conſtruction of the charter, the whole province of Main is taken into Maſſachuſetts, as well as New-Hampſhire; but no application being made by the people there, nothing was done concerning them. Mr. Wheelwright and others, who had been baniſhed from Maſſachuſetts, ſoon after removed to the province of Main from New-Hampſhire.

Mr. Winthrop was elected governor in 1642, and Mr. Endicot deputy governor, and Mr. Thomas Flint* added to the aſſiſtants, together with Mr. Pynchon, who upon his removal to Springfield had been left out whilſt the juriſdiction was doubtful.

The

* Mr. Flint was a gentleman of a fair eſtate in England, which he laid out in forwarding the plantation, arriving in New-England about the year 1635. *Johnſon.* A large tract of land which he owned in Concord ſtill retains the name of Flint's farm.

The college at Cambridge was this year put upon a more reſpectable footing than it had been. The governor, deputy governor and magiſtrates, and the miniſters of the ſix next adjacent towns, with the preſident, were made a corporation for ordering and managing the affairs of the college; and nine young gentlemen * at a public commencement this year

* Moſt of them ſoon after went over to England, and before 1651 (as appears by a letter from Mr. Samuel Mather, who received a degree the next year, and was a celebrated preacher in Dublin) made ſome figure there. Benjamin Woodbridge, the firſt-born of Harvard College, was ſucceſſor to Dr. Twiſſe at Newberry, and though inclined to preſbyterianiſm, to uſe Mr. Mather's words, not malignantly affected. George Downing went into the army, and was ſcoutmaſter general of the Engliſh army in Scotland. He was afterwards in great favour with Cromwell, who ſent him ambaſſador to the States; and upon the reſtoration he turned with the times, and was ſent or kept by the King in the ſame employ, had the merit of betraying, ſecuring and ſending over ſeveral of the regicides (he had been captain under one of them, Col. Okey), was knighted, and in favour at court, and died in 1684. His character runs low with the beſt hiſtorians in England; it was much lower with his countrymen in New-England; and it became a proverbial expreſſion to ſay of a falſe man who betrayed his truſt, that he was an arrant George Downing. Oliver Cromwell, when he ſent him agent or ambaſſador to the States, in his letter of credence ſays, "George Downing is a perſon of eminent quality, and, after a long trial of his fidelity, probity and diligence in ſeveral and various negociations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to ſend to your Lordſhips dignified with the character of our agent," &c. (Milton's letters.) In his latter days he is ſaid to have been very friendly to New-England, and when the colony was upon the worſt terms with King Charles the Second. An article of news from England in 1671 ſays, "Sir George Downing is in the tower, it is ſaid becauſe he returned from Holland where he was ſent ambaſſador before his time. As it is reported, he had no ſmall abuſe offered him there. They printed the ſermons he preached in Oliver's time, and drew three pictures of him. 1. Preaching in a tub, over it was wrote, *This I was.* 2. A treacherous courtier, over it, *This I am.* 3. Hanging on a gibbet, and over it, *This I ſhall be.*" Prints of that ſort were not ſo common in England in that day as they have been the laſt twenty years.

"Downing was ſent to make up the quarrel with the Dutch, but coming home in too great haſte and fear, is now in the priſon where his maſter lay that he betrayed." *Mſ. letter, Lond. March* 4, 1671-2. By his maſter no doubt Okey is intended. His ſon was one of the Tellers in the Exchequer in 1680. Sir George died in 1684. He was brother-in-law to governor Bradſtreet, and kept up a correſpondence with him.

John Bulkley (ſon of Peter Bulkley, miniſter of Concord, who was of a very reputable family, and had been eſteemed for his learning and piety in England) was a ſettled miniſter at Fordham in Eſſex, and after his ejectment in 1662 practiſed phyſic in London.

Henry Saltonſtall, who I ſuppoſe was a grandſon of Sir Richard Saltonſtall, was a doctor of phyſic, and a fellow of new college, Oxford.

Nathaniel Brewſter was a ſettled miniſter in Norfolk, and of good report.

Samuel Bellingham received the degree of doctor of phyſic at Leyden. Two others of the claſs, William Hubbard and John Wilſon, were miniſters ſettled in New-England, and in high eſteem there. Several of the ſucceeding claſſes went over to England ſoon after their taking their batchelor's degree: John Allen, whoſe friends lived in Suffolk; William Ames, who was ſon of Dr. Ames, ſettled at Wrentham; Jeremiah Holland, who firſt ſettled near London, but ſoon after removed into Northamptonſhire, where he had a living of between two and three

year received the degree of bachelor of arts. The theſis, with a particular account of the whole proceeding, was publiſhed in England. I know of but two copies extant, and as my chief deſign is to preſerve from oblivion every tranſaction which poſterity may think of any importance, I ſhall give it a place in the appendix.*

There was a general deſign this year among the Indians againſt the Engliſh.† Miantonomo, the ſachem of the Narraganſets, was ſuppoſed to be the author and chief promoter, and to have drawn many other ſachems to join with him. The Indians began to make uſe of fire arms, and had procured a great number, together with powder and ſhot, from Engliſh traders in the eaſtern parts, as well as from the Dutch. A conſtant watch was ordered to be kept from ſun-ſet to ſun-riſing, and a place of retreat to be provided in each plantation for the women and children, and for the ſecurity of ammunition. Beacons were erected and ordered to be fired upon an alarm, and all ſmiths were required to lay aſide all other buſineſs until all the arms in the colony were put into good order, for which payment was promiſed by the government. Mr.‡ John Leverett and Mr. Edward || Hutchinſon were ſent to Miantinomo with articles of complaint, and to require him to come himſelf or to ſend two of his chief counſellors to the governor in order to give ſatisfaction. Connecticut propoſed to fall upon the Indians immediately, and offered if Maſſachuſetts would ſend 120 men to Saybrook, to join a proportionable

three hundred pounds a year; Jacob Ward, who had a fellowſhip in Maudlin college, Oxford; John Birden and Abraham Walver, who were both preachers in the counties where their friends lived; and Sampſon Eyton, who I ſuppoſe left Harvard college before he had his degree, was made a fellow in one of the univerſities in England. Leonard Hoar went to Cambridge and took the degree of doctor in phyſic. Mr. Mather writes very preſſing for others to come over to England, where they might be aſſured of encouragement and preferment.

* No. 6.

† Intelligence was given by ſome of the Indians themſelves, and letters were diſpatched from New-Haven and Connecticut to give advice. Under pretence of trade in ſmall companies at the Engliſh houſes, while ſome ſecured the arms the others were to perpetrate the maſſacre, the time appointed for which was immediately after the harveſt ſhould be over.

An Indian of Providence attempted a rape upon an Engliſh woman, the wife of Nicholas Wood of Dorcheſter, and was protected by Miantinomo. This if true is a rare inſtance.

‡ Afterwards governor.

|| Son of the famous Mrs. Hutchinſon.

portionable number. But the Maſſachuſetts court doubted whether they had ſufficient proofs of the deſigns of the Indians to juſtify a war. However, the governor with the magiſtrates before the court met thought it neceſſary to diſarm the Indians within the colony, which they readily ſubmitted to. Miantinomo came in perſon to the court, and demanded that his accuſers ſhould be brought face to face, and if they failed in their proof that they ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment he would have deſerved himſelf if he had been guilty, viz. death. His behaviour was grave, and he gave his anſwers with great deliberation and ſeeming ingenuity. He would never ſpeak but in the preſence of two of his counſellors, that they might be witneſſes of every thing which paſſed. Two days were ſpent in treaty. He denied all he was charged with, and pretended the reports to his diſadvantage were raiſed by Uncas, ſachem of the Mohegins, or ſome of his people. He was willing to renew his former engagements, that if any of the Indians, even the Nianticks, who he ſaid were as his own fleſh and blood, ſhould do any wrong to the Engliſh ſo as neither he nor they could ſatisfy without blood, he would deliver them up and leave them to mercy. The people of Connecticut put little confidence in him, and could hardly be kept from falling upon him, but were at laſt prevailed upon by Maſſachuſetts to deſiſt for the preſent.* The minds of men were filled with fear from theſe rumours of a general conſpiracy, and every noiſe in the night was alarming. A poor man in a ſwamp at Watertown,† hearing the howling of a kennel of wolves and expecting to be devoured by them, cried out for help, which occaſioned a general alarm through all the towns near Boſton.‡ The Indians being thus prevented from ſurpriſing, the Engliſh remained quiet.‖

The

* Records of united colonies. † Sept. 19th, 1642. ‡ Hubbard.

‖ One Darbyfield, an Iriſhman, with ſome others, travelled this year to the white hills, ſuppoſed to be the higheſt in theſe parts of America. They reported that they had been to the top, where is a plain of 60 feet ſquare; that on the weſt ſide is a very ſteep precipice, and all the country round about appeared like a level much beneath them. The gliſtering appearance of the rocks as they came near them cauſed an expectation of ſomething valuable, but they found nothing. *Hubbard.*

The

The House of Commons this year passed a memorable resolve in favour of the Massachusetts colony, which was transmitted to the governor by the clerk of the house, and ordered by the court to be entered upon the public records, that it might remain to posterity.

"VENERIS, 10 MARCH, 1642.

"WHEREAS the plantations in New-England have "by the blessing of the Almighty had good and prosper- "ous success without any public charge to this state,* and "are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation "of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and "commodious to this kingdom and nation: The Com- "mons now assembled in Parliament do, for the better "advancement of those plantations and the encouragement "of the planters to proceed in their undertaking, ordain, "that all merchandizing goods that by any person or per- "sons whatsoever, merchant or other, shall be exported "out of this kingdom of England into New-England, to "be spent, used or employed there, or, being of the growth "of that kingdom,† shall be from thence imported hither, "or shall be laden or put on board any ship or vessel for "necessaries in passing to and fro, and all and every the "owner or owners thereof, shall be freed and discharged "of and from paying and yielding any custom, subsidy, "taxation, or other duty for the same, either inward or "outward, either in this kingdom or New-England, or in "any port, haven, creek, or other place whatsoever, until "the House of Commons shall take further order therein "to the contrary. And all and singular customers, far- "mers and collectors of customs, subsidies and impost, "and

The growth of the several parts of the colony at different periods will be thought by some worth observing. In 1642 a tax of 800l. was apportioned as follows: Hingham 20l. Weymouth 14l. Braintree 14l. Dorchester 58l. 10s. Roxbury 50l. Boston 120l. Dedham 20l. Concord 25l. Watertown 55l. Cambridge 6l. 10s. Charlestown 60l. Salem 75l. Lynn 45l. Ipswich 82l. Newbury 30l. Salisbury 12l. 10s. Hampton 5l. Rowley 13l. Sudbury 15l. Medford 10l. Gloucester 6l. 10s.

* I transcribe this part of the order with pleasure. The merit of our ancestors, many of whom were personally known to the principal members of parliament, was fresh in their remembrance. Length of time has not lessened the merit. Consequences so advantageous to the nation have followed it, that in reason it ought to strike stronger now than it did then.

† Inaccurately for those colonies.

" and other officers, miniſters and ſubjects whatſoever, are " hereby required and enjoined that they and every of " them, upon the ſhewing forth unto them this order, or a " true copy thereof, under the hand of the clerk of the " Houſe of Commons, without any other writ or warrant " whatſoever, do make full, whole and entire, and due " allowance and clear diſcharge unto the ſaid owners of " the ſaid goods and merchandize, their factors, ſervants " and agents, according to the tenor and true meaning of " this order.

" H. Elssing, Cler. Parl. D. Com."

In the year 1642 letters came to Mr. Cotton of Boſton, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New-Haven, ſigned by ſeveral of the nobility, divers members of the Houſe of Commons, and ſome miniſters, to call them or ſome of them, if all could not come, to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter.* Such of the magiſtrates and miniſters as were near Boſton met together, and moſt of them were of opinion that it was a call of God, but

* I have the original papers which accompanied theſe letters. The following is an exact copy.

" The expreſſion of the deſires of thoſe honourable and worthy perſonages of both houſes of parliament who call and with the preſence of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport to come ovar with all poſſible ſpeed, all or any of them, if all cannot. The condityon whearein the ſtate of things in this kingdom doth now ſtand wee ſuppoſe you have from the relations of others, whearby you cannot but underſtand how greate need there is of the healp of prayer and improvement of all good meanes from all parts for the ſeatlinge and compoſeing the affaires of the church. Wee therefore preſent unto you our earneſt deſires of you all. To ſhewe whearein or howe many wayes you may be uſeful would eaſely bee done by us and fownd by you weare you preſent with us. In all likelyhood you will finde opportunity enough to draw forth all that healpefullneſs that God ſhall afford by you. And wee doubt not theſe advantages will be ſutch as will fully anſwer all inconveniencies your ſealves, churches or plantations may ſuſtaine in this your voyage and ſhort abſence from them. Onely the ſooner you come the bettar.

Warwick
W. Say & Seale Ph. Wharton
Mandeville
Rob. Brooke

Nath. Fiennes	Wm Stricland	Tho: Hoyle
Gilbt. Gerrard	Henry Darley	Cor: Holland
Tho: Barrington	Valentine Walton	Anth. Stapley
Richard Browne	Willm. Cawleys	Humfrey Salway
Henry Martin	John Gurdon	William Hay
Oliver Cromwell	John Blackiſton	J. Waſtill
A. Haſelrig	Godfrey Roſſevile	

Wm. Maſham	H. Ruthin	Gilbert Pickering	Alex. Bence
Mart. Lumley	Ro. Cooke	Ol. St. John	
Nath. Barnardiſton	Sam. Lake	Iſaac Pennington	
Ar. Goodwin	John Francklyn	Miles Corbett	Wm. Spurſtowe"

but Mr. Hooker did not like the buſineſs, and thought it was not a ſufficient call to go a thouſand leagues to confer about matters of church government. Mr. Davenport thought otherwiſe; but his church, having but one miniſter, would not ſpare him. Mr. Cotton thought it a clear call, and would have undertaken the voyage, if others would have gone with him. Soon after, other letters were received, which diverted them from any thoughts of proceeding.* Mr. Hooker was about that time preparing for the preſs a vindication of congregational churches, or rather framing a ſyſtem or plan of church government, which he deſigned for the New-England churches, let the determination at Weſtminſter be what it would. Had the churches of New-England appeared there by their repreſentatives, or any of the principal divines appeared as members of the aſſembly, greater exception might have been taken to their building after a model of their own framing. Several perſons who came from England in 1643 made a muſter to ſet up preſbyterian government under the authority of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter; but a New-England aſſembly, the general court, ſoon put them to the rout.

The governor and deputy governor for the laſt year were re-elected in 1643. Samuel Symonds† and William Hibbins‡ were added to the aſſiſtants. The colony had ſo increaſed, that it was divided this year into four counties or ſhires, Eſſex, Middleſex, Suffolk and Norfolk.§

A new ſect, ſpringing from the aſhes of the antinomians, made great diſturbance about this time. Samuel Gorton, a citizen of London, who came to Boſton in 1636, was at the

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Symonds was a gentleman of an ancient family and good eſtate in England. He came from Yeldnam in Eſſex. *Hubbard.*

‡ Mr. Hibbins was a principal merchant in the colony, but ſoon after met with great loſſes in his trade. I know of none of their deſcendants of the ſame names in New-England.

§

Essex contained	Middlesex.	Suffolk.	Norfolk.
Salem	Charleſtown	Boſton	Saliſbury
Lynn	Cambridge	Roxbury	Hampton
Enon (Wenham)	Watertown	Dorcheſter	Haverhill
Ipſwich	Sudbury	Dedham	Exeter
Rowley	Concord	Braintree	Dover
Newbury	Woburn	Weymouth	Strawberry-Bank
Glouceſter	Medford	Hingham	(Portſmouth)
Chochichawick	Lynn Village	Nantaſket (Hull)	

the head of it. Mr. Cotton ſays,* his principles were the very dregs of familiſm. It is certain that he was artful enough to explain them in ſuch manner that his judges in Maſſachuſetts were divided in opinion whether they were heretical or not. He ſtaid not long in Maſſachuſetts, but went to Plymouth; and diſturbing the church there, he was whipped, and required to find ſureties for his good behaviour, which not being able to do, he removed (Mr. Winſlow ſays was driven†) to Rhode-Iſland. There he treated the court with contempt, and by order of the governor, Mr. Coddington, was firſt impriſoned, and afterwards whipped. From Rhode-Iſland he went to Providence, where Roger Williams, with his uſual humanity, although he diſliked his principles and behaviour, gave him ſhelter. Here he found ſeveral of his own diſpoſition, fond of novelties in religion, and they firſt ſat down at Patuxet near Providence; but ſome of the inhabitants there applied to Maſſachuſetts that they and their lands might be received into protection, and complained that Gorton and his company, under pretence of purchaſe from the Indians, were going about to deprive them of their eſtates, of which for ſeveral years they had been in the lawful poſſeſſion. The governor and three of the aſſiſtants ſigned what was called a warrant or notification to all the people of Providence, requiring them to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſetts. This was dated in October 1642. Gorton ſent a very contemptuous anſwer, and told them they had no authority over the people of Providence. But either for the ſake of being more out of the reach of Maſſachuſetts, or from diſcord among themſelves, Gorton and 11 more purchaſed of Miantinomo, the Narraganſet ſachem,‡ a tract of land called Showamet, and removed thither. The price they paid was 144 fathom of Wampum.§ Showamet was then claimed by Plymouth government as within their juriſdiction. Two of the chief of the Indians

* Bloody Tenet waſhed, &c. p. 5 & 8.

† Anſwer to Gorton.

‡ Pumham, a petty ſachem, who lived upon the lands, joined in the ſale, but alledged that he had no conſideration for it. *Winſlow.*

§ A fathom of wampum was one ſtring of Indian beads ſix feet or a fathom in length, which was valued at 5*ſ.* 8*d.* ſterling.

Indians who dwelt there and at Patuxet, and who were called ſachems, Pomham and Sachonoco, came to Boſton with their interpreter to complain of Gorton and his company for taking their lands from them, and offered to ſubject themſelves and their country to Maſſachuſetts, which by an inſtrument under their hands was accordingly done in the form following.

"This writing is to teſtify, that we, Pomham ſachem "of Showamet, and Sachonoco ſachem of Patuxit, have, "and by theſe preſents do, voluntarily and without any "conſtraint or perſuaſion, but of our own free motion, "put ourſelves, our ſubjects, lands and eſtates, under the "government and juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts, to be "governed and protected by them according to their juſt "laws and orders, ſo far as we ſhall be made capable of "underſtanding them: and we do promiſe, for ourſelves "and our ſubjects and all our poſterity, to be true and "faithful to the government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof to our beſt ability, and from time to time "to give ſpeedy notice of any conſpiracy, attempt, or evil "intention, of any which we ſhall know or hear of againſt "the ſame, and do promiſe to be willing from time to time "to be inſtructed in the knowledge of the worſhip of God. "In witneſs whereof we have hereunto put to our hands "the 22d of the 4th month, 1643.

the + mark of Sachonocho. the + mark of Pomham.

Miantinomo was likewiſe ſent for to Boſton, but did not make out his right to the Indian country to the ſatisfaction of the court. It does not appear that he relinquiſhed it; and Gorton ſays in his defence, that Pomham and Sachonoco were the natural ſubjects of Miantinomo, and influenced by Maſſachuſetts to withdraw from him. He being the greateſt and moſt powerful ſachem in New-England, it is probable that theſe were dependents upon him or tributaries to him. Be that as it may, Maſſachuſetts ſent a meſſage to Gorton and his company, acquainting them that they were ſtill within their juriſdiction by virtue of the ſubmiſſion of Pomham and Sachonoco, and requiring them to appear at the court at Boſton to anſwer to

to complaints againſt them for injuries done to the Indians, &c. and promiſing them ſafe conduct, &c. This was dated the 12th of the 7th month, 1643. They ſent back by the meſſenger a verbal anſwer, that they were out of the Maſſachuſetts juriſdiction, and would acknowledge ſubjection to none but the ſtate and government of Old-England. Upon the receipt of their anſwer, viz. on the 19th of the ſame month, another meſſage was ſent to acquaint them that the court had appointed commiſſioners* to hear and determine the controverſy upon the ſpot, and, if they refuſed, to bring them to Boſton by force. After ſome ſmall reſiſtance, Gorton and ſeveral others were taken and carried to Boſton and impriſoned.† Being brought before the court, the charge exhibited againſt them was in the following words:

"Upon much examination and ſerious conſideration of "your writings, with your anſwers about them, we do "charge

* The commiſſioners were Capt. George Cooke, Lieut. Hump. Atherton and Edward Johnſon, who had alſo military commiſſions and 40 men to attend them. Cooke was afterwards a colonel in the wars in Ireland. *Johnſon.*

† If we may give credit to Gorton's account, Mr. Ward, a miniſter, came to the priſon window and called to him one of the priſoners who had been his neighbour in Eſſex in England, and deſired him, if he had done or ſaid any thing he could with good conſcience renounce that he would recant, and probably the court would be merciful; and added, that this would be no diſparagement, for the reverend Mr. Cotton ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year that the next year he publicly repents of before the congregation, &c. Mr. Winſlow in his anſwer will not allow this to be true. This Mr. Ward was author of The Simple Cobler of Agawam, and ſeveral other witty performances. The ruling paſſion would frequently ſhew itſelf in inſtances which would have been liable to ſome exception in thoſe days of great gravity, if his principles had not been orthodox, and his general behaviour ſerious and guarded. Many of his witty, facetious terms are handed down to poſterity. A letter of his, I find among Mr. Cotton's papers, diſcovers ſomething of his caſt of mind.

"Salutem in Xto noſtro.

"Reverend and dear friend,

"I was yeſterday convented before the biſhop, I mean to his court, and am adjourned to the next term. I ſee ſuch giants turn their backs, that I dare not truſt my own weak heart. I expect meaſure hard enough, and muſt furniſh apace with proportionable armour. I lacke a friend to help buckle it on. I know none but Chriſt himſelf in all our coaſt fitt to help me, and my acquaintance with him is hardly enough to hope for that aſſiſtance my weak ſpirit will want, and the aſſaults of tentation call for. I pray therefore forget me not, and believe for me alſo if there be ſuch a piece of neighbourhood among Chriſtians. And ſo bleſſing God with my whole heart for my knowledge of you and immerited intereſt in you, and thanking you entirely for that faithful love I have found from you in many expreſſions of the beſt nature, I commit you to the unchangeable love of God our Father in his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, in whom I hope to reſt forever.

Stondon Mercy, Your's in all truth of heart,
Dec. 13, 1631. Nathl. Warde."

" charge you to be a blaſphemous enemy of the true reli-
" gion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his holy ordinances,
" and alſo of civil authority among the people of God, and
" particularly in this juriſdiction."

Their writings were produced in evidence againſt them; and they explained them in ſuch a manner, that the governor, Mr. Winthrop, ſaid he could agree with them in their anſwer, though he could not in their writings; but Mr. Dudley ſtood up, much moved, and ſaid he would never conſent to it while he lived, that they were one with them in thoſe anſwers. The governor then aſked Gorton, what faith was? He anſwered in the words of the apoſtle, that faith is the ſubſtance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not ſeen: the governor told him that was true, but he could ſay more of faith than that. He deſired to be excuſed; and Mr. Bradſtreet prudently enough excepted to ſuch queſtions, unleſs he was free to ſpeak to them, and thereupon they were diſmiſſed and remanded to priſon.* Their ſentences were cruel. Gorton ordered to be confined to Charleſtown, there to be kept at work, and to wear ſuch bolts and irons as might hinder his eſcape; and if he broke his confinement, or by ſpeech or writing publiſhed or maintained any of the blaſphemous, abominable hereſies wherewith he had been charged by the general court, or ſhould reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in theſe united colonies, or the civil government, &c. that upon conviction thereof upon trial by a jury, he ſhould ſuffer death.† The reſt were confined to different towns, one in a town, and upon the ſame conditions with Gorton; their cattle were ſeized and ordered to be ſold, and the charge of fetching them, and the expenſe attending the trial and impriſonment, to be paid out of the proceeds, and the overplus to be reſerved for their future maintenance during their confinement.‡

As

* Gorton.

† Gorton ſays, they caſt a lot for their lives, putting it to the major vote of the court whether they ſhould live or die, and that God in his providence ordered it by a majority of two votes only in favour of their lives.

‡ After being confined one winter, they were baniſhed the juriſdiction, and from the lands purchaſed of the Indians, upon pain of death. Gorton ſoon after went to England, and obtained an order from the governor in chief, the lord high admiral and commiſſioners appointed by the parliament for the Engliſh planta-

As all who have publiſhed any thing concerning Gorton, except Mr. Calender in his century ſermon, ſet him in an infamous

tions in America, directed to the governor and aſſiſtants of Maſſachuſetts, and to all other governors and other inhabitants of New-England, and all others whom it may concern, requiring them to ſuffer Gorton and the reſt quietly to enjoy their lands in Narraganſet bay, and to land at any port in New-England in their way thither, &c. This order was ſent to the governor by Randall Holden, one of Gorton's adherents, who with others arrived at Boſton 13th Sept. 1646. Having deſired leave to land, the governor, Mr. Winthrop, anſwered, that he could not give them leave by his own authority, as it would diſpenſe with an order of the general court; but the council being to meet in two or three days, he would impart the order, and intimated that he ſhould not trouble himſelf about them in the mean time. The council were not all of a mind, but the majority agreed to ſuffer them to paſs quietly for the preſent, and that when the court met, further conſideration ſhould be had of their poſſeſſing the land they claimed. The court thought proper to ſend Mr. Edward Winſlow to England, in order to give ſatisfaction to the commiſſioners for plantations. He carried with him a remonſtrance and petition againſt Gorton, and in vindication of the colony aſſerted their right by charter finally to determine all cauſes without admitting of appeals to England, and alleged that the lands lay in Plymouth colony, and produced an act of the commiſſioners of the four colonies, of which Plymouth was one, impowering Maſſachuſetts to proceed as they thought proper. The commiſſioners for plantations in their anſwer ſay, "they intended not to encourage any appeals from their juſtice, which it might be very inconvenient to admit, nor to reſtrain the bounds of their juriſdiction to a narrower compaſs; but they ſuppoſed Narraganſet bay (the thing in queſtion) was without the bounds of their patent; but as they had received advertiſement that the place was within the patent of New-Plymouth, and the ground of their proceedings was a joint authority from the four governments of Maſſachuſetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, if theſe things ſhould be proved it would much alter the ſtate of the queſtion; but at that diſtance theſe points could not be ſettled, and muſt be left to be determined upon the place if there ſhould be occaſion, for there the boundaries would be beſt known; and if it ſhould appear that the ſaid tract was within any of the New-England patents, they ſhould leave the ſame and the inhabitants thereof to the juriſdiction of that government under which they fell; nevertheleſs, inaſmuch as the petitioners had tranſplanted their families thither, and ſettled at great charge, they commend it to the government within whoſe juriſdiction they ſhall appear to be, not only not to remove them from the plantations, but alſo to encourage them with protection and aſſiſtance, and in all fit ways, whilſt they ſhould demean themſelves peaceably, &c." *Hubbard.*

Gorton came again to Boſton in the ſpring of 1648. The court upon his arrival ordered that he ſhould be apprehended; but, producing a letter from the Earl of Warwick deſiring that he might have liberty to return home, the court recalled the order, and gave him a week's liberty to provide for his departure.

After this time the Gortoniſts conſidered how to make their peace; and making their application in ſober language, they remained unmoleſted, and quietly enjoyed their poſſeſſions at Showamet, to which, in honour to their patron and benefactor, they gave the name of Warwick, which it retains to this day; and the poſterity of ſeveral of them are perſons of reputation and eſteem in that colony.

Gorton publiſhed an account of his ſufferings. Mr. Winſlow, the agent for Maſſachuſetts, anſwered him. In 1665 he preferred his petition to the commiſſioners ſent over by King Charles the Second, for recompence for the wrongs done him by Maſſachuſetts, alleging that beſides his other ſufferings he and his friends had 80 head of cattle taken and ſold. Maſſachuſetts, in their anſwer, charge him with heretical tenets both in religion and civil government, and with an unjuſt poſſeſſion of the Indian lands in the vicinity of the colonies for the ſake of diſturbing their peace; and add, that the goods which they ſeized did not amount

infamous light, it will be but juſt to publiſh a letter which he wrote to Mr. Morton in 1669, vindicating himſelf from the charges againſt him in New-England's Memorial, which was firſt printed in that year.*

The dangers to which the colonies in New-England were expoſed from domeſtic and foreign enemies firſt induced them to think of an alliance and confederacy for their mutual defence and ſafety. Thoſe of Aquidnick, or Rhode-Iſland, were willing enough to have joined with the reſt, but Maſſachuſetts refuſed to admit commiſſioners from that colony to treat with the commiſſioners from the reſt, upon the terms of the agreement. The other four ſettled articles of confederation, May 19, 1643. They have been publiſhed at large by Doctor Mather, Mr. Neale, &c. and are in ſubſtance as follows :——

The united colonies of New-England, viz. Maſſachuſetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, enter into a firm and perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive.

Each colony to retain a diſtinct and ſeparate juriſdiction, no two colonies to join in one juriſdiction without the conſent of the whole, and no other colony to be received into the confederacy, without the like conſent.

The charge of all wars, offenſive or defenſive, to be borne in proportion to the male inhabitants between 16 and 60 years of age in each colony.

Upon notice from three magiſtrates of any colony, of an invaſion, the reſt ſhall immediately ſend aid, Maſſachuſetts 100, and each of the other 45 men ; and if a greater number be neceſſary, the commiſſioners to meet and determine upon it.

Two commiſſioners from each government, being church members, to meet annually the firſt Monday in September ; the firſt meeting to be held at Boſton, then at Hartford, New-Haven and Plymouth, and ſo yearly in that order, ſaving that two meetings ſucceſſively be held at Boſton.

All

amount to the charge of their proſecution ; but they do not ſufficiently vindicate their ſeizing their perſons or goods without the limits of their juriſdiction, and conclude with hoping that his Majeſty will excuſe any circumſtantial error in their proceedings, &c.

* Appendix, No. 20.

All matters wherein ſix ſhall agree to be binding upon the whole; and if there be a majority, but under ſix, the matter in queſtion to be referred to the general court of each colony, and not to be obligatory, unleſs the whole agree to it.

A preſident for preſerving order, to be choſen by the commiſſioners each year out of their number.

The commiſſioners ſhall have power to eſtabliſh laws or rules, of a civil nature and of general concern, for the conduct of the inhabitants, viz. relative to their behaviour towards the Indians, to fugitives from one colony to another, and the like.

No colony to engage in war, except upon a ſudden exigency, and in that caſe to be avoided as much as poſſible, without the conſent of the whole.

If a meeting be ſummoned upon any extraordinary occaſion, and the whole number of commiſſioners do not aſſemble, any four who ſhall meet may determine upon a war when the caſe will not admit of delay, and ſend for the agreed proportion of men out of each juriſdiction; but not leſs than ſix ſhall determine the juſtice of the war, or have power to ſettle bills of charges or make levies for the ſame.

If any colony break any article of the agreement, or any ways injure another colony, the matter ſhall be conſidered and determined by the commiſſioners of the other colonies.

Theſe articles were ratified by Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut and New-Haven, May 19, 1643. Plymouth commiſſioners had not then full powers, but they acceded at the firſt meeting for buſineſs September 7th following.

This confederacy had been in agitation for ſeveral years. In 1638 articles were drawn up, which were referred until 1639. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker from Connecticut tarried ſeveral weeks in Maſſachuſetts, ſoliciting it. They had reaſon to expect trouble from the Dutch, who kept a trading houſe at Hartford after that place was under the juriſdiction of Connecticut; and broils frequently happened there, and the Dutch at Manhadoes were ready to have taken advantage of the leaſt breach or alienation between the colonies; but by reaſon of ſeveral obſtructions from time to time, nothing could be perfected until 1643, when

when commiſſioners came from all the ſeveral colonies to Boſton whilſt the general court was ſitting, viz. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins from Hartford, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Grigſon from New-Haven, beſides Mr. Fenwick the governor of Saybrook fort, Mr. Winſlow and Mr. Collier from Plymouth. Maſſachuſetts appointed Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradſtreet, of the magiſtrates; Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Tyng, of the deputies.*

About this time much diviſion and diſturbance in the colony was occaſioned by the French of Acadie and Nova-Scotia. It is neceſſary to look back upon the ſtate of thoſe countries. After Argall diſpoſſeſſed the French, in 1613, they ſeem to have been neglected both by Engliſh and

* This union ſubſiſted, with ſome alterations, until the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commiſſion from King James the Second. For many years, commiſſioners met annually in September, and occaſionally at other times. In the latter part of the union the meetings were triennial. A ſpecial and principal part of their buſineſs, after the firſt years, was the care of goſpelizing the Indians. The ſociety eſtabliſhed by the parliament for propagating the goſpel in New-England among the Indians, of which we ſhall hereafter take further notice, made the commiſſioners their correſpondents and agents for diſpenſing the charitable donations; and after the grant of a new charter by King Charles the Second, the ſame powers and truſt were continued. A particular account of all their proceedings in this capacity is preſerved in their records. This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England, from its beginning until the reſtoration; and in letters from King Charles the Second, notice is taken of it, without any exception to the eſtabliſhment.

July 23, 1643, a veſſel of about 100 tons belonging to the Earl of Warwick arrived at Boſton from Trinidada, in order to tranſport paſſengers to people the iſland, but none could be prevailed upon to remove. One Chaddock, ſon to the governor of Bermudas, was commander of this ſhip. He was a looſe, profligate man, and had a crew like himſelf. Five or ſix of them were blown up by two barrels of powder taking fire in the pinnace where they were, near the caſtle. Some time after ſtrange ſights were ſeen about the caſtle and at Governor's Iſland, in form like a man, caſting out flame and ſparks of fire; and a voice was heard in ſeveral parts of the harbour, crying, boy boy come away come away; of all which divers ſober perſons were eye and ear witneſſes, and theſe ſights and noiſes were ſuppoſed to have a ſpecial reference to the place where the pinnace was blown up. One of the men it was ſaid had been acquainted with the black art.

From manuſcripts and printed accounts I could collect as many prodigies in one part of the country and another, at different times, as would fill a ſmall volume. Guns fired in the air, great quantities of clay caſt up in form of bullets out of the earth, and the like; but I ſhall take no notice of any other than this, which is related by one of the beſt hiſtorians† with great ſeriouſneſs, as if he had no doubt of the truth of it. This turn of mind was not peculiar at this time to the people of New-England: it was prevalent in England. If the New-Engländers exceeded, the new ſcenes they had juſt entered upon may in ſome meaſure account for it. They had an ocean a thouſand leagues in extent between them and all the delights of life which they had once enjoyed. On their backs they had a wilderneſs without limits. As ſoon as it was dark their ears were filled with the roaring of wolves and other ſavage beaſts; or, which was much worſe, the yells of ſavage men. Where there was any gloom upon the mind, ſuch a ſcene muſt tend to increaſe it. † Hubbard.

and French until the grant to Sir William Alexander in 1621. That he made attempts and began ſettlements in Nova-Scotia, has always been allowed; the particular voyages we have no account of. It appears from Champlain,* that many French had joined with the Engliſh or Scotch, and adhered to their intereſt. Among the reſt La Tour was at Port Royal in 1630, where out of ſeventy Scots thirty had died the winter before from their bad accommodations. La Tour, willing to be ſafe, let the title be in which it would, Engliſh or French, procured from the French King a grant of the river St. John, and five leagues above and five below, and ten leagues into the country; this was in 1627.† At the ſame time he was connected with the Scotch, and firſt obtained leave to improve lands and build within the territory; and then, about the year 1630, purchaſed Sir William Alexander's title. La Tour's title is ſaid to have been confirmed to him under the great ſeal of Scotland,‡ and that he obtained alſo a grant of a baronetage of Nova-Scotia. Penobſcot and all the country weſtward and ſouthward was at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

In 1632 La Tour obtained from the French King a grant of the river and bay of St. Croix, and iſlands and lands adjacent, twelve leagues upon the ſea and twenty leagues into the land.‖ By the treaty of St. Germains the ſame year, Acadie was relinquiſhed by the Engliſh, and La Tour became dependent upon the French alone. In 1634 he obtained a grant of the Iſle of Sables, another of ten leagues upon the ſea and ten into the land at La Have, another of Port Royal the ſame extent, and the like at Menis, with all adjacent iſlands included in each grant. Razilly had the general command, who appointed Monſieur D'Aulney de Charniſy his Lieutenant of that part of Acadie

* p. 283.

† This appears from a liſt of the ſeveral grants made to La Tour, communicated to governor Pownal by Monſieur D'Entremont, a very ancient French inhabitant of Acadie, deſcended from La Tour, and who was removed to Boſton in 1756, and died in a few years after.

‡ Hubbard. It is probable the caſe was not juſt as repreſented. King Charles in 1625 confirmed Alexander's grant, under whom La Tour ſettled.

‖ The French commiſſaries ſpeak of this grant as made to Razilly.

Acadie weſt of St. Croix, and La Tour of that eaſt. In conſequence of this diviſion D'Aulney came, as has been related, and diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh at Penobſcot in the year 1635. Razilly died ſoon after, and D'Aulney and La Tour both claimed a general command of Acadie, and made war upon one another. D'Aulney, by the French King's letter to him in 1638, was ordered to confine himſelf to the coaſt of the Etechemins, which in all his writings he makes to be a part of Acadie. La Tour's principal fort was at St. John's. As their chief views were the trade with the natives, being ſo near together, there was a conſtant claſhing of intereſt. In November 1641 La Tour ſent Rochet, a proteſtant of Rochel, to Boſton from St. John's, with propoſals for a free trade between the two colonies, and deſiring aſſiſtance againſt D'Aulney; but not having ſufficient credentials, the governor and council declined any treaty, and he returned. The next year, October 6, there came to Boſton a ſhallop from La Tour, with his Lieutenant and 14 men, with letters full of compliment, deſiring aid to remove D'Aulney from Penobſcot, and renewing the propoſal of a free trade. They returned without any aſſurance of what was principally deſired; but ſome merchants of Boſton ſent a pinnace after them, to trade with La Tour at the river St. John. They met with good encouragement, and brought letters to the governor containing a large ſtate of the controverſy between D'Aulney and La Tour; but ſtopping at Pemaquid in their way home, they found D'Aulney upon a viſit there, who wrote to the governor, and ſent him a printed copy of an arrêt he had obtained from France againſt La Tour, and threatened that if any veſſels came to La Tour he would make prize of them. The next ſummer (June 12) La Tour himſelf came to Boſton in a ſhip, with 140 perſons aboard, the maſter and crew being proteſtants of Rochel. They took a pilot out of a Boſton veſſel at ſea, and coming into the harbour ſaw a boat with Mr. Gibbon's lady and family, who were going to his farm. One of the Frenchmen who had been entertained at the houſe knew her; and a boat being manned to invite her aboard, ſhe fled to Governor's-Iſland and the Frenchmen after her, where they found the governor

governor and his family, who were all greatly surprised, as was the whole colony, when they heard the news; * for had it been an enemy, he might not only have secured the governor's person, but taken possession of the castle opposite to the island, there not being a single man at that time to defend the place. † La Tour acquainted the governor, that this ship, coming from France with supplies for his fort, found it blocked up by D'Aulney his old enemy, and he was now come to Boston to pray aid to remove him. La Tour had cleared up his conduct so as to obtain a permission under the hands of the vice-admiral and grand prior, &c. for this ship to bring supplies to him, and in the permission he was styled the King's Lt. General in Acadie. He produced also letters from the agent of the company in France, advising him to look to himself and to guard against the designs of D'Aulney. The governor called together such of the magistrates and deputies as were near the town, and laid before them La Tour's request. They could not, consistent with the articles they had just agreed to with the other governments, grant aid without their advice; but they did not think it necessary to hinder any who were willing to be hired from aiding him, which he took very thankfully; but some being displeased with these concessions, the governor called a second meeting, where, upon a more full debate, the first opinion was adhered to. ‡ La Tour hired four ships of force, and took 70 or 80 volunteers into his pay, with which assistance he was safely landed at

* The town was so surprised, that they were all immediately in arms; and three shallops filled with armed men were sent to guard the governor home.

† This occasioned new regulations for the better security of the place. The castle was rebuilt in 1644 at the charge of the six neighbouring towns. *Johnson.*

‡ Some of the magistrates, deputies and elders were much grieved at this proceeding. A remonstrance to the governor was drawn up and signed by Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Bradstreet, and Mr Symonds of the magistrates, and Mr. Nath. Ward, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers and John Norton of the elders, wherein they condemn the proceeding as impolitic and unjust, and set forth, "that they should expose their trade to the ravages of D'Aulney, and perhaps the whole colony to the resentment of the French King, who would not be imposed upon by the distinction of permitting and commanding force to assist La Tour; that they had no sufficient evidence of the justice of his cause, and *in causa dubia, bellum non est suscipiendum*; that La Tour was a papist, attended by priests, friars, &c. and that they were in the case of Jehoshaphat who joined with Ahab an idolater, which act was expressly condemned in scripture. *Manuscript letters and original papers.*

at his fort; and D'Aulney fled to Penobscot, where he ran his vessels ashore; and although the commander of the ships refused to attack him, yet some of the soldiers joined with La Tour's men in an assault upon some of D'Aulney's men who had intrenched themselves, but were obliged to betake themselves to flight, having three of their number slain. The ships returned in about two months without any loss. The governor excused the proceeding to D'Aulney as not having interested himself in the quarrel between them, but only permitted La Tour in his distress, as the laws of christianity and humanity required, to hire ships and men for his money, without any commission or authority derived from the government of the colony. D'Aulney went to France, and being expected to return the next summer, 1644, with a great force, La Tour came again to Boston, and went from thence to Mr. Endicot, who was then governor and lived at Salem, and who appointed a meeting of magistrates and ministers to consider his request. Most of the magistrates were of opinion that he ought to be relieved as a distressed neighbour, and in point of prudence, to prevent so dangerous an enemy as D'Aulney from strengthening himself in their neighbourhood; but it was finally agreed, that a letter should be wrote to D'Aulney, to inquire the reason of his having granted commissions to take their people, and to demand satisfaction for the wrong he had done to them and their confederates in taking Penobscot, and in making prize of their men and goods at the Isle of Sables; at the same time intimating, that although those people who went the last year with La Tour had no commission, yet if D'Aulney could make it appear they had done him any wrong (which they knew nothing of) satisfaction should be made; and they expected he should call in all his commissions, and required his answer by the bearer. They likewise acquainted him, that their merchants had entered into a trade with La Tour, which they were resolved to support them in. La Tour, being able to obtain nothing further, returned to his fort.

Some of the province of Maine going this summer (1644) from Saco to trade with La Tour, or to get in their debts, put

put in at Penobſcot in their way, and were detained priſoners a few days; but for the ſake of Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, one of the company, who was well known to D'Aulney, they were releaſed. La Tour afterwards prevailed upon Mr. Wannerton, another of the company, to attempt with about twenty of La Tour's men to take Penobſcot, for they heard the fort was weakly manned and in want of victuals. They went firſt to a farm houſe of D'Aulney's, about ſix miles from the fort. They burned the houſe and killed the cattle; but Wannerton being killed at the door, the reſt of them came to Boſton.

In September, letters were received from D'Aulney, informing that his maſter the King of France, underſtanding that the aid allowed to La Tour the laſt year by Maſſachuſetts was procured by means of a commiſſion which he ſhewed from the vice admiral of France, had given in charge that they ſhould not be moleſted, but good correſpondence ſhould be kept with them and all the Engliſh, and that, as ſoon as he had ſettled ſome affairs, he intended to let them know what further commiſſion he had, &c. Soon after, he ſent a commiſſioner, ſuppoſed to be a friar, but dreſſed in a lay habit, with ten men to attend him, with credentials and a commiſſion under the great ſeal of France, and a copy of ſome late proceedings againſt La Tour, who was proſcribed as a rebel and traitor, having fled out of France againſt ſpecial order. The governor and magiſtrates urged much a reconciliation with La Tour, but to no purpoſe. La Tour pretended to be a Huguenot, or at leaſt to think favourably of that religion; and this gave him a preference, in the eſteem of the colony, to D'Aulney; but as D'Aulney ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed in his authority, upon propoſals being made by him of peace and friendſhip, the following articles were concluded upon, viz.

"The agreement between John Endicot, Eſq. governor of "New-England, and the reſt of the magiſtrates there, "and Monſieur Marie, commiſſioner of Monſieur "D'Aulney, knt. governor and lieut. general for his "Majeſty the King of France in Acadie, a province of "New-France, made and ratified at Boſton in the Maſ-"ſachuſetts aforeſaid, October 8, 1644. "THE

"THE governor and all the reſt of the magiſtrates do "promiſe to Mr. Marie, that they and all the reſt of the "Engliſh within the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts ſhall "obſerve and keep firm peace with Monſ. D' Aulney, &c. "and all the French under his command in Acadie. And "likewiſe the ſaid M. Marie doth promiſe, in the behalf "of Monſ. D'Aulney, that he and all his people ſhall alſo "keep firm peace with the governor and magiſtrates afore-"ſaid, and with all the inhabitants of the juriſdiction of "the Maſſachuſetts aforeſaid; and that it ſhall be lawful "for all men, both the French and Engliſh, to trade with "each other, ſo that if any occaſion of offence ſhould hap-"pen, neither part ſhall attempt any thing againſt the "other in any hoſtile manner, until the wrong be firſt de-"clared and complained of and due ſatisfaction not given. "Provided always, the governor and magiſtrates aforeſaid "be not bound to reſtrain their merchants from trading "with their ſhips with any perſons, whether French or "others, whereſoever they dwell. Provided alſo, that the "full ratification and concluſion of this agreement be re-"ferred to the next meeting of the commiſſioners of the "united colonies of New-England for the continuation or "abrogation, and in the mean time to remain firm and "inviolable."

This agreement freed the people from the fears they were under of ravages upon their ſmall veſſels and out plantations. La Tour was ſuffered to hire a veſſel to carry a ſupply of proviſions to his fort, which veſſel he took under his convoy, and returned home.*

Mr.

* The agreement made with D'Aulney was afterwards ratified by the commiſſioners of the united colonies, but he proved a very troubleſome neighbour notwithſtanding. In 1645, he made prize of a veſſel belonging to the merchants of Boſton going to La Tour with proviſions, and ſent the men home, after he had ſtripped them of their clothes and kept them ten days upon an iſland in a ſmall old boat without either compaſs to ſteer by, or gun to defend themſelves. The governor and council diſpatched away a veſſel with letters to expoſtulate with him upon this action, complaining of it as a breach of the articles, and requiring ſatisfaction; but he wrote back in very high and lofty language, and threatened them with the effects of his maſter's diſpleaſure. They replied to D'Aulney, that they were not afraid of any thing he could do to them, and as for his maſter they knew he was a mighty prince, but they hoped he was juſt as well as mighty, and that he would not fall upon them without hearing their cauſe, and if he ſhould do it, they had a God in whom to truſt when all other help failed. With this ſhip D'Aulney made an attempt the ſame year upon La Tour's fort while he was abſent, having left only 50 men in it; but his lady bravely defended it, and

D'Aulney

Mr. Endicot was this year (1644) chofen governor, and Mr. Winthrop deputy governor. Mr. Pynchon, who, living

D'Aulney returned diſappointed, and charged Maſſachuſetts with breach of covenant in entertaining La Tour and ſending home his lady. They excuſed themſelves in a letter by replying, that La Tour had hired three London ſhips which lay in the harbour. To this letter D'Aulney refuſed at firſt to return any anſwer, and refuſed to ſuffer the meſſenger, Capt. Allen, to come within his fort, but at length wrote in a high ſtrain, demanding ſatisfaction for his mill which had been burnt, and threatening revenge. When the commiſſioners met in September, they agreed to ſend Capt. Bridges to him with the articles of peace ratified by them, and demanding a ratification from him under his own hand. D'Aulney entertained their meſſenger with courteſy and all the ſtate he could, but refuſed to ſign the articles until the differences between them were compoſed; and wrote back, that he perceived their drift was to gain time, whereas, if their meſſengers had been furniſhed with power to have treated with him and concluded about their differences, he doubted not all might have been compoſed, for he ſtood more upon his honour than his intereſt, and he would ſit ſtill until the ſpring expecting their anſwer. The general court, upon conſidering this anſwer, reſolved to ſend the deputy governor, Mr. Dudley, Major Deniſon and Capt. Hawthorn, with full powers to treat and determine, and wrote to D'Aulney acquainting him with their reſolution, and that they had agreed to the place he deſired, viz. Penobſcot or Pentagoet, and referred the time to him, provided it ſhould be in the month of September. This was oppoſed by ſome as too great a condeſcenſion, and they would have had him come to the Engliſh ſettlement at Pemaquid, but his commiſſion of lieutenant-general for the King of France was thought by others to carry ſo much dignity with it that it would be no diſhonour to the colony to go to his own houſe; but it ſeems he was too good a huſband to put himſelf to the expenſe of entertaining the meſſengers, and wrote in anſwer that he perceived they were now in earneſt and deſired peace, as he did alſo for his part, and that he thought himſelf highly honoured by their vote to ſend ſo many of their principal men to him, but deſired he might ſpare them the labour and he would ſend two or three of his to Boſton in Auguſt following (1646) to hear and determine, &c. On the 20th of September, Meſſrs. Marie, Lewis, and D'Aulney's ſecretary, arrived at Boſton in a ſmall pinnace, and it being Lord's day two officers were ſent to receive them at the water ſide and to conduct them to their lodgings without any noiſe, and after the public worſhip was over the governor ſent Major Gibbons with other gentlemen and a guard of muſketeers to attend them to his houſe, where they were entertained. The next morning they began upon buſineſs, and every day dined in public, and were conducted morning and evening to and from the place of treaty with great ceremony. Great injuries were alleged on both ſides, and after ſeveral days ſpent, an amneſty was agreed upon. One Capt. Cromwell had taken in the Weſt-Indies a rich ſedan made for the viceroy of Mexico, which he gave to Mr. Winthrop: this was ſent as a preſent to D'Aulney, and well accepted by his commiſſioners, the treaty renewed, and all matters amicably ſettled. In the mean time D'Aulney effectually anſwered his main purpoſe, for by his high language he kept the colony from aſſiſting La Tour, took his fort from him with ten thouſand pounds ſterling in furs and other merchandize, ordnance ſtores, plate, jewels, &c. to the great loſs of the Maſſachuſetts merchants, to one only of whom (Major Gibbons) La Tour was indebted 2500l. which was wholly loſt. La Tour went to Newfoundland, where he hoped to be aided by Sir David Kirk, but was diſappointed, and came from thence to Boſton, where he prevailed upon ſome merchants to ſend him with four or five hundred pounds ſterling in goods to trade with the Indians in the Bay of Fundy. He diſmiſſed the Engliſh who were ſent in the veſſel, and never thought proper to return himſelf or render any account of his conſignments. D'Aulney died before the year 1652, and La Tour married his widow, and repoſſeſſed himſelf in whole or in part of his former eſtate in Nova-Scotia, and in 1691 a daughter of D'Aulney and a canoneſs at St. Omers dying, made her brothers and ſiſters La Tours her general legatees. Under them, and by force of divers confirmations of former

ing very remote at Springfield, had been left out of the number of aſſiſtants, was again reſtored.* The general court ſhewed a prudent compliance with the powers prevailing in England, and paſſed the following order.

" WHEREAS the civil wars and diſſentions in our native country, through the ſeditious words and carriages " of many evil affected perſons, cauſe diviſions in many " places of government in America, ſome profeſſing themſelves for the King, and others for the parliament, not " conſidering that the parliament themſelves profeſs that " they ſtand for the King and parliament againſt the malignant papiſts and delinquents in that kingdom. It is " therefore ordered, that what perſon ſoever ſhall by word, " writing or action, endeavour to diſturb our peace, directly " or indirectly, by drawing a party under pretence that he " is for the King of England, and ſuch as join with him " againſt the parliament, ſhall be accounted as an offender " of a high nature againſt this commonwealth, and to be " proceeded with either capitally or otherwiſe according to " the quality and degree of his offence. Provided always, " that this ſhall not be extended againſt any merchant " ſtrangers and ſhipmen that come hither merely for matter of trade or merchandize, albeit they ſhould come " from any of thoſe parts that are in the hands of the " King, and ſuch as adhere to him againſt the parliament, " carrying themſelves here quietly, and free from railing or " nourithing any faction, mutiny or ſedition, amongſt us, " as aforeſaid."

We ſhall find the authority here acquieſcing under every change of government in England. When we conſider the dependence of a colony upon its mother country, nothing leſs is ordinarily to be expected.† The

mer grants made by Louis the 14th, between the peace of Ryſwick and that of Utrecht, D'Entremont aforementioned claimed a great part of the province of Nova Scotia and of the country of Acadie. Of part of thoſe in Nova-Scotia he was poſſeſſed when all the French inhabitants were removed by order of admiral Boſcawen and general Lawrence.

* Feb. 26, 1644. the country's ammunition, for greater ſecurity, having been ſent to Roxbury to be lodged in the houſe of the ſurveyor-general, J. Johnſon, the houſe took fire by accident at noon day and was ſoon blown up, there being 17 barrels of powder in it, but no other damage was done. Every one was ready to make their obſervations, one was pretty obvious, viz. that there had not been due care taken to pay for the powder. *Hubbard.*

† Capt. Daniel Gookins, who came to New-England from Virginia, was made free

The Indians this year were at war among themſelves. Miantinomo the great ſachem of Narraganſet, not being able to unite them all againſt the Engliſh, ſhewed his reſentment againſt Uncas, ſachem of the Mohegins, and the two petty ſachems, Pombam and Sachonoco, near Providence; but in an action between the Narraganſets and Mohegins, Miantinomo was, unfortunately for him, taken priſoner. The court ordered ten men to ſerve as a garriſon in the country of the two petty ſachems, and a ſtrong paliſadoed houſe to be built there.

The commiſſioners of the united colonies interpoſed between the Narraganſets and Mohegins, and by meſſengers recommended peace to both of them, offering as mediators and umpires to ſettle and determine their differences. Yoncho ſachem of Munhanſet on Long Iſland came to the commiſſioners at Hartford, and deſired that he and his people might be preſerved from all injuries, profeſſing himſelf a friend both to the Engliſh and Dutch, having been a tributary to the former ever ſince the Pequod war; and he and his people were received into protection.* Cutſtammach, ſachem of Maſſachuſetts, in the neighbourhood of Boſton, having ſubjected himſelf formerly to the Engliſh, Paſſaconaway and his ſons from Merrimack now came voluntarily and deſired that they alſo might be received upon the ſame articles. The Indians more and more acquiring the uſe of fire-arms, the commiſſioners this year paſſed an act that no perſon within any of the united colonies ſhould directly or indirectly ſell any kind of arms or ammunition to an Indian, under penalty of twenty for one, nor any ſmith or other perſon mend any gun or other weapon for an Indian, under the like penalty.† There was

free the 29th of the 3d month, 1644. He was afterwards an aſſiſtant and major-general of the colony, a zealous, active man, but rigid in his principles in church and ſtate beyond moſt of thoſe who came firſt from England. I find a perſon of his name in Purchaſe among the principal perſons in Virginia.

* By an act of the commiſſioners this year Southampton upon Long-Iſland was annexed to the juriſdiction of Connecticut, and Martha's Vineyard to the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſetts.

† Some of the people of Rhode-Iſland applied to the commiſſioners this year that their colony might be united to ſome one of the other colonies. The commiſſioners approved of the propoſal, provided the major part of the inhabitants ſhould join in the application, and recommended to Maſſachuſetts or Plymouth in ſuch caſe to receive them.

was a propoſal likewiſe made among the commiſſioners for an excluſive trade with the Indians to be carried on by a company to conſiſt of ſubſcribers from the ſeveral governments, each government to have a diſtinct committee to receive ſubſcriptions, take in ſtock, &c. the whole to be under the regulation of the commiſſioners. This propoſal was recommended to the ſeveral general courts, but never agreed to. Maſſachuſetts was more conſiderable than all the other colonies together, and this alone was enough to have prevented them from approving of ſuch a motion.*

The next year, 1645, a meeting extraordinary of the commiſſioners was held at Boſton, when it was thought neceſſary to ſend meſſengers to the ſachems of Narraganſet and Mohegin, to require their appearance at Boſton, and in the mean time to ſuſpend the wars between the two nations. It ſeems to have been good policy not to have interpoſed in this quarrel; but the Engliſh were afraid of the ſucceſs of the Narraganſets, who although they had by an accident loſt their ſachem yet were much more numerous than the Mohegins, and had divers other ſtout ſachems, Peſſicus, Canonicus, and others, to head their armies; and as the Engliſh had generally eſpouſed the cauſe of the Mohegins, it was feared that as ſoon as they were ſubdued, if not in the courſe of the war, the Narraganſets and their allies would fall upon the plantations of the Engliſh, againſt whom they were then in a peculiar manner enraged for the death of Miantinomo their ſachem; for after Uncas had taken him priſoner, being at a loſs how to diſpoſe of him, he carried him to Hartford and left him with the Engliſh there, who kept him under a guard. Uncas applied to the commiſſioners for advice. They gave it as their opinion that Miantinomo ought to be put to death for having procured a Pequod to ſhoot Uncas, and for having been at the head of a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh; but they ordered Uncas to carry him out of their juriſdiction, and to ſlay him without that torture and cruelty uſually practiſed by the Indians upon their

* Records of united colonies. [Theſe records are now printed in the ſecond vol. of HAZARD's Collections.]

their prifoners. This fentence was executed accordingly, fome of the Engliſh inhabitants accompanying the Indians to ſee it performed.

At firſt the Narraganſets gave kind words to the meſſengers from the Engliſh governments, but they ſoon changed their tone, and determined to have no peace without Uncas's head. Mr. Williams from Providence gave notice to the commiſſioners that the Narraganſets would ſuddenly break out againſt the Engliſh. He himſelf had always been their favourite, and they had ſettled a neutrality with the people of his colony. The commiſſioners drew up a declaration containing the foregoing with other facts, which they apprehended ſufficient to juſtify them in making war againſt the Narraganſets, and determined to raiſe 300 men * with all convenient ſpeed, and that 40 ſhould be diſpatched immediately from Maſſachuſetts, without waiting for the aſſembling of the general court, which the governor conſented to. The two commiſſioners from Maſſachuſetts † ſent to the majors of Suffolk and Middleſex for their aſſiſtance in raiſing the 40 men, and at the ſame time, leſt there ſhould not be a voluntary inliſtment, they ſent warrants to the conſtables of the ſix neareſt towns, intimating the neceſſity, and requiring them to impreſs the 40 men and a number of horſes to be ready in two days, which was done accordingly. An attempt having been made for volunteers without ſucceſs, the third day the whole number were impreſſed, and ſent away under Humphry Atherton their leader, with ſome horſes, and two of the Maſſachuſetts Indians for their guides, to wait at Mohegin for the Connecticut and New-Haven forces. The general court of Maſſachuſetts met before the forces were out of the juriſdiction. The deputies took no exception to the impreſs of men upon an emergency although they had no voice in it, but thought it neceſſary that a commiſſion from the whole court ſhould be ſent after the men; but the magiſtrates refuſed their conſent, and the commiſſioners oppoſed the proceeding leſt it ſhould weaken their authority if any forces ſhould be afterwards

* Maſſachuſetts 190, Plymouth 40, Connecticut 40, New-Haven 30.
† Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Pelham.

terwards ſent out by them. A commiſſion was likewiſe given to Major Gibbons to be general of the forces of the united colonies for this expedition, and inſtructions were given him, and veſſels were preparing to tranſport proviſions and other neceſſaries. The news of an army of Engliſh preparing to march intimidated the Narraganſets, and brought them to ſubmit to peace upon the terms propoſed to them. Soon after the death of Miantinomo the Narraganſets had ſent a preſent of wampum to Mr. Winthrop, deſiring to keep peace with the Engliſh, and to revenge their ſachem's death upon Uncas and the Mohegins. Mr. Winthrop refuſed to receive it upon thoſe terms, but the meſſengers deſired they might leave it until they had further adviſed with their ſachems, which was allowed to be done. The commiſſioners, being informed hereof, thought it proper by meſſengers of their own to return the wampum. To return a belt received from the Indians is looked upon by them as the higheſt evidence of a refuſal to comply with the propoſals made at ſending it. The meſſengers however departed from their inſtructions; for, finding the Narraganſets diſpoſed to ſubmit, and that the ſachem and others were coming to Boſton, they brought back the wampum, and wrote to the commander of the Connecticut forces and to the commander of the men ſent from Maſſachuſetts, acquainting them with the proſpect of peace, &c. This action offended the commiſſioners, who did not intend the proceeding of the forces ſhould be retarded.

Peſſacus, with two other chief men of the Narraganſets, and Awaſequan in behalf of the Nianticks, Janemo the ſachem being ſick, within a few days after came to Boſton with a large number of Indians in their train. The commiſſioners aſſured them, that however the treaty ſhould end, they ſhould receive no injury, but ſhould ſtay and return in ſafety; and then reminded them of their former treaty, by which they engaged not to enter into war with Uncas or any other Indians without firſt acquainting the Engliſh with the cauſe thereof, notwithſtanding which they had this ſummer ſeveral times invaded Uncas, and had ſlain, wounded and taken priſoners ſeveral of his people,

ple, and done him much damage, and forced the Engliſh, according to their engagements, to ſend forces at different times to defend him; that when they were ſent to by Maſſachuſetts and had fair offer made, they abuſed the meſſengers, threatened the colonies, and declared, "let who will have begun the war, we will continue it until we have Uncas his head."

The ſachems at firſt charged Uncas with injuries, that he had taken a ranſom for Miantinomo's life and then ſlew him, and they were loth to acknowledge any breach of covenant with the Engliſh. They offered to make peace with Uncas for a year or ſome ſhort time, but this not being ſatisfactory, they deſired to know what was expected from them. Whereupon the commiſſioners told them, that their breach of covenant was the cauſe of all the expenſe which the Engliſh had been at in preparing for war, and it was reaſonable that they ſhould reimburſe it; but the commiſſioners to ſhew their moderation demanded only 2000 fathoms of wampum (which was a ſum far ſhort of their charges) to be paid at different periods, and that they ſhould reſtore to Uncas his captives and canoes, and make ſatisfaction for deſtroying his corn, &c. keep perpetual peace with the Engliſh and all their allies and ſubjects, and give hoſtages for the performance of their engagements. Theſe were hard terms, and it was with great reluctance that they finally ſubmitted to them, but they knew that part of the Engliſh forces was gone into their country, and they were afraid that even whilſt the treaty was depending hoſtilities would be begun, and finally the 30th of Auguſt 1645 they ſigned to the agreement as the commiſſioners had prepared it, and left ſome of their number * hoſtages as a ſecurity for the performance of it.† The ſmall Engliſh army which was ready to march was diſbanded, and the 4th of September

* Peſſacus's child, and a child of his brother, and two other children of perſons of note. They attempted to ſubſtitute three or four children of the meaneſt of the people, but were diſcovered. *Rec. &c.*

† They tried every way to avoid complying with the agreement. Soon after they reported that the Mohawks had ſent their advice to them to pay no peag, they would diſcharge them from the fine. When this would not do, they laid a ſcheme for carrying off a number of Engliſh children in order to redeem their own, but they were afraid to execute it. *Benedict Arnold's letter to Governor Winthrop, May 29, 1646.*

ber which had been appointed for a faſt was now ordered to be obſerved as a day of thankſgiving.*

About this time there was another ſtruggle for power between the aſſiſtants or magiſtrates, and the deputies. The latter could not bear their votes ſhould loſe their effect by the non-concurrence of the former who were ſo much fewer in number; but, by the firmneſs of Mr. Winthrop, the aſſiſtants maintained their right at this time, and (March 25, 1644) the deputies, not being able to prevail, moved that the two houſes might ſit apart, and from that time votes were ſent in a parliamentary way from one houſe to

* Uncas the ſachem of the Mohegins was hated and envied by the Narraganſets for his attachment to the Engliſh, and the diſtinguiſhing favours ſhewn him in return. In 1638 having entertained ſome of the Pequods after the war with them, and fearing he had given offence, he came to the governor at Boſton, and brought a preſent, which was at firſt refuſed, but afterwards, the governor being ſatisfied that he had no deſigns againſt the Engliſh, it was accepted, and he promiſed to ſubmit to ſuch orders as he ſhould receive from the Engliſh concerning the Pequods, and alſo concerning the Narraganſets, and his behaviour towards them, and concluded his ſpeech with theſe words: "This heart (laying his hand upon his breaſt) is not mine, but yours. Command me any difficult ſervice and I will do it; I have no men, but they are all yours. I will never believe any Indian againſt the Engliſh any more." He was diſmiſſed with a preſent, went home joyful, carrying a letter of protection for himſelf and men through the Engliſh plantations, and never was engaged in hoſtilities againſt any of the colonies, although he ſurvived Philip's war, and died a very old man after the year 1680.

The Narraganſets failed in the payment of the wampum, and in 1646 meſſengers were ſent to them from the commiſſioners, but Peſſacus their chief ſachem not attending, in 1647 the meſſage was repeated, and he then pretended ſickneſs, and ſent Ninigrate, a ſachem of the Nianticks, to act in his behalf, and told the meſſenger that it was true he had not kept his covenant, but added that he entered into it for fear of the army which he ſaw, and that he was told that if he did not ſet his hand to ſuch and ſuch things, the army ſhould go againſt the Narraganſets. When Ninigrate appeared, he aſked how the Narraganſets became indebted to the Engliſh in ſo large a ſum, and being told that it was for the expenſe the Narraganſets had put them to by their breach of covenant, he then pleaded poverty, but the commiſſioners inſiſting on the demand, he ſent ſome of his people back to procure what he could, but brought 200 fathom only. They gave him leave to go home, and allowed him further time. The whole was not paid until 1650, when Capt. Atherton with twenty men was ſent to demand the arrears, which was then about 300 fathoms. Peſſacus put him off ſome time with dilatory anſwers, not ſuffering him to come into his preſence. In the mean while his people were gathering together, but the captain carrying his twenty ſoldiers to the door of the wigwam, entered himſelf with his piſtol in his hand, leaving his men without, and ſeizing Peſſacus by the hair of his head, drew him from the midſt of a great number of his attendants, threatening that if one of them offered to ſtir, he would diſpatch him. Peſſacus preſently paid down what was demanded, and the Engliſh returned in ſafety. Ninigrate after this began to ſtir up new troubles from the Nianticks, but upon ſending Capt. Davis with a troop of horſe into the Indian country, he was ſtruck with a panic, and would not be ſeen by the Engliſh until he had aſſurance of his life, and then he readily complied with their demands, and they and the other Indians continued quiet many years, until by familiar intercourſe, and the uſe of fire arms, they became more emboldened, and engaged in the war in 1675, which iſſued in their total deſtruction. *Records of united colonies.*

to the other, and the conſent of both was neceſſary to an act of the court. This continued a ſhort time without any further proviſion, but finally the magiſtrates conſented, that in appeals from the lower courts and all judicial proceedings, if the two houſes differed, the major vote of the whole ſhould determine. The deputies alſo looked with envy upon the powers exerciſed by the magiſtrates in the receſs of the general court, and ſent up a vote or bill to join ſome of their number with the magiſtrates, who ſhould receive a commiſſion from the court, but this was refuſed as an innovation upon the charter. The houſe then deſired the magiſtrates would ſuſpend the exerciſe of their executive power until the next ſeſſion. They anſwered that they muſt act as occaſion required according to the truſt repoſed in them. The ſpeaker told them they would not be obeyed. The court broke up in this temper. But, diſturbances happening with the Indians, it was called together again in a ſhort time, and the deputies voted that *(ſalvo jure)* for the peace and ſafety of the colony the governor and aſſiſtants ſhould take order for the welfare of the people in all ſudden caſes which may happen within the juriſdiction, until the next ſeſſion of the court. By agreement, all the miniſters were called in at the next ſeſſion in order to give their opinion upon the point in difference. They determined that the governor, deputy governor and aſſiſtants were inveſted with the magiſtratical power, (the nature and extent of this power is left in the dark) and that they do not derive it from the people, who were only to deſign ſuch perſons as they thought fit for the exerciſe of thoſe powers. Several other points were referred to the miniſters at the ſame time, and all agreed to by both houſes with ſome ſmall amendment.*

The controverſy between the two houſes at this time was occaſioned by a difference in ſentiment upon the identity of a ſwine which was claimed by a poor woman as having ſtrayed from her ſome years before, and her title being diſputed by a perſon of more conſequence, divided not the court only, but the whole country. The identity of Martin Guerre was not more controverted in France.

Pity

* Maſſ. Rec.

Pity and compaſſion for the poor woman prevailed with the common people againſt right. At laſt thoſe magiſtrates who had been in favour of the other ſide (for the magiſtrates were divided too, Dudley on one ſide and Bellingham the other) perſuaded the perſon who they ſuppoſed had a good title, and who had recovered below, to relinquiſh it, that the public peace might be reſtored.*

Mr. Dudley had the place of governor for 1645, and Mr. Winthrop deputy governor. Herbert Pelham, Eſq.† who arrived not long before, was added to the aſſiſtants in the room of Mr. Stoughton, who I ſuppoſe died this year.‡ Mr. Pelham being a gentleman diſtinguiſhed by his family, eſtate, and the qualities of his mind, was alſo this firſt year of his arrival choſen commiſſioner for the united colonies, Mr. Winthrop being the other.

In 1646 Mr. Winthrop was choſen governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy governor, Mr. Endicot and Mr. Pelham commiſſioners.§

A great diſturbance was cauſed in the colony this year by a number of perſons of figure, but of different ſentiments, both as to civil and eccleſiaſtical government, from the people in general. William Vaſſal, as we have obſerved, came over with the firſt patentees, and was one of the aſſiſtants in 1630, but ſoon after returned to England, and in the year 1635 came back to New-England, and ſettled at Scituate, in the colony of New-Plymouth. He was a gentleman of a pleaſant affable diſpoſition, but always oppoſite to the government both in Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth. Scituate in Plymouth is contiguous to Hingham in Maſſachuſetts, and Mr. Vaſſal had much influence in

* MS.

† Mr. Pelham was of the ſame family with his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle. He tarried but a few years in New-England. It appears by letters from England that in 1650 he lived upon his eſtate in the country there. He was intruſted by the colony in their affairs in England relative to an encouragement for propagating the goſpel among the Indians, and was a great promoter of that work.

[‡ He went to England, and was a lieutenant colonel in the parliament's army. His original commiſſion, dated May 3, 1644, is in poſſeſſion of the Hiſtorical Society.]

§ The commiſſioners hitherto had been choſen by the aſſembly, but they being general officers, the freemen challenged a right of chooſing them, and the rather becauſe ſome of their deputies had ſome times been choſen, which was not agreeable to the commiſſioners of the other governments, nor to the freemen themſelves.

in the latter colony as well as the former, and had laid a ſcheme for petitions of ſuch as were non-freemen to the courts of both colonies, and upon the petitions being refuſed to apply to the parliament, pretending they were ſubjected to an arbitrary power, extrajudicial proceedings, &c. The two firſt of the Maſſachuſetts petitioners were Samuel Maverick and Robert Child. Mr. Maverick being in the colony at the arrival of the charter, was made a freeman before the law confining freedom to ſuch only as were members of churches was in force, but being an epiſcopalian had never been in any office. Child was a young gentleman juſt before come from Padua, where he ſtudied phyſic, and, as was reputed, had taken the degree of doctor. The principal things complained of by the petitioners were,

1ſt. That the fundamental laws of England were not owned by the colony as the baſis of their government according to patent.

2d. The denial of thoſe civil privileges, which the freemen of the juriſdiction enjoyed, to ſuch as were not members of churches and did not take an oath of fidelity deviſed by the authority here, * although they were freeborn Engliſhmen, of ſober lives and converſation, &c.

3d. That they were debarred from chriſtian privileges, viz. the Lord's ſupper for themſelves, and baptiſm for their children, unleſs they were members of ſome of the particular churches in the country, though otherwiſe ſober, righteous, and godly, and eminent for knowledge, not ſcandalous in life and converſation, and members of churches in England.

And they prayed that civil liberty and freedom might be forthwith granted to all truly Engliſh, and that all members of the church of England or Scotland, not ſcandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New-England; or, if theſe civil and religious liberties were refuſed, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes impoſed upon them, and from the impreſſes made of them or their children or ſervants into the war; and if they failed

* A motion was made in the court in the year 1645 that all freemen ſhould be required to take the national covenant, in conformity to the practice in England, but it was thought convenient to refer the conſideration of this motion. *MS.* I do not find it to have been reaſſumed.

failed of redreſs there, they ſhould be under a neceſſity of making application to England to the honourable houſes of parliament, who they hoped would take their ſad condition into conſideration, provide able miniſters for them, New-England having none ſuch to ſpare, or elſe tranſport them to ſome other place, their eſtates being waſted, where they may live like chriſtians, &c. But if their prayer ſhould be granted, they hoped to ſee the then contemned ordinances of God highly prized, the goſpel then dark break forth as the ſun, chriſtian charity then frozen wax warm, jealouſy of arbitrary government baniſhed, ſtrife and contention abated, and all buſineſs in church and ſtate, which for many years had gone backward, ſucceſsfully thriving, &c.

The court and great part of the country were much offended at this petition. A declaration was drawn up and publiſhed by order of court in anſwer to the petition and in vindication of the government, a proceeding which at this day would not appear for the honour of the ſupreme authority. A parallel was attempted between the fundamental laws of England and thoſe of the colony, which in ſome parts of it is liable to exception. The petitioners were required to attend the court. They urged their right of petitioning. They were told they were not accuſed of petitioning, but of contemptuous and ſeditious expreſſions, and were required to find ſureties for their good behaviour, &c. A charge was drawn up againſt them in form, notwithſtanding which, it was intimated to them that if they would ingenuouſly acknowledge their offence they ſhould be forgiven, but they refuſed and were fined, ſome in larger, ſome in leſſer ſums, two or three of the magiſtrates diſſenting, Mr. Bellingham * in particular deſiring his diſſent might be entered. The petitioners claimed an appeal to the commiſſioners for plantations in England, but it was not allowed. Some of them reſolved to go home with a complaint. Their papers were ſeized, and among them was found

* Mr. Winthrop, who was then deputy governor, was active in the proſecution of the petitioners, and the party in favour of them had ſo much intereſt as to obtain a vote to require him to anſwer in public to the complaints againſt him. Doctor Mather ſays, he was moſt irregularly called forth to an ignominious hearing before a vaſt aſſembly, to which "with a ſagacious humility" he conſented, although he ſhewed how he might have refuſed it. The reſult of the hearing was that he was honourably acquitted, &c.

found a petition to the right hon. the Earl of Warwick, &c. commiſſioners, from about five and twenty non-freemen, for themſelves and many thouſands more, in which they repreſent, that from the pulpits * they had been reproached and branded with the names of deſtroyers of churches and commonwealths, called Hamans, Judaſes, ſons of Korah, &c. and the Lord intreated to confound them, and the people and magiſtrates ſtirred up againſt them by thoſe who were too forward to ſtep out of their callings, ſo that they had been ſent for to the court and ſome of them committed for refuſing to give two hundred pounds bond to ſtand to the ſentence of the court, when all their crime was a petition to the court, and they had been publicly uſed as malefactors, &c. They then proceed to pray,

1ſt. For ſettled churches in New-England according to the reformation of England.

2d. That the laws of England may be eſtabliſhed, &c.

3d. That all Engliſh freeholders may enjoy ſuch privileges there, as in England and the other plantations.

4th. That a general governor, or ſome honourable commiſſioners, may be appointed, &c.

5th. That the oath of allegiance may be taken by all, and other covenants which the parliament ſhall think moſt convenient—and add their prayer that their petition for which they had been puniſhed may be conſidered, and that certain queries may be reſolved, as,

Whether the patent of Maſſachuſetts was confirmed by parliament, and whether it was not neceſſary it ſhould be.

Whether the court may forfeit their charter, &c.

Whether if treaſon be uttered in the pulpit or in the court and not queſtioned, the court do not conſent, &c.

Whether it be not high treaſon as well in New-England as

* This refers to a ſermon preached by Mr. Cotton on a faſt day, an extract from which is publiſhed in the Magnalia, B. III. P. 29. wherein he denounces the judgments of God upon ſuch of his hearers as were then going to England with evil intentions againſt the country, which judgments the author obſerves they did not eſcape. One of the petitioners hath obſerved on the other ſide, that Mr. Winſlow's horſe died in his journey to Boſton in order to take paſſage to London, &c. It may be of ſervice to the world to record ſignal inſtances of divine judgments upon heinous offenders againſt religion and morality. When party ſpirit or bigotry prevails, common accidents are often conſtrued extraordinary interpoſitions of Providence.

as in Ireland, to endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of England, to take away the liberties of the Engliſh nation, to ſay Maſſachuſetts is a free ſtate, &c.

Whether the oath of allegiance and the covenant be not binding there.

Whether all Engliſh inhabitants having lands are not freemen.

Whether the court hath power to confine in priſon, baniſh, impoſe cenſures, impreſs perſons and goods for an offenſive war, &c.

Whether the miniſters may publicly vilify the Engliſh nation, laws, &c. and not be queſtioned.

Whether the petitioners ought to be hindered from ſettling in a church way, according to the churches in England, &c.

Mr. Winſlow, * who had been choſen agent for the colony to anſwer to Gorton's complaint, was now inſtructed to make defence againſt theſe petitioners; and by his prudent management and the credit and eſteem he was in with many of the members of parliament and principal perſons then in power, he prevented any prejudice to the colony from either of theſe applications.

In 1647 and 1648 the ſame governor and deputy governor were continued, and the firſt of theſe years Robert Bridges † was added to the aſſiſtants. The number of males in each of the four colonies being carried in to the commiſſioners in the year 1647 in order to proportion the ſum of 1043l. 10s. 1d. expended for the general ſervice, it appeared that the Maſſachuſetts part or proportion of the ſum was 670l. 3s. 4d. Plymouth's, 128l. 13s. 4d. Connecticut's, 140l. 2s, 5d. and New-Haven's, 104l. 11s.‡

Mr. Coddington and Mr. Partridge in behalf of the colony of Rhode-Iſland preſented a requeſt to the commiſſioners at Plymouth in the year 1648 to be received into the confederacy with the other united colonies of New-England.

* Mr. Peters and Mr. Weld were diſmiſſed from the agency and deſired to return home, but both of them choſe to remain in England.

† All I find of Bridges is "that he was an inhabitant of Lynn, a magiſtrate of able parts and forward to improve them for the glory of God and the good of his people." *Johnſon.*

‡ Rec. Unit. Col.

England. The commiſſioners returned an anſwer as follows. "Inaſmuch as your preſent ſtate and condition is "full of confuſion and danger, having much diſturbance "among yourſelves and no ſecurity from the Indians, the "commiſſioners deſire therefore in ſeveral reſpects to afford "both advice and help; but upon peruſal of the ancient "patent granted to New-Plymouth, they find Rhode-Iſland "upon which your plantations are ſettled to fall within "their line and bounds, which the honourable committee "of parliament do not think fit to ſtraiten or infringe, nor "may we. If therefore yourſelves and the inhabitants, or "the moſt and moſt conſiderable part of them, upon a due "conſideration of Plymouth patent and right, acknowledge "yourſelves within that juriſdiction, we ſhall conſider and "adviſe how you may be accepted upon juſt terms * and "with tender reſpects to your convenience, and ſhall after "afford you the ſame advice, protection and help which "other plantations within the united colonies enjoy, which "we hope in ſundry reſpects may tend to your comfort and "ſafety."†

The firſt inſtance I find of any perſon executed for witchcraft was in June 1648. Margaret Jones of Charleſtown was indicted for a witch, found guilty, and executed. She was charged with having ſuch a malignant touch, that if ſhe laid her hands upon man, woman or child, in anger, they were ſeized preſently with deafneſs, vomiting, or other ſickneſs, or ſome violent pains. The huſband of the woman, after ſhe was executed, had taken his paſſage in a ſhip which lay in Charles river bound to Barbados well ballaſted, but with 80 horſes aboard; and being obſerved to roll on a ſudden as if ſhe would have overſet, an officer was ſent with a warrant

* Plymouth would have been ſoon ſwallowed up in Rhode-Iſland, from the great ſuperiority of the latter. Beſides, the principles of the people of the two colonies were ſo different, that a junction muſt have rendered both miſerable.

† An epidemical ſickneſs paſſed through the continent in the year 1647. Engliſh, French, Dutch and Indians were ſeized with it. It began with a cold, accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled, or uſed cooling drinks, generally died; thoſe who uſed cordials and ſtrengthening things generally recovered. It extended to the Weſt-Indies. In Barbados and St. Chriſtopher's, each, five or ſix thouſand died. It was accompanied there with a great drought, which cauſed an extreme ſcarcity of all kinds, and occaſioned a demand for New-England produce greater than had ever been known before. *Hubbard.* A general diſorder of this kind has at ſeveral different periods ſince prevailed and paſſed through the continent, and in ſome inſtances about the ſame time it has extended as far as Europe.

warrant to apprehend the man; and after he was committed to prison, the ship ceased her rolling, which it is said was never renewed afterwards.* Such was the credulity and infatuation of that day. Happy would it have been, if this had been the only instance of it. Shall we wonder at the New-England magistrates, when we find such characters as Lord Chief Justice Hale, &c. soon after chargeable with as great delusion?

In the beginning of 1649 † (March 26) died Mr. Winthrop, the father of the country, in the 63d year of his age. His death caused a general grief through the colony. He spent his estate and his bodily strength in the public service, although he was remarkable for his temperance, frugality and economy. His virtues were many, his errors few, and yet he could not escape calumny and detraction, which would sometimes make too great an impression upon him. He was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren before he left England, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was disposed to lay too great stress upon indifferent matters. He first proposed leaving off the custom of drinking one to another, and then procured a law to prohibit it. He pursued with great vehemence Mr. Vane's adherents. He might have some political views mixed with this instance of his zeal. Some writers say, that upon his death-bed, when Mr. Dudley pressed him to sign an order of banishment of an heterodox person, he refused, saying, "he had done too much of that work already." Mr. Endicot succeeded him in the place of governor, and Mr. Dudley took the place of deputy governor.

I fancy that about this time the scrupulosity of the good people of the colony was at the height. Soon after Mr. Winthrop's death, Mr. Endicot, the most rigid of any of the magistrates, being governor, he joined with the other assistants in an association against long hair.‡

In

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Thomas Shepard, minister of Cambridge, died the 25th of August, 1649. He was of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

‡ "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Ruffians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New-England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the godly of our nation until within this few years:

We

In every age indifferent things have been condemned as ſinful, and placed among the greateſt immoralities. The text againſt long hair in Corinthians, as contrary to the cuſtom in the apoſtle's day, induced our anceſtors to think it criminal in all ages and all nations, and to look upon it as one of the barbariſms of the Indians. I have wondered that the text in Leviticus, "Ye ſhall not round the corners of your heads," was never brought againſt ſhort hair. The rule in New-England was, that none ſhould wear their hair below their ears. In a clergyman it was ſaid to be the greater offence; they were in an eſpecial manner required to go *patentibus auribus*. A few years before, tobacco was prohibited under a penalty, and the ſmoke of it in ſome manuſcripts is compared to the ſmoke of the bottomleſs pit. Some of the clergy fell into the practice of ſmoking, and tobacco by an act of government "was ſet at liberty." In England, perriwigs came into uſe ſoon after the reſtoration. In New-England, they were an eye-ſore for thirty years after, and did not generally obtain until about the time of the revolution, and, even then, the example and authority of Dr. Owen, Dr. Bates, Mr. Alſop, Mr. Mede, and other non-conforming miniſters in England, beſides Spanhemius and other foreign proteſtant divines, who wore wigs, were neceſſary to remove all ſcruples concerning them. Beards were left off early in New-England, and about the ſame time they were in Old. Leveret is the firſt governor who is painted without a beard. He laid it aſide in Cromwell's court.

A

We the magiſtrates who have ſubſcribed this paper (for the ſhewing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifeſt our diſlike and deteſtation againſt the wearing of ſuch long hair, as againſt a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men doe deforme themſelves, and offend ſober and modeſt men, and doe corrupt good manners: We doe therefore earneſtly entreat all the elders of this juriſdiction (as often as they ſhall ſee cauſe) to manifeſt their zeal againſt it in their publike adminiſtrations, and to take care that the members of their reſpective churches be not defiled therewith, that ſo ſuch as ſhall prove obſtinate and will not reforme themſelves may have God and man to witneſs againſt them. The third month, 30th day, 1649.

Jo. Endicot, governor.
Tho. Dudley, dep. gov.
Rich. Bellingham
Richard Saltonſtall
Increaſe Nowell
William Hibbins
Thomas Flint
Rob. Bridges
Simon Bradſtreet."

(*Harvard College Records.*)

A diſpute between the colonies of Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut, which began ſeveral years before, was this year brought to an end. A duty * had been laid by Connecticut upon all goods which were carried out of the river, for the maintaining Saybrook fort at the mouth of it. The inhabitants of Springfield, being within the Maſſachuſetts province, refuſed to ſubmit to the payment of this duty. Connecticut in 1646 laid the caſe before the commiſſioners of the united colonies, or rather thoſe of Plymouth and New-Haven, the other two being parties, the conſideration whereof was referred to the next meeting in 1647; when Maſſachuſetts urged, "that Connecticut had no authority to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of another colony; that the fort was of no uſe to them; that a demand of this tax had hindered the union for ſeveral years; that Maſſachuſetts firſt took poſſeſſion of the river, and planted there, and had been at great expenſe, never expecting this tax; that the Maſſachuſetts people had as good right to lay the ſame tax for all goods imported from Connecticut, to maintain the fort at Boſton." The Connecticut commiſſioners urged "the practice of many places in Europe; that the fort was a ſecurity to the whole river; and that the reaſon of this caſe was the ſame as if Connecticut ſhould be at any expenſe to make the river more navigable, Springfield ſurely would not in that caſe refuſe to pay any part of the charge." Maſſachuſetts denied "that the fort was a ſecurity againſt any veſſel of force, and admitted that any expenſe which might make the river more uſeful to Springfield ought in proportion to be borne by the inhabitants thereof." The commiſſioners of Plymouth and New-Haven determined that the tax ſhould be paid until the next meeting, but they would then hear any further objections from Maſſachuſetts againſt it. In 1648, among other things Maſſachuſetts inſiſted upon Connecticut's producing their patent to ſhew their authority. Connecticut urged, that the line had never been run by perſons in behalf of the two governments to aſcertain whether Springfield was within the Maſſachuſetts juriſdiction or not. The commiſſioners at this meeting recommended the running the line, and ordered

* 2*d.* per buſhel on corn, and 10*s.* per cwt. on beaver.

ordered that in the mean time the tax ſhould continue, Maſſachuſetts repreſented, that Mr. Fenwick was to have joined with them in running the line but failed them, and thereupon it was run at their own charge, by which it appeared that Weronoke (Weſtfield) was within their patent and had been ſo adjudged by the commiſſioners; notwithſtanding this, they were ready to join with their brethren of Connecticut in another ſurvey, if they would be at the charge as Maſſachuſetts had been before, and would alſo produce their patent as Maſſachuſetts had produced their patent. Connecticut commiſſioners denied that Mr. Fenwick had promiſed to join in running the line, having only in general terms promiſed to endeavour to clear Springfield from being within the Maſſachuſetts patent; and alleged, that the running the line referred to was a year before this promiſe; and therefore propoſed, that the ſoutherly extent of the Maſſachuſetts patent ſhould be firſt agreed upon and ſettled, and then at a mutual charge the line be run by ſome ſkilful man choſen by each colony, &c.; that as for their patent, Maſſachuſetts knew the original could not then be obtained, but they were ready to produce an authentic copy, &c.

Upon this, the Maſſachuſetts commiſſioners, to the diſhonour of the colony, produced a law of their general court, impoſing a cuſtom or duty upon the other colonies, of the tenor following.

" Whereas the commiſſioners for the united colonies " have thought it but juſt and equal that Springfield, a " member of this juriſdiction, ſhould pay cuſtom or con- " tribution to the erecting and maintaining of Saybrook " fort, being of no force againſt an enemy of any ſtrength " (before it was burnt*) in the commiſſioners own judg- " ment expreſſed in their own order, which determination " they have alſo continued by an order at their laſt meet- " ing at Plymouth (though the ſaid fort was then demol- " iſhed by fire and the paſſage not ſecured) contrary to a " clauſe provided on Springfield behalf: And foraſmuch " as this juriſdiction hath expended many thouſand pounds " in

* In the midſt of winter 1647 the fort took fire, no body knew by what means, and all the buildings and goods were deſtroyed, the damage being a thouſand pounds or more. Capt. Maſon the commander, with his wife and child, narrowly eſcaping with their lives. *Hubbard.*

" in erecting and maintaining ſeveral forts, which others as " well as ourſelves have received the benefit of, and hath " at preſent one principal fort or caſtle of good force againſt " an enemy, of conſiderable ſtrength and well garriſoned " and otherwiſe furniſhed with ſufficient ammunition, be- " ſides ſeveral other forts and batteries whereby veſſels and " goods of all ſorts are ſecured: It is therefore ordered by this " court and the authority thereof, that all goods belonging or " any way appertaining to any inhabitants of the juriſdiction " of Plymouth, Connecticut or New-Haven, that ſhall be " imported within the caſtle or exported from any part of " the bay, ſhall pay ſuch cuſtom as hereafter is expreſſed, " viz. all ſkins of beaver, otter, mooſe, &c. two pence per " ſkin, and all goods packed in hogſheads or otherwiſe ten " ſhillings a ton, corn and meal two pence a buſhel, biſ- " cuit ſix pence per hundred, on pain of forfeiture," &c.*

Had Maſſachuſetts laid a duty on goods from Connecticut only, they might have had at leaſt a colour, perhaps more than a colour, to juſtify them; but to extend their reſentment to the other two colonies for giving judgment againſt them, no excuſe can be framed for it. It was a mere exertion of power, and a proof of their great ſuperiority, which enabled them, in effect, to depart from the union or combination whenſoever they found it for their intereſt, and if done by a ſingle magiſtrate would have been pronounced tyrannical and oppreſſive. But in all ages and countries, by bodies or communities of men ſuch deeds have been done, as moſt of the individuals, of which ſuch communities conſiſted, acting ſeparately, would have been aſhamed of.

The union or confederacy had rendered the colonies formidable to French and Dutch as well as to the natives, and a breach at this time would have given great advantage to the enemies of New-England; the commiſſioners of Plymouth and New-Haven therefore agreed upon a final reſult, of the following tenour, viz. " That they were in " hopes, according to the advice given at Plymouth, this " controverſy might have been happily iſſued; but they " find that the Maſſachuſetts line had not been ſince run, " nor

* Records of united colonies.

" nor was the place where it ſhould begin agreed upon ; " that the original patent or an exemplification thereof is " required from Connecticut, although Mr. Hopkins had " offered to ſwear to the truth of a copy by him preſented ; " and that Maſſachuſetts had impoſed a burthenſome cuſ- " tom as a return or retaliation, not upon Connecticut " only, the party intereſted, but upon Plymouth and New- " Haven, whoſe commiſſioners, according to an article of " the union and at the requeſt of Maſſachuſetts, had im- " partially conſidered the matter in controverſy, and given " their opinion therein ; therefore the commiſſioners re- " commend it to the general court of Maſſachuſetts, ſe- " rioufly to conſider whether ſuch proceedings agree with " the law of love and the tenour and import of the articles " of confederation, but in the mean time deſire to be ſpared " in all further agitations concerning Springfield."*

The confuſions at this time in England were matter of concern and grief to many people in the colonies. There is no doubt that they concurred in ſentiment in point of religion with the prevailing party in England, but I find ſcarce any marks of approbation of the tragical ſcene of which this year they received intelligence. Mr. Eaton, the worthy governor of New-Haven, in a letter to Mr. Winthrop in 1648, writes thus : " I thank you for your love " and pains in that ſad but weighty relation you have made " concerning the ſtate of England. The ten conſiderations " you mention are very obſervable, and call for our com- " paſſion and prayers for them that ſeem not enough ſen- " ſible of their own danger." From Virginia, Mr. Harriſon, paſtor of a congregational church,† writes, " that by " their later letters they conceive the whole heavens are " overſhadowed ; the Scots hang like a black cloud (45000 " in number) upon the borders ; the King fled from the " army

* Records of united colonies.——It is probable the fort at Saybrook was ſoon after ſlighted and the garriſon diſcontinued, as we meet with no further controverſy concerning it. The Maſſachuſetts law was ſuſpended in 1650.

† This was a church founded by miniſters ſent from Maſſachuſetts. Mr. Harriſon came the latter end of 1648 to Boſton. He and Mr. Durand the elder were both required to depart the country by Sir William Berkley the governor of Virginia, who was a perſecutor of this ſmall church, conſiſting of 118 perſons only. Harriſon went to England, and was made a doctor. The church is ſuppoſed to have been diſſolved or ſcattered, as there never was any further account of it. *Hubbard.*

" army to the Iſle of Wight ; the agitators turned levellers, " intending to bring in a kind of parity among all condi- " tions, none to have above 300l. none under 10l. per an- " num," &c.

A controverſy which had long ſubſiſted between the colony of New-Haven and the Dutch at Manhadoes was ſettled by the commiſſioners of the united colonies in 1650. The Dutch, who had built a ſmall trading houſe at Hudſon's river ſoon after the Engliſh began the ſettlement of New-Plymouth, courted a correſpondence and friendſhip with them, and, as a writer of that day obſerves, " gave them a meſs of pottage for their birthright," which they had craftily before deprived them of.* They undoubtedly had a deſign to have poſſeſſed themſelves of Connecticut river, and to have prevented the Engliſh from obtaining any footing there. Thoſe of New-Plymouth had pitched upon a place for a houſe in 1632, † when it was vacant, and in 1633 erected it, although they were threatened by a party of Dutch whom they then found there. Thoſe from Maſſachuſetts in the years 1635 and 1636 made their principal ſettlement upon that part of the river where the Dutch had their houſe,‡ and for many years made no attempts to remove them, allowing them free liberty of trade with Engliſh and Indians. The Dutch alſo admitted any Engliſh to ſettle among them at Manhadoes.‖ When Mr Eaton and his company ſat down at New-Haven, the Dutch from the rapid increaſe of the Engliſh colonies were alarmed, and charged them with encroachments, although they themſelves had no pretence to any certain boundary, and would ſometimes challenge the country from Cape Henlopen to Connecticut river, and at other times as far as Cape Cod. The Engliſh, regardleſs of this claim, went on extending their ſettlements to Milford, Stamford, and other places, until they were within a few miles of Hudſon's river. Whether the Dutch had any pretence of title or not, no doubt can be

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Winſlow's manuſcript letter to governor Winthrop, Sept. 1633.

‡ Hartford.

‖ Mr. Willet, Baxter, and divers other families.

be made that they would have extirpated the Engliſh if it had been in their power; but they were few in number. Once indeed, being poſſeſſed of a ſhip of ſome force, they ſent her to New-Haven, and ſeized a Dutch veſſel which lay in the harbour, and carried her away, the Engliſh having no naval force nor fortifications on land to prevent it. At another time they ſet up the arms of the States at or near Stamford, and threatened to do the like at New-Haven; and there were altercations for many years, firſt between Kieft the firſt Dutch governor, and afterwards Stuyveſant his ſucceſſor, and Mr. Eaton the governor of New-Haven. The Dutch had always reſtrained the Engliſh, not ſettled among them, from trading with their Indians upon Hudſon's river. In 1648 the commiſſioners paſſed an order prohibiting any French or Dutch or other foreigners trading with the Indians within the juriſdiction of the united colonies. This law if carried into execution muſt have put an end to the Dutch trade at Hartford. In 1650, while the commiſſioners were ſitting at Hartford, the Dutch governor (Stuyveſant) came thither in order to treat, and preſented his propoſals in writing, dated "New-Netherlands, the 23d of September N. S." being the day they were delivered. He complained of the encroachments at Connecticut river as well as towards Hudſon's river, of the reception of fugitives, of the law debarring them from trade with the Indians, and of the Engliſh for ſelling goods too cheap to the Indians, and ſo ſpoiling the trade, &c. The commiſſioners took notice, that his propoſals were dated at New-Netherlands, and refuſed to treat until he altered the name of the place where they were dated. He offered, that if the Engliſh would forbear ſtyling the place Hartford, he would forbear ſtyling it New-Netherlands, and date his propoſals at Connecticut. They conſented that he ſhould date at Connecticut, but would not give up their own right to date at Hartford. After ſeveral days ſpent in meſſages from one to the other, the matters in difference were ſubmitted to Mr. Bradſtreet and Mr. Prince, appointed by the commiſſioners, and to Thomas Willet and George Baxter, appointed by the Dutch governor. Their reſult was to be binding to both parties.

parties.* The line which was ſettled ran northerly only 20 miles in length from the ſea, and afterwards as the Dutch and New-Haven ſhould agree, ſo as not to come within 10 miles of Hudſon's river. This muſt be underſtood ſo far as New-Haven had juriſdiction.†

The ſame governor and deputy governor were re-elected for the year 1650.‡ A corporation in England, conſtituted for propagating the goſpel among the Indians, began this year their correſpondence with the commiſſioners of the united colonies, who were employed as agents for the corporation as long as the union of the colonies continued. One profeſſed deſign of the colony charter was the goſpelizing the natives. The long neglect of any attempts this way cannot be excuſed. The Indians themſelves aſked how it happened, if chriſtianity was of ſuch importance, that for ſix-and-twenty years together the Engliſh had ſaid nothing to them about it. The anſwer by the Engliſh was, that they repented they had not done it long ago, telling

* Appendix, No. 7.

† Accordingly we find that Maſſachuſetts in the year 1659 ſo underſtood it, and made a grant of land oppoſite to fort Aurania (Albany) upon Hudſon's river, and a number of the principal merchants in the colony were enterpriſing a ſettlement and a trade with the Indians, which probably was laid aſide upon the change of affairs in England. The country itſelf a few years after was recovered from the Dutch and granted to the Duke of York, too powerful a proprietor to contend with about bounds. As this ſettlement is the only piece of evidence of any certain boundary to the New-Netherlands while in poſſeſſion of the Dutch, it is difficult to aſſign any ſufficient reaſon why the colony of Newyork ſhould extend further upon the colonies of Connecticut or Maſſachuſetts than this agreement would carry it. When the Maſſachuſetts charter was granted, the Dutch had no poſſeſſions at any diſtance from Hudſon's river. Any grants or patents of vaſt tracts or manors made by the Dutch without poſſeſſion or improvement ſeem to be void both in law and equity, and would have been as good if they had extended 200 miles from the river as when they extended 20. Notwithſtanding this ſettlement, after the Engliſh were poſſeſſed of New-Netherlands, Connecticut was diſturbed in their poſſeſſions, and finally obliged to give up their claim to Long-Iſland, and to ſubmit to a line of about 20 miles diſtant from Hudſon's river, giving an equivalent for their ſettled towns upon the ſound, the juriſdiction as well as property whereof they retained, which Douglaſs ſays, but without any authority, did not originally belong to Connecticut. The line between Maſſachuſetts and Newyork ſtill remains controverted.

‡ Mr. Willoughby, a gentleman from England, Capt. Wiggins, who lived in New-Hampſhire, and Edward Gibbons, were this year added to the aſſiſtants. Wm. Hawthorn, the firſt ſpeaker upon record. Edward Gibbons was one of Mr. Wollaſton's plantation, and a very gay young gentleman when the Maſſachuſetts people firſt came to Salem, and happened to be there at Mr. Higginſon's and Mr. Skelton's ordination and forming the church. He was ſo much affected with the ſolemnity of the proceeding, that he deſired to be received into their number. They had not ſufficient knowledge of him, but encouraged him in his good intentions, and he afterwards joined to the church in Boſton. *Mather.*

telling the Indians withal they were not willing to hear, &c. Some of the Indians who were taken as ſervants into Engliſh families attained to ſome acquaintance with the principles of religion, and ſeemed to have been affected with what they had been taught concerning their exiſtence after death, and with the fears of the divine diſpleaſure. John, the ſagamore of Maſſachuſetts, would ſometimes praiſe the Engliſh and their God, "much good men much good God," and when he was ſtruck with death ſent for Mr. Wilſon and deſired him to teach his ſon to know the God of the Engliſh after he was dead. Mention has alſo been made of Wequaſh the Pequod; but the firſt inſtance of an Indian who gave any hopes of becoming a real chriſtian was that of Hiacoomes, in the year 1643, at Martha's Vineyard.* Under the inſtruction of Mr. Mayhew he was induced to forſake the Indian pawaws to attend the Engliſh aſſemblies, and after ſome years became himſelf a preacher to his own people. It was in the year 1646 that the general court of Maſſachuſetts paſſed the firſt act or order to encourage the carrying the goſpel to the Indians, and it was then recommended to the elders to conſider how it might beſt be done. On the 28th of October four perſons, who are not named, made the firſt viſit to the Indian wigwams. Wabun the ſachem† had notice given him, and many Indians were gathered together. None of the Engliſh were ſufficiently ſkilled in the Indian language to make a prayer in it, and the meeting was opened with a prayer in Engliſh; but one of the company, in a diſcourſe in the Indian tongue, began with the moral law

* Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were not included in either of the four New-England governments. The Earl of Stirling laid claim to all the iſlands between Cape-Cod and Hudſon's river. James Forett, agent for his lordſhip, on the 10th of October 1641 grants to Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, and Thomas Mayhew his ſon, Nantucket and two ſmall iſlands adjacent, and the 23d day of the ſame month Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth iſlands; and, agreeable to the opinion of that day, of which we have given ſo many inſtances, grants the ſame powers of government which the Maſſachuſetts people enjoyed by their charter. Mr. Mayhew was called the governor of the iſlands. The Duke of York after his ſecond grant in 1673 included them in his commiſſion to his governors of Newyork. The grants of the ſoil of theſe iſlands could not vacate the right of the Indian ſachems and proprietors; and I ſuppoſe moſt of the preſent inhabitants and proprietors derive their titles from Indian grants poſterior to the grant to Lord Stirling, or to that made by his agent to Mr. Mayhew and his ſon.

† I take it of thoſe who were afterwards called Natick Indians.

law and a brief explication of it, and the wrath and curſe of God the juſt portion of the breakers of this law; and then informed them of the coming of Chriſt into the world to recover mankind from ſin and the puniſhment of it, his ſufferings and death, reſurrection and aſcenſion, and that he would come again at the end of the world to be the judge of all men. They then entered into a free converſation with the Indians, and deſired them, upon any point which they did not underſtand, to aſk ſuch queſtions as they thought proper, which was done accordingly; and it became the conſtant practice after a ſermon for as many of the Indians as deſired it to ſtand up and propoſe queſtions * to the preacher. This meeting gave ſo much encouragement, that on the 11th of November they paid the Indians another viſit at the ſame place, and found a greater number than were preſent before. Two other meetings were held the ſame fall, and a particular account was tranſmitted to England, and publiſhed there, with the title of "The day-breaking if not the ſun-riſing of the goſpel with the Indians in New-England." Mr. Winſlow, being in England, ſought to obtain ſubſcriptions for encouraging the work. Mr. Eliot, a miniſter in New-England, at the ſame time applied himſelf with zeal equal to that of the miſſionaries of the Romiſh church; but inſtead of adopting a favourite maxim of ſome of that church, that ignorance is the mother of devotion, he endeavoured to enlighten the underſtandings of the Indians, to draw them from their ſavage, barbarous, and wandering way of life, to civility, government and cohabitation; and it was a noted ſaying of his, "that the Indians muſt be civilized

* In Col. Goffe's journal, one of King Charles's judges, who attended an Indian lecture in 1660, after 13 or 14 years inſtruction, he takes notice of the following queſtions:

1ſt. In your text are theſe words, Save yourſelves from this untoward generation; in other ſcriptures it ſtands, We can do nothing of ourſelves: How can this be reconciled?

2d. You ſay, the word is the ſword of the ſpirit, by which their hearts were pricked. How ſhall I take and uſe the ſword of the ſpirit to prick my heart?

3d. What was the ſin of Judas, or how did he ſin in betraying Chriſt, ſeeing it was what God had appointed?

4th. The anſwer to theſe converts was, Repent and be baptized, &c. But ye do not ſuffer us to be baptized, therefore I fear none of the Indians ſins are forgiven, and my heart is weary with that fear, for it is ſaid in Matthew, Whoſe ſins ye bind on earth are bound in heaven.

civilized as well as, if not in order to their being, chriſtianized." He obtained from the court the grant of a tract of land, to which he gave the Indian name of Noonanetum (Rejoicing), drew as many families there as he could with deſign to make a fortified town, inſtructed them in their huſbandry, and excited them to induſtry and a prudent management of their affairs; cauſed ſome of them to learn ſuch trades as were moſt neceſſary for them, ſo as that they completely built a houſe for public worſhip, 50 feet in length and 25 in breadth, which Mr. Wilſon in one of his letters ſays, "appeared like the workmanſhip of an Engliſh houſewright." Beſides this ſettlement at Noonanetum, he viſited and preached to the Indians at Dorcheſter mills, Watertown, Concord, and as far as Pantucket falls on Merrimack river; to the Indians alſo in the colony of Plymouth, although Maſſaſoiet or Ouſamequin and his ſon diſcountenanced the bringing the goſpel to their tribe. The Narraganſet ſachem treated with contempt a meſſage he ſent to them, but the Nipnets deſired ſome might be ſent to teach them to pray to God. Beſides Mr. Winſlow, Mr. Pelham and others forwarded the collections in England, and July the 27th 1649 the parliament paſſed an act or ordinance for the advancement of this good work, the following breviate whereof was printed.

"Whereas the commons of England, aſſembled in parliament, have received certain intelligence from divers godly miniſters and others in New-England, that divers of the heathen natives, through the pious care of ſome godly Engliſh, who preach the goſpel to them in their own Indian language, not only of barbarous are become civil, but many of them forſake their accuſtomed charms and ſorceries and other ſatanical deluſions, do now call upon the name of the Lord, and give great teſtimony of the power of God drawing them from death and darkneſs to the life and light of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which appeareth by their lamenting with tears their miſpent lives, teaching their children what they are inſtructed themſelves, being careful to place them in godly families and Engliſh ſchools, betaking themſelves to

" to one wife, putting away the reſt, and by their con-
" ſtant prayers to almighty God morning and evening in
" their families, expreſſed in all appearance with much
" devotion and zeal of heart. All which conſidered, we
" cannot but in behalf of the nation we repreſent rejoice
" and give glory to God for the beginning of ſo glorious a
" propagation of the goſpel amongſt thoſe poor heathen,
" which cannot be proſecuted with that expedition as is
" deſired, unleſs fit inſtruments be encouraged and main-
" tained to purſue it, ſchools and clothing be provided,
" and many other neceſſaries Be it therefore enacted by
" this preſent parliament, that for the furthering ſo good
" a work there ſhall be a corporation in England conſiſting
" of ſixteen, viz. a preſident,* treaſurer, and fourteen aſ-
" ſiſtants; and that William Steel, Eſq. *Herbert Pelham*,
" Eſq. James Sherley, Abraham Babington, Robert
" Houghton, *Richard Hutchinſon*, George Dun, *Robert*
" *Tomſon*, William Mullins, John Hodgſon, Edward
" Parks, Edward Clud, *Richard Lloyd*,† Thomas Aires,
" John Stone, and *Edward Winſlow*, citizens of London,
" be the firſt ſixteen perſons; out of whom, the ſaid ſix-
" teen perſons, or the greater number of them, ſhall chooſe
" one of the ſaid ſixteen to be preſident, another to be
" treaſurer. They, or any nine of them, to appoint a com-
" mon ſeal. And be it enacted, that a general collection
" be made for the purpoſes aforeſaid through all England
" and Wales; and that the miniſters read this act, and
" exhort the people to a cheerful contribution to ſo pious
" a work. Hen. Scobell, cleric. parlia."

Letters at the ſame time were publiſhed from the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon the miniſters of England and Wales to ſtir up their congregations to a liberal contribution for the promotion of ſo glorious an undertaking.

The purport of the firſt letter to the commiſſioners from the corporation was to acquaint them with Mr. Winſlow's determination

* William Steel, Eſq. was the firſt preſident, and continued until the reſtoration.

† I ſuppoſe this ſhould be Richard Floyd, who was choſen treaſurer then or ſoon after. Thoſe in italicks had been in New-England. James Sherley was a great friend to Plymouth colony.

determination to return to New-England, which would be greatly prejudicial to the work, and to intimate to them that he ought to be no ſufferer by his continuance in England. The commiſſioners of Maſſachuſetts propoſed to make Mr. Winſlow the agent for the united colonies; but as he had gone over in the ſervice of Maſſachuſetts only, the reſt of the colonies declined the propoſal, and all that could be obtained was a letter from the commiſſioners to the corporation approving of Mr. Winſlow's ſtay in England, and deſiring that one hundred pounds ſterling might be paid him out of the collections, * with a promiſe that if it was not approved of as a proper charge, it ſhould be replaced by the colonies.†

Propoſals

* I cannot find that either of the colonies have ever advanced any conſiderable ſums for this ſervice.

† Great oppoſition was made to the collection in England, and the converſion of the Indians was repreſented as a mere pretence to draw money from men of pious minds. It went on ſo ſlowly, that an attempt was made to raiſe a ſum out of the army. Hugh Peters was one of the collectors; but the corporation wrote to the commiſſioners, that he not only refuſed to pay a penny himſelf, but diſcouraged others, becauſe, as they ſuppoſed, he had no hand in laying the plan. However, ſuch favourable accounts were from time to time publiſhed of the ſucceſs of the miſſion, that when King Charles came in, the corporation was poſſeſſed of ſix or ſeven hundred pounds per annum, which was in danger of being all loſt, being derived from the eſtabliſhment of the parliament; but by the intereſt of ſome good men, of whom the celebrated Robert Boyle was one, a new charter was obtained, by which the eſtate was ſecured. Mr. Boyle was choſen and continued many years the governor, and the commiſſioners of the united colonies were the correſpondents in New-England until the charter was vacated. After that, commiſſioners were ſpecially appointed by the corporation, conſiſting of the principal gentlemen of the civil order and of the clergy in New-England, and vacancies by death or otherwiſe have from time to time been filled up until the preſent time. Perhaps no fund of this nature has ever been more faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which it was raiſed. If we compare the requiſites to determine any one to be a convert in Mr. Eliot's eſteem, with thoſe of the popiſh miſſionaries, it is not ſtrange that their number hath exceeded his. Before the converts in New-England were admitted to the ordinances, they were examined by ſome of the magiſtrates as well as miniſters. The confeſſions of many of them, as taken from their own mouths, were ſent to England and printed, and there approved of: and although the miſſion began in 1646, it was the year 1651 before the firſt church was gathered, viz. at Natick. Whereas with the Romiſh prieſts the repetition of a Pater Noſter or Ave Maria, or perhaps the telling over a few beads, made them fit ſubjects of baptiſm. Mr. Eliot, as has been obſerved, always inſiſted upon their being civilized, and becoming men, at the ſame time they became chriſtians. This was *naturam expellere*, and it was with great reluctance they forſook any of their ſavage cuſtoms. The French Coureurs de Bois and others married among the Indians and became ſavages themſelves, and the prieſts went into their country and dwelt among them, ſuffered them to retain their old cuſtoms, and conformed to them themſelves. However, the number of Indians in New-England which have from time to time made profeſſion of chriſtianity is far from inconſiderable. In 1660 there were ten Indian towns of ſuch

Propoſals had been made in the year 1648 to Monſieur D'Aillebout, the governor of Canada, for a free commerce between Maſſachuſetts and that colony. The French profeſſed to be greatly pleaſed, and a correſpondence was kept up

ſuch as were called Praying Indians. *(Goffe's journal.)* Mr. Eliot mentions a viſitation he made in 1670. He went down to the Indians at Maktepos, I ſuppoſe what we now call Maſhpee, where Richard Bourne, a godly man, on the 17th of Auguſt was ordained paſtor to an Indian church which was gathered upon that day, and the Indians and ſuch of their children as were preſent were baptized. From thence he paſſed over to the Vineyard, where many were received into the church, men and women, and they and their children baptized, the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was adminiſtered in the Indian church, and many of the Engliſh church deſiring to join with them, it was celebrated in both languages. Two teaching and two ruling elders were ordained, and a foundation was laid for two churches more. The teacher of the praying Indians at Nantucket came to the Vineyard and made report that there were about ninety families that prayed unto God in that iſland, and advice was given that ſome of the moſt godly among them ſhould join to the church at the Vineyard, and, after ſome experience of their orderly walk, ſhould iſſue forth into church ſtate among themſelves and have officers ordained. The Indians were very deſirous of having Mr. Mayhew for their paſtor, but he declined it, conceiving that he could ſerve them better in the capacity he was in of adviſing and inſtructing in the management of their church affairs, and was willing to die in the ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt. Advice was given for the ſettling of ſchools, and that all who neglected ſending their children ſhould be liable to cenſure. Mr. Eliot then takes notice of the ſtate of the Indians in the Bay. Natick was the chief town where moſt of the Indian rulers dwelt, and where their courts were held. There were two teachers, John and Anthony, and betwixt forty and fifty communicants, and ſundry more propoſed to join to the church. Punkapog (now Stoughton) was the ſecond town where the ſachems of the blood, as they term the chief royal line, had their reſidence and rights, which (in other parts) as Mr. Eliot ſays, were moſtly alienated to the Engliſh towns. I ſuppoſe the Indians of Naponſet or Milton before this time had removed and were ſettled with thoſe of Punkapog beyond or about the blue hills. Their chief ruler and teacher was Ahauton. A family or two of his deſcendants remain to this day.

Naſſunameſut, or, as it is now pronounced, Naſſanemiſco, were the Indians next in order of dignity and antiquity; from them came ſome of the chief friends to praying to God. They lay upon Nichmug river, and were ſtrict obſervers of the ſabbath, and were judged by all travelers, eſpecially ſuch who had occaſion to lodge among them, to be ſincere in their religious profeſſions. They had two teachers, Annuwekin and Tuppukkoowelin, characterized ſound and godly men. I ſuppoſe thoſe who are called Crafton Indians, about 5 or 10 families, are all the remains of Naſſanemiſco.

Ogguonikongquameſut was the next praying town, which bordered upon Marlborough. The Engliſh meeting houſe being placed within the line of the Indian town cauſed great diſputes and diſcouragements. Solomon, judged to be a ſerious and ſound chriſtian, was their teacher. I ſuppoſe they are all diſperſed, if not extinct.

Naſhope was the next. Tahattawans was called a ſachem of the blood, a faithful zealous chriſtian was their ruler. Their miniſter, John Thomas, a godly, underſtanding chriſtian, was their teacher. Their town lay in that part of the country where the Maquas or Mohawks hunted, and had been much moleſted, and for a time was deſerted; but in 1670 the Indians returned and dwelt there, but are now extinct.

Wameſut was another praying town, upon Merrimack river, where Concord river falls into it. Their ſachem was Nompſon, a man of a noble ſpirit. This place had been ſo much moleſted by the Mohawks, that the year before they joined with a body of northern Indians and ſome of Punkapog, in an expedition againſt

up upon the ſubject until the year 1650, when the French governor ſent an agent to Boſton in order to ſettle, not merely trade, but a league or alliance defenſive and offenſive between the government of Canada and the colonies of Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth; but being informed that all matters of that nature were left to the commiſſioners of the united colonies, he returned to Canada, and the next year two gentlemen were ſent with letters to the commiſſioners, praying, in behalf of the French of Canada, and of the chriſtianized Indians in Acadie, the aid of the Engliſh

gainſt them, which proved unſucceſsful. George was their teacher. They were not in general much noted for their eſteem for religion.

Pantucket, at the falls in Merrimack river, was the place of another ſet of praying Indians. The Pennicook Indians had come down the river and built a fort at Pantucket, and were great oppoſers, and obſtinately refuſed to pray to God; but being concerned in the expedition againſt the Mohawks, they were moſt of them cut off, and ſince that time the Pantucket Indians were, at leaſt ſeveral of them, become praying Indians, and Jethro was ſent to preach Chriſt to them.

Magunhukquok, where Simon was teacher, on the weſt of Natick, and Quanatuſſet, which was under the care of the Haſſanamiſco teachers, are the two other towns mentioned. By this account of Mr. Eliot we ſee the ſtate of the chriſtianized Indians in 1670. The greateſt body of Indians, viz. Maſſaſoiets or Wooſamequins, and afterwards his ſon Philip's or Metacom's ſubjects, were ever averſe to chriſtianity; ſo were the Narraganſets. Theſe two nations engaging in war againſt the Engliſh in 1675 had drawn off ſome of the Indians of the praying towns to join with them, and occaſioned fears and jealouſies of all the reſt, which cauſed a great diſcouragement; but the war being at an end in 1676, and the two other nations, the Wamponoags and Narraganſets, the great enemies of chriſtianity, being wholly extirpated, the Indians which remained in Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth have in general ever ſince profeſſed to be chriſtians. In 1687, as appears by a letter of Dr. Increaſe Mather to Dr. Leuſden at Utrecht, there were four Indian aſſemblies in Maſſachuſetts, beſides the principal church at Natick. In Plymouth, beſides the principal church at Mathpee, there were five aſſemblies in that vicinity, and a large congregation at Saconet. There were alſo ſix different ſocieties, probably but ſmall, with an Indian teacher to each, between the laſt mentioned and Cape-Cod, all under the care of Mr. Treat, miniſter of Eaſtham; one church at Nantucket, and three at Martha's Vineyard. Theſe were in all ſix aſſemblies formed into a church ſtate, having officers, and the ordinances duly adminiſtered, and ſixteen aſſemblies which met together for the worſhip of God. It does not appear that the number of chriſtians have ſince decreaſed by the return of the Indians to paganiſm. The Indians themſelves are waſted, and their tribes or nations every where in Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth extinct except at Mathpee, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket. At Mathpee and near it are about 80 families, at the Vineyard about 80, and at Nantucket where the laſt year were 90 families, there are now but 15 remaining. There is beſides a town of Indians in the weſtern part of the province called Houſſatonick Indians, who removed about 30 years ago from Hudſon's river, who have a ſettled Engliſh miniſter or miſſionary ſupported by the corporation; perhaps 70 or 80 families generally reſide there. They waſte away as all other Indians have done, and there would have been a more ſenſible diminution of their numbers if they had not from time to time received additions from abroad of other nations, or of ſuch of their own nation as did not at firſt incline to remove with them. Theſe, with a few families at Natick and Grafton, and a family or two together ſcattered here and there about the province, are all the Indians at preſent within the province of Maſſachuſetts.

Engliſh againſt the Indians of the ſix nations; urging, "that it was a juſt war, the Mohawks being breakers of the moſt ſolemn leagues, perfidious and cruel; that it was a holy war, the eaſtern Indians being perſecuted and cruelly handled becauſe of their profeſſing the chriſtian religion; that it was of common concern, the Mohawks diſturbing and interrupting the trade both of Engliſh and French with other Indians." They promiſed a due conſideration and allowance for the expenſe of the war. If the Engliſh would not join in the war, it was then deſired that the French might have leave to inliſt volunteers, and that they might be victualled for the ſervice; and if that could not be obtained, that at leaſt the French might be allowed to paſs through the colonies by water and land as occaſion ſhould require. Until theſe points were ſettled they could not proceed upon the treaty of commerce. The commiſſioners, having duly weighed the propoſals, returned an anſwer in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

"That they were willing to admit that the French and "eaſtern Indians might have juſt grounds to their own "ſatisfaction for war againſt the Mohawks: That they "looked upon all ſuch Indians as received the yoke of "Chriſt with another eye than upon others who worſhip "the devil:* That they deſired by all juſt means to keep "peace, if it may be, with all men, even with theſe barbarians: That the Mohawks, living at a diſtance "from the ſea, have little intercourſe with theſe parts; "but in the war the Engliſh had with the Pequods 14 or "16 years before, the Mohawks ſhewed a real reſpect, and "had offered no hoſtilities ſince: That the Engliſh engaged in no war before they had full and ſatisfying evidence that it was juſt, nor before peace upon juſt terms "had been offered and refuſed: That the Mohawks not "being ſubject to them, nor in league with them, they "could not require an account of their proceedings, and "had no means of information what they had to ſay for "themſelves: That to make war with the Mohawks "would expoſe the Indians who were neighbours to the "Engliſh,

* But ſuch Indians have generally been taught to treat the Engliſh, as heretics, with greater cruelty; and it has been made more meritorious to extirpate them, than if they had been infidels or the worſt of idolaters.

" Engliſh, ſome of whom profeſſed chriſtianity, &c. That " although they were ready to perform all neighbourly of- " fices of righteouſneſs and peace to the French colony, " yet they could neither permit volunteers to be taken up, " nor the French and eaſtern Indians to paſs through the " Engliſh juriſdiction to invade the Mohawks, leſt they " ſhould expoſe, not the Indians only, but the ſmaller " Engliſh plantations, to danger: That the Engliſh were " much diſſatisfied with that miſchievous trade the French " and Dutch have had, and ſtill continue, by ſelling guns, " powder and ſhot to all the Indians, which rendered them " inſolent, &c. That if all other difficulties were remov- " ed, yet they had no ſuch ſhort and convenient paſſage, " either by land or water, as might be had by Hudſon's " river to and beyond Aurania fort, poſſeſſed by the " Dutch: That the commiſſioners conceived the French " deputies might proceed to ſettle a trade; but if they " thought proper to limit it under ſuch reſtrictions, a fitter " ſeaſon for theſe treaties muſt be attended, which the " commiſſioners would readily improve whenſoever it pre- " ſented."

The college at Cambridge became more and more an object of attention, and in the year 1650 was made a body corporate by act of the general court, and received a charter under the ſeal of the colony.*

Mr.

* Under this charter the college was governed until the year 1685, when the colony charter was vacated, ſaving that in 1673 by an order of the general court ſome addition was made to the number of the corporation. Mr. Dudley (who was a ſon of the college) when he received a commiſſion for preſident of the colony altered the title of the preſident of the college for that of rector, but no attempts were made to take away the eſtate or ſtock of the college or to impoſe officers diſagreeable to the country in general, but the government continued, in name at leaſt, under the former corporation, who were Increaſe Mather rector, John Sherman, Nehemiah Hubbard, John Cotton, John Leveret and William Brattle as fellows (the two laſt were tutors alſo) and John Richards treaſurer. When Mr. Mather the rector went to England in 1688, in his minutes of an intended petition to the King he ſays, that when the civil government was changed the college was under the inſpection of theſe perſons, and he ſuppoſed it continued ſo, except that Mr. Sherman was dead, in whoſe room he prayed Mr. Samuel Sewall might be appointed, and that the King would confirm the government in their hands; but although theſe were in name the governors, they were not always ſo in fact. I find the following original order, dated December the 9th, 1686.

" Whereas the monies and other eſtate belonging to Harvard-college in Cam- " bridge has been by us committed to the care and management of John Richards, " Eſq. for the benefit of the ſaid college, it is ordered that the produce thereof " ſhall for this year, 1686, be diſpoſed of as followeth.

" 1ſt. There

Mr. Endicot was chosen governor in the years 1651, 1652 and 1653; Mr. Dudley deputy governor.*

At

"1st. There shall be allowed to the present rector of the college, as some acknowledgment of the services which he has done for that society, the remainder of the income not disposed underneath.

"2d. The present tutors, Mr. John Leveret and Mr. William Brattle, shall for this year, beginning the last commencement, be allowed each of them 40l. beside what shall be due to them from their several pupils.

"3d. The scholars of the house (for this year) shall be Sir Gibbs, Rogers, Mitchel and Dudley, who shall be allowed each of them at least 5l. Sir Gibbs's pension to be paid out of Mr. Webb's legacy, and Rogers's out of Capt. Keyn's legacy.

"4th. Major Richards shall be allowed, for his care in improving the college stock, after the proportion of 1l. for 100l.

"J. Dudley.
"William Stoughton."

The president of the colony, and afterwards the governor, assumed the whole authority when they thought fit. The rights of Magdalen college, Oxford, invaded, justly might alarm the whole nation; but Harvard college was too inconsiderable, had the proceedings been ever so arbitrary and oppressive, to occasion any great notice. Mr. Mather the rector went to England in 1688. No person was appointed in his stead. Sir E. Andros, the governor, wrote to Mr. Samuel Lee the minister of Bristol in New-Plymouth colony, to desire him to officiate at the commencement, but not receiving an answer in proper season (it seems the letter was delayed) Mr. William Hubbard was appointed, and officiated accordingly. In 1692, upon the arrival of the province charter, although by a clause in the charter, with a special view to the college, it was provided that no grants, &c. to any towns, colleges, schools of learning, &c. should be prejudiced through defect of form, &c. but should remain in force as at the time of vacating the colony charter, yet the president and many others with him were desirous of a new charter with additional powers and privileges. An act of the general court passed for that purpose in 1692, incorporating the college on a larger foundation than the former charter. Among other things the college was enabled to confer such degrees as are conferred by the universities in Europe, whereas under the former charter no higher degrees had been given than those of bachelors and masters of arts. This privilege was exercised in one instance only, a diploma for a doctorate, under the college seal, being presented to Mr. Mather the president. Before the expiration of three years the act of incorporation was disallowed. Those who interested themselves for the college were resolved upon further attempts; another provincial act passed in 1697 with some variations, which before 1700 was likewise disapproved, for at a session of the court that year a vote passed the council and house of representatives approving the form of a charter which they were willing the college should accept from the King, and I make no doubt the agents were instructed to endeavour to obtain a charter in such form. By this charter the corporation was to consist of a president, vice-president and fifteen fellows. It may not be unacceptable to some to have their names preserved. Increase Mather president, Samuel Willard vice-president, James Allen, Michael Wigglesworth, Samuel Torrey, Nehemiah Hobart, Peter Thacher, Samuel Angier, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter, Henry Gibbs, John White, Jonathan Pierpoint, and Benjamin Wadsworth, together with the two senior tutors resident at college, were the first corporation named in the charter. The college was empowered to hold real estate to the amount of three thousand pounds per annum. The governor and the council were made the visitors. This application proved as ineffectual as the former. The true reason of the several failures appears from a letter of Mr. Blaithwait to the president, dated 1st June, 1704, which says, "that the only obstruction to the passing the charter was Sir Henry Athurst's refusing to allow of a clause for a visitation by the king or his governor."

* In 1652 John Glover and Daniel Gookin were chosen assistants.

At a seſſions of the general court in October, 1651, an act or order was paſſed, empowering the town of Boſton to

nor." A letter from Lord Bellamont to Mr. Stoughton upon this ſubject deſerves notice.

"New-York, 31ſt May, 98.

"Sir, I received a letter from the reverend preſident of Harvard college by Mr. "White, fellow of the ſaid college, together with a copy of an act of the aſſembly "for incorporating the college. And I am of opinion that his Majeſty will not "give his royal approbation to that act as it ſtands worded, becauſe it differs very "materially from the terms of incorporation propoſed by their excellencies the "Lords Juſtices of England, viz. that the King and his governors ſhould be the "viſitors, whereas the act of aſſembly veſts the power of viſitation of that college "as well in the council as governor, which his Majeſty may probably think de-"rogatory to his prerogative. And I am apprehenſive alſo that thoſe noble Lords "who under the title of Lords Juſtices of England lately exercited the royal au-"thority will confirm his Majeſty that it will be a diminution to the prerogative "of the crown to make the council co-ordinate in the power of viſitation with the "King's governor.——For my own part I have a very great reſpect for the King's "prerogative, but I could with a way were found to ſecure the ſtatutes or privi-"leges of Harvard college againſt the capricious humour of future governors, "who, out of prejudice to the way of worſhip uſed there, or for ſome ſiniſter "ends, may be vexatious to the college. There is great difference between the "exerciſe of the prerogative in England and in theſe remote parts of his Majeſ-"ty's dominions. There, the ſubject, whenever that exerciſe is abuſed, has the "King, the fountain of juſtice, near at hand to recur to for redreſs. In theſe "provinces, governors, I fear by what I have diſcovered ſince my being in Amer-"ica, are made bold and preſumptuous in breaking the laws and governing arbi-"trarily, out of conceit that their being ſo far from under the eye of the govern-"ment of England will be a ſure cauſe of impunity to them. Therefore upon "the whole matter I muſt in judgment and conſcience declare for a qualification "of the power of a governor in the caſe of the viſitation of Harvard college, but "what that qualification ſhould be I muſt leave to his Majeſty's wiſdom and "goodneſs to determine. I am,

To the Honourable Sir, your moſt humble ſervant,
Wm. Stoughton, Eſq. &c. BELLAMONT."

During theſe attempts, until advice of the reſpective acts being diſallowed, the college was governed conformable to them. While no acts were in force, temporary orders paſſed the general court from time to time empowering ſuch perſons to act as a corporation as were therein named. But in 1707, all proſpect of a new foundation being gone, it was thought proper to reſort to the old, and the charter of 1650 hath been conformed to ever ſince. The ſeveral heads of the college, from its firſt eſtabliſhment to this day, have been as follows. Mr. Eaton, appointed in 1638, continued until 1640, when Mr. Henry Dunſtar was appointed, who was ſucceeded by Mr. Charles Chauncy in 1654, who continued until 1671. Doctor Leonard Hoar ſucceeded Mr. Chauncy. Douglas ſays, Mr. Hoar was a doctor of phyſic from Cambridge in Old-England. He was educated at Cambridge in New-England, and took his bachelor's degree in 1650, went over to England in November 1653, was made a doctor at Cambridge and returned not long before he was elected, July 30, 1672. The ſtudents were too much indulged in their prejudices againſt him, and he was obliged to reſign, March 15, 1674-5. His wife was daughter to Lord Liſle. Mr. Uriah Oakes, miniſter of Cambridge, was his ſucceſſor, and continued from April 7, 1675, until his death in 1681. Mr. Mather was choſen by the corporation and confirmed by the overſeers, and moderated at the maſters diſputations, and conferred the degrees at the commencement in 1681; but his church in Boſton being unwilling to part with him, on April 20th, 1682, Mr. John Rogers was choſen and confirmed, but died in 1684, being ſuddenly ſeized the morning of commencement, July 1ſt, and dying the next day. Mr. William Hubbard of Ipſwich moderated at the public exerciſes.

to chooſe ſeven commiſſioners, to be preſented to the court of aſſiſtants; and, being authorized by them and ſworn before them, or before the governor, they or any five of them, or any three together with one magiſtrate, might hear and determine all civil actions not exceeding ten pounds in value, and all criminal actions where the penalty or fine ſhould not exceed forty ſhillings, the parties being ſuch as were inhabitants of Boſton neck or Noddle's iſland, or ſuch as did not belong to the juriſdiction; and the county court was not to take cognizance of any ſuch actions. This law was made for one year for trial. I do not find that it was revived.*

The committee for the ſtate in England having imparted their mind to Mr. Winſlow the agent for the colony reſpecting the government of the ſeveral juriſdictions in New-England, he acquainted Mr. Dudley therewith, and that an anſwer was expected. In conſequence of this advice, the court at the ſeſſions laſt mentioned agreed upon

exerciſes. Mr. Mather ſucceeded Mr. Rogers, and continued at the head of the college until Sept. 6, 1701. Mr. Samuel Willard, by order of court, officiated ſeveral years as vice-preſident, no preſident being appointed inſtead of Mr. Mather, until Mr. John Leveret was, by the governor, at the head of the overſeers, declared preſident, January 14, 1707, and the college was put under his care, "agreeable to the choice of the fellows of the houſe, approbation of the overſeers, and votes of the council and aſſembly in their laſt preceding ſeſſion, the governor directing him to govern that houſe and the ſcholars there with duty and allegiance to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and obedience to her Majeſty's laws." Mr. Leveret continued in the preſidentſhip, until his death in 1724. Mr. Benjamin Wadſworth, a miniſter of one of the churches in Boſton, ſucceeded him. He died in 1737, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Holyoke, who continues in the preſidentſhip at this time.

* Not only the town of Boſton but every town in the old colony were to many purpoſes a corporate body; they might ſue and be ſued, might chooſe their own officers for managing what was called the prudential affairs of the town; and the ſelectmen were judges of the breach of the by-laws of the town, the penalty of which could not exceed twenty ſhillings. Under the new charter the ſelectmen have no judiciary power. They ſtill are ſaid to manage the prudential affairs. What is intended by the word prudential, when thus appropriated, is not very eaſy to determine. Be it what it may, all other town affairs are determined in a general town meeting of all the inhabitants. The inconveniency that muſt ariſe from ſuch a conſtitution, where a town conſiſts of a thouſand or fifteen hundred voters, are too many to be enumerated, and too obvious to need it. There was a diſpoſition fifty years ago in moſt of the principal inhabitants of Boſton to be made a corporation. A plan was formed in order to be laid before the general court of the province, which by the charter is empowered to make corporations. When the heads of it were preſented at a town-meeting, a demagogue called out, "It is a whelp now, it will be a lion by and by, knock it in the head; Mr. moderator, put the queſtion." The people were prepared, and it was rejected by a great majority. Some of the beſt men in the town, deſpairing of doing any ſervice, would never be preſent in a town-meeting afterwards.

upon a petition to the parliament,* and another to Cromwell,† then general of the parliament's forces in England, &c. The addreſs and letters are preſerved. By Mr. Winſlow's letter it appears that it was expected that all proceſſes in the colony ſhould be in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, or that there ſhould be an acknowledgment of the powers then in being by a renewal of the patent. It is certain neither of the two ways propoſed were complied with.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges had made attempts for many years to ſettle the province of Main, but to little purpoſe. He was a zealous royaliſt, and neither he nor his deſcendants who were in the ſame intereſt could expect any favour from the parliament. The colony ſeems to have been deſerted by the proprietors, and in the year 1651 the people were in confuſion, and the authority of the government was at an end. In 1641 a charter had been granted by Sir Ferdinando to Acamenticus (York) making it a corporation, conſiſting of a mayor, eight aldermen and a recorder. His couſin Thomas Gorges was the firſt mayor. He lived about half a mile above what is called Traſton's ferry, near Gorges point. The cellar of the houſe he dwelt in remains to this day. He went to England in 1643. The people of York ſay that he returned and died there. If ſo, it muſt have been before 1651, or ſome mention would have been made of him. Maſſachuſetts, who, as hath been obſerved, claimed the province of Main as within the bounds of their charter, took the opportunity of the confuſions there, and encouraged the diſpoſition which prevailed in many of the inhabitants to ſubmit to their juriſdiction; and in 1651 they appointed Mr. Bradſtreet, Major Deniſon and Capt. Hawthorn to treat with the gentlemen of that province about the ſurrender thereof, as in their beſt judgment and diſcretion ſhould ſeem meet. The next year (1652) Mr. Bradſtreet and others were ſent commiſſioners to ſummon the inhabitants of Kittery to come in and own their ſubjection to Maſſachuſetts, as of right belonging to them. The inhabitants accordingly aſſembled Nov. 16, and agreed to ſubmit,

* Appendix No. 8. † Appendix No. 9.

ſubmit, and about forty inhabitants ſubſcribed an inſtrument of ſubmiſſion. The like was done at Acamenticus the 22d of the ſame month, and ſoon after at Wells, Saco, and Cape-Porpoiſe. To the inhabitants of all theſe plantations larger privileges were granted than to thoſe of the other parts of Maſſachuſetts government, for they were all freemen upon taking the oath, whereas every where elſe none could be made free unleſs he was a church member. The province was made a county by the name of Yorkſhire. The towns from that time ſent their deputies to the general court at Boſton.*

The trade of the province increaſing, eſpecially with the Weſt-Indies, where the bucaneers or pirates at this time were numerous, and part of the wealth which they took from the Spaniards as well as what was produced by the trade being brought to New-England in bullion, it was thought neceſſary, for preventing fraud in money, to erect a mint for coining ſhillings, ſix-pences and three-pences, with no other impreſſion at firſt than N E on the one ſide, and XII. VI. or III. on the other; but in October 1651 the court ordered that all pieces of money ſhould have a double ring with this inſcription, MASSACHUSETTS and a tree in the centre on one ſide, and NEW-ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other ſide.† At the ſame

* This regulation of the province of Main, although the major part of the inhabitants were brought to conſent to it, yet it appears, by the records which are ſtill preſerved in the regiſtry of the county of York, that great oppoſition was made to it by ſome of the principal perſons, and the government of Maſſachuſetts was ſeverely reproached by them for uſing violent compulſory means in order to reduce the province. They continued united to Maſſachuſetts until 1685, when by King Charles's commiſſioners they were ſeparated for a ſhort time, as will hereafter be obſerved.

† The firſt money being ſtruck in 1652, the ſame date was continued upon all that was ſtruck for 30 years after; and although there are a great variety of dies, it cannot now be determined in what years the pieces were coined. No other colony ever preſumed to coin any metal into money. It muſt be conſidered that at this time there was no King in Iſrael. No notice was taken of it by the parliament nor by Cromwell; and having been thus indulged, there was a tacit allowance of it afterwards even by King Charles II. for more than 20 years; and although it was made one of the charges againſt the colony when the charter was called in queſtion, yet no great ſtreſs was laid upon it. It appeared to have been ſo beneficial, that during Sir Edmund Andros's adminiſtration endeavours were uſed to obtain leave for continuing it, and the objections againſt it ſeem not to have proceeded from its being an encroachment upon the prerogative, for the motion was referred to the maſter of the mint, and the report againſt it was upon mere prudential conſiderations. It is certain that great care was taken to preſerve the purity of the coin,

ſame ſeſſions a committee or council of trade was appointed, after the example, as expreſſed in the order, of the parliament of Great-Britain, who were to meet at Boſton or Charleſtown to receive propoſals for promoting trade; but nothing came from this attempt.*

In October 1651 hoſtilities began between the Engliſh and Dutch in Europe. The Dutch colony at Manhadoes was in too feeble a ſtate openly to annoy the Engliſh colonies their neighbours, and therefore deſired to preſerve peace in America. The Engliſh colonies carried on an advantageous trade with the Dutch, and were for that reaſon willing to continue friendſhip, and a correſpondence was kept up between the ſubjects of the two nations. In an addreſs from the general court to Cromwell, they conſider themſelves as at liberty to continue in peace with the Dutch, and ſuppoſe their own act to be neceſſary to bring them

coin. I do not find, notwithſtanding, that it obtained a currency any where, otherwiſe than as bullion, except in the New-England colonies. A very large ſum was coined. The mint maſter, John Hull, raiſed a large fortune from it. He was to coin the money, of the juſt alloy of the then new ſterling Engliſh money; and for all charges which ſhould attend melting, refining and coining, he was to be allowed to take fifteen pence out of every twenty ſhillings. The court were afterwards ſenſible that this was too advantageous a contract, and Mr. Hull was offered a ſum of money by the court to releaſe them from it, but he refuſed to do it. He left a large perſonal eſtate, and one of the beſt real eſtates in the country. Samuel Sewall, who married his only daughter, received with her, as was commonly reported, thirty thouſand pounds in New-England ſhillings. "He was the ſon of a poor woman, but dutiful to and tender of his mother, which Mr. Wilſon his miniſter obſerving, pronounced that God would bleſs him, and although he was then poor yet he ſhould raiſe a great eſtate." *Magnalia.*

* Maſſ. Records.

One Hugh Parſons of Springfield was tried in 1652 for witchcraft, and found guilty by the jury. The magiſtrates refuſed to conſent to the verdict; and the caſe, as the law provided, came to the general court, who determined that he was not legally guilty of witchcraft.

Mr. Cotton, the celebrated miniſter of the church of Boſton and the patriarch of New-England, died Dec. 23, 1652, in the 68th year of his age. Mr. Hubbard gives this character of him: "His excellent learning and profound judgment, "eminent gravity, chriſtian candour, and ſweet temper of ſpirit, whereby he "could very placidly bear thoſe who differed from him in their apprehenſions, "made him moſt deſired whilſt he was amongſt them, and the more lamented "when he was removed from hence. So equal a contention between learning "and meekneſs, magnanimity and humility, is ſeldom ſeen in any one perſon." Upon his death-bed he ordered his ſon to burn all his papers relative to the religious diſputes began in the time of Sir Henry Vane's year. He had bundled them all up with an intention to do it himſelf, but death prevented his going into his ſtudy for that purpoſe. His ſon, loth to deſtroy what appeared to him valuable, made a caſe of conſcience to Mr. Norton, whether he was bound to comply. Mr. Norton determined againſt the papers. (*MS. Letters.*) Mr. Cotton's life was publiſhed by his ſucceſſor, Mr. Norton; and afterwards by his grandſon, Doctor Cotton Mather.

them into a ſtate of war, notwithſtanding the two nations were at war in Europe.* But in 1653 information was given by the Indians from ſeveral quarters that the Dutch governor was privately ſoliciting them to a general confederacy, in order totally to extirpate the Engliſh. The maſſacre at Amboyna was then but a late affair. A general alarm was ſpread through the colonies. An extraordinary meeting of the commiſſioners was called at Boſton, April 19, "to conſider of ſeveral rumours and reports, "gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch "had plotted with the Indians and ſtirred them up to cut "off the Engliſh." The reſult of this firſt meeting was, that although the evidence was ſo ſtrong as that ſome of the commiſſioners looked upon it to be full proof, yet they thought it moſt expedient the Dutch governor ſhould have opportunity of making anſwer; but before any meſſage could be ſent, letters were received from him, denying all which the Indians or any others had charged him with, wondering the Engliſh would give credit to Indian teſtimonies, and offering to come or ſend, or to make anſwer to any deputies which might be ſent thither. It was thought proper to ſend agents to him, viz. Francis Newman, an aſſiſtant of New-Haven, John Leveret (afterwards governor of Maſſachuſetts) and William Davis; and in a letter ſent by them from the commiſſioners, the governor was told, "that he had made uſe of Indian teſtimonies againſt New-Haven in a caſe of land, that Kieft his predeceſſor had done it in a caſe of life, and that the Dutch governor and council at Amboyna had made a bloody uſe of the Japoneſes confeſſion (though extorted by torture) againſt Captain Towerſon and the Engliſh chriſtians there." The commiſſioners demanded ſatisfaction for paſt injuries, and ſecurity for the future. Whilſt their agents were gone, they determined what number of men ſhould be raiſed if God ſhould call them to war againſt the Dutch, viz. 500,† and appointed Capt. Leveret the commanding officer, unleſs Maſſachuſetts ſhould have ſome weighty objection againſt him. Notwithſtanding the offers made

* Appendix, No. 10.

† Maſſachuſetts 333, Plymouth 60, Connecticut 65, New-Haven 42.

made by the Dutch governor in his letter, he refuſed to ſubmit to any examination into the affair by the agents or commiſſioners, any further than a committee of his own council ſhould concur with them. They took the teſtimony of divers Indians and others, and returned to Boſton. But however ſtrong proofs there were, the commiſſioners were divided in opinion, and a conference was had before the Maſſachuſetts general court and many of the elders. A ſtate of the caſe was drawn by Mr. Eaton on the one ſide, and another by Mr. Deniſon on the other, and the elders * were deſired to draw up their opinion; which was, "That the proofs and preſumptions of the execrable plot, tending to the deſtruction of ſo many of the dear ſaints of God, imputed to the Dutch governor and the fiſcal, were of ſuch weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not ſo fully concluſive as to clear up a preſent proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up their hearts with that fulneſs of perſuaſion which was meet in commending the caſe to God in prayer and to the people in exhortations, and that it would be ſafeſt for the colonies to forbear the uſe of the ſword; but adviſed to be in a poſture of defence and readineſs for action until the mind of God ſhould be more clearly known, either for a ſettled peace or more manifeſt grounds of war." The deputies by their vote expreſſed a concurrence in ſentiments with the elders. On the 26th of May letters were received from Hartford and New-Haven, adviſing that the Dutch governor was endeavouring, by preſents and other methods, to engage the Mohawks and the Indians between Hudſon's river and Delaware to fall upon the Engliſh. A meſſenger arrived the ſame day from Manhadoes with a long letter from the Dutch governor, complaining of encroachments and other grievances from the Engliſh, and exculpating himſelf in general terms from any plots or deſigns againſt them. The commiſſioners required further ſatisfaction and ſecurity from him. Mr. Norice, teacher of the church at Salem, "in the name of many penſive hearts there," preſented their ſenſe to the commiſſioners in favour of a war; and

* The elders continued to be conſulted in every affair of importance as long as the charter continued. The ſhare they had in temporal affairs added to the weight they had acquired from their ſpiritual employments, and they were in high eſteem.

and the commiſſioners themſelves were all of the ſame mind, except Mr. Bradſtreet, one of the Maſſachuſetts commiſſioners; Mr. Hawthorne, the other, joining with thoſe of the three other colonies; but their proceedings were interrupted by a declaration ſent in by the general court of Maſſachuſetts, "that no determination of the commiſſioners, though they ſhould all agree, ſhould bind the general court to join in an offenſive war which ſhould appear to ſuch general court to be unjuſt." This declaration occaſioned ſuch altercations between the Maſſachuſetts general court and the commiſſioners of the three other colonies, at the next meeting, as threatened a diſſolution of the confederacy, which ſeems, upon this occaſion alſo, to have been prevented only by the inferiority of the reſt to Maſſachuſetts, and their inability to ſtand alone. Where ſtates in alliance are greatly diſproportioned in ſtrength and importance, power often prevails over right. The government of New-Haven were ſo ſenſible of their danger, that they ſent their agents to England to make a repreſentation of it to Cromwell; who ordered three or four ſhips, with a ſmall number of forces, for the reduction of the Dutch, and recommended to the Maſſachuſetts colony to afford their aſſiſtance. The ſhips were delayed, and did not arrive at Boſton until the latter end of May or beginning of June 1654. The governor called the aſſembly, which met the 9th of June, and immediately came into the following reſolution: "The general court "having received and peruſed a letter from his Highneſs "the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, "Scotland and Ireland, full of great and favourable reſpect "to this colony, which they deſire to keep in grateful "remembrance; and ſhall be ready at all times, wherein "they may with ſafety to the liberty of their conſciences, "public peace and welfare, to their utmoſt to attend "to his Highneſs's pleaſure. This court therefore de-"clares, that though they underſtand that the colony is "not in ſuch a capacity as may be apprehended to ſend "forth ſuch numbers of men as might vigorouſly aſſiſt in "that undertaking, yet do freely conſent and give liberty "to his Highneſs's commiſſioners, Major Robert Sedge-

"wick

"wick* and Capt. John Leveret, to raiſe within our ju-
"riſdiction the number of five hundred volunteers to aſſiſt
"them in their enterpriſe againſt the Dutch, provided
"the perſons might be free from legal † engagements."
The ſhips had a very long paſſage, ſo that the news of the peace with the Dutch, which was ſigned the 5th of April, prevented their proceeding. This occaſioned the commander in chief to turn his forces, together with thoſe raiſed in Maſſachuſetts another way, and to diſlodge the French from Penobſcot, St. John's, &c. where they met with no great reſiſtance. It cannot be ſuppoſed that this was done without inſtructions from Cromwell.‡ It was a time of peace between the two nations, but the Engliſh had good right to the country, and the complaints of the French in Europe could not prevail upon Cromwell to give it up again.‖ The peace with the Dutch, together with "the hopeful eſtabliſhment of government in England," occaſioned a public thankſgiving in Maſſachuſetts (Sept. 20th) and an order, paſſed the laſt year, prohibiting trade with the Dutch, was repealed. Stuyveſant, the Dutch governor, in theſe negociations conducted himſelf very artfully. New-Haven and Connecticut were the two colonies with which he was immediately engaged in controverſy. He might have been a match for one if not both thoſe colonies, but they were in alliance with Maſſachuſetts. His all depended upon preſerving the friendſhip of that colony. He therefore kept up a conſtant correſpondence

* Sedgewick had been of the artillery company in London, afterwards lived at Charleſtown in New-England, and was the firſt military officer there, and in great repute. I ſuppoſe he died in England. There were ſeveral perſons deſcended from him living in England a few years ago.

† By legal engagements muſt be intended apprenticeſhip and other ſervitude, as well as proceſſes from courts, &c.

‡ The report in New-England was, that Sedgewick had only verbal inſtructions from ſome of Oliver's ſea commanders, and that this was the reaſon the country was ſo eaſily given up at the treaty of Breda. *Hubbard.*

‖ Mr. Dudley, deputy governor, died July 31, 1653, in the 77th year of his age, greatly lamented, being a principal founder of the colony, and having recommended himſelf by great firmneſs and fidelity in the diſcharge of his truſt, having never been out of the magiſtracy, and generally either governor or deputy governor. He was zealous beyond meaſure againſt all ſorts of heretics. At the next election for 1654, Mr. Endicot was choſen deputy governor in Mr. Dudley's ſtead, Mr. Bellingham being choſen governor.

pondence with Mr. Winthrop; and although he would not concede to propoſals for a joint trade with the ſix nations, yet he encouraged trade between Maſſachuſetts and Manhadoes, and, what was more, he, as well as his predeceſſor Kieft, made great pretences to religion. Kieft was a ſerious man. Plymouth fell in with Connecticut and New-Haven, and Maſſachuſetts muſt have done ſo too if the Dutch had committed any hoſtilities. Stuyveſant reſtrained his own people, but at the ſame time ſecretly encouraged the Indians to fall upon the Engliſh. The Narraganſets were numerous, the Maquas or ſix nations were more ſo. A general union of the Indians, which it was ſuppoſed he was endeavouring, muſt have been the ruin of the Engliſh colonies; and although it might be expected that when they had rid themſelves of the Engliſh, the Dutch would be in danger of the ſame fate, yet this was the leaſt and moſt remote danger of the two. They were conſtantly in fear of the Engliſh. Their right to any part of the country had never been allowed in England. They were often threatened by the coloniſts in America, as the Dutch governors mention in their letters. Kieft complains to Winthrop, that "ſome of the Engliſh had ſaid publicly "that their countrymen were fools to ſuffer the Dutch to "live there in the centre."

Maſſachuſetts complied with Cromwell's propoſal to extirpate the Dutch, notwithſtanding their former ſcruples of the lawfulneſs of it. There muſt have been ſome other reaſons, no doubt thoſe I have mentioned, which cauſed them to be ſo backward in joining with the other colonies. They did not foreſee, what has ſince happened, that the neighbourhood of the colonies of different nations would one time or other engage the powers in Europe in their reſpective defence and annoyance. Without this, they had nothing to fear from either Dutch or French. They were ten times as numerous as both, and continually increaſing in much greater proportion than either of the other, whoſe preſent or future interior force could cauſe no great apprehenſions.

Whilſt theſe diſputes with the Dutch were depending, the Narraganſet Indians made attacks upon the Indians of Long-

Long-Iſland, who were under the protection of the Engliſh. This, together with the conſpiracy which Ninigrate the Narraganſet ſachem was ſuppoſed to be in with the Dutch governor, the commiſſioners of the Engliſh colonies (all but Mr. Bradſtreet) thought to be a ſufficient ground for making war againſt the Indians, and came to a reſolution in 1653 that 250 men ſhould be forthwith raiſed in the ſeveral colonies, but the Maſſachuſetts general court refuſed to raiſe their quota. The hoſtilities between the Indians continuing until 1654, and many upland Indians, as they were called, viz. Wampanoags,* Pocanoticks,* &c. being collected together, the commiſſioners ſent a meſſenger to Ninigrate, who ſoon returned with the following anſwer, which is here inſerted to ſhew the authority the Engliſh aſſumed at that time over the Indians, and the ſenſe they ſtill retained of their independency.

" JONATHAN GILBERT returned 18th Sept. 1654, and " brought Ninigrate's anſwer, in the words following: " Having acquainted him that the commiſſioners were " met at Hartford, and that they had peruſed the letter " ſent to the governor of the Maſſachuſetts, he anſwered " he knew nothing of any ſuch letter, and made ſtrange " of it.

" Concerning his invading the Long-Iſlanders, he an- " ſwered, Wherefore ſhould he acquaint the commiſſioners, " when as the Long-Iſlanders began with him, and had " ſlain a ſachem's ſon and ſixty others of his men, and " therefore he will not make peace with the Long-Iſland- " ers, but doth deſire that the Engliſh will let him alone, " and that the commiſſioners would not requeſt him to go " to Hartford, for he hath done no hurt. What ſhould " he do there? If your governor's ſon was ſlain, and ſever- " al other men, would you aſk counſel of another nation " how and when to right yourſelves? And added, that he " would neither go nor ſend to Hartford.

" Concerning the upland Indians, his anſwer was, That " they were his friends, and came to help him againſt the " Long-Iſlanders, which had killed ſeveral of his men.

" Wherefore

* Afterwards called Philip's Indians.

"Wherefore ſhould he acquaint the commiſſioners with "it? He did but right his own quarrel, which the Long-"Iſlanders began with him."

Upon the receipt of this anſwer, the commiſſioners agreed to raiſe forthwith 270 foot and 40 horſe out of the ſeveral colonies, and gave a commiſſion to Major Simon Willard to command them, with inſtructions "to take as many of ſaid forces as ſhould be at the place of rendezvous by the 13th of October; and to march with them to Ninigrate; and to require his compliance with the demands made upon him; and, if he refuſed, to compel him to it; and, if it ſhould be neceſſary, to ſend immediately for the remainder of the forces, and a greater number if neceſſary." Willard marched with his men into the Narraganſet country. Ninigrate with his men had ſecured themſelves in a ſwamp, where it was not thought adviſable to attack them; and the forces returned with no other ſucceſs than the bringing off a number of the Pequods, who had been left with the Narraganſets by the Engliſh ever ſince the Pequod war, upon the promiſe of an annual payment for each head. The commander made it a part of his excuſe, that the inſtructions to him were equivocal. But the commiſſioners were offended at this proceeding, and charged him with neglecting an opportunity of humbling the pride of Ninigrate, which ſince the return of the forces was greatly increaſed, and left him to conſider what ſatisfaction was to be expected from him and thoſe of his council who joined with him.* It is to be obſerved, that Major Willard was a Maſſachuſetts man; and although that colony had ſo far complied with the reſt as to join in ſending out the forces, yet they ſtill were deſirous of avoiding an open war. This was the ſecond time of their preventing a general war, contrary to the minds of ſix of the commiſſioners of the other colonies.†

The

* Records of united colonies.

† Mr. Edward Winſlow, who had been ſeveral years governor of Plymouth colony, died May 8, 1655, on board the fleet which was ſent againſt Hiſpaniola. He was ſent to England agent for Maſſachuſetts. He attained to ſuch favour as to be made one of Cromwell's grand commiſſioners in the expedition. He was a gentleman of the beſt family of any of the Plymouth planters, his father, Edward Winſlow, Eſq. being a perſon of ſome figure at Draughtwich in Worceſterſhire.

The moſt remarkable occurrence in the colony in the year 1655 was the trial and condemnation of Mrs. Ann Hibbins for witchcraft. Her huſband, who died in the year 1654, was an agent for the colony in England, ſeveral years one of the aſſiſtants, and a merchant of note in the town of Boſton; but loſſes in the latter part of his life had reduced his eſtate, and increaſed the natural crabbedneſs of his wife's temper, which made her turbulent and quarrelſome, and brought her under church cenſures, and at length rendered her ſo odious to her neighbours as to cauſe ſome of them to accuſe her of witchcraft. The jury brought her in guilty, but the magiſtrates refuſed to accept the verdict; ſo the cauſe came to the general court, where the popular clamour prevailed againſt her, and the miſerable old woman was condemned and executed. Search was made upon her body for tetts, and in her cheſts and boxes for puppets, images, &c. but there is no record of any thing of that ſort being found. Mr. Beach, a miniſter in Jamaica, in a letter to Doctor Increaſe Mather in the year 1684, ſays, "You may remember what I have ſometimes told "you your famous Mr. Norton once ſaid at his own table "before Mr. Wilſon the paſtor, elder Penn and myſelf and "wife, &c. who had the honour to be his gueſts:—That "one of your magiſtrates wives, as I remember, was hanged "for a witch only for having more wit than her neighbours. "It was his very expreſſion; ſhe having, as he explained "it, unhappily gueſſed that two of her perſecutors whom "ſhe ſaw talking in the ſtreet were talking of her, which "proving true, coſt her her life, notwithſtanding all he "could do to the contrary, as he himſelf told us."

It fared with her as it did with Joan of Arc in France. Some counted her a ſaint and ſome a witch, and ſome obſerved ſolemn marks of Providence ſet upon thoſe who were very forward to condemn her, and to brand others upon

ſhire. An elegy occaſioned by his death has much of the ſpirit of Thomas Saffin's epitaph, which I remember to have read in Stepney church yard.

The eighth of May, weſt from 'Spaniola's ſhore,
God took from us our grand commiſſioner,
Winſlow by name, a man in chiefeſt truſt,
Whoſe life was ſweet and converſation juſt,
Whoſe parts and wiſdom moſt men's did excell,
An honour to his place as all can tell.

upon the like ground with the like reproach.* This was the second instance upon record of any person's being executed for witchcraft in New-England.†

About this time, however inconsistent it may seem with the professed ecclesiastical constitution and the freedom of every church, the general court in several instances interposed their authority. They laid a large fine upon the church at Malden for choosing a minister without the consent and approbation of the neighbouring churches and allowance of the magistrates, and soon after, viz. in 1653, they restrained the north church in Boston from calling Mr. Powell to be their minister, who had the character of a well-gifted though illiterate man, and went so far as to recommend to them Mr. Reyner, who had been a minister at New-Plymouth.

It was justly observed upon this occasion, that "let the "experience of all reformed churches be consulted, and it "will appear that disorder and confusion in the church will "not be avoided by all the determinations, advice and "council of synods or other messengers of churches, unless "they be a little actuated by the civil authority: all men "are naturally so wedded to their own apprehensions, that, "unless there be a coercive power to restrain, the order and "rule of the gospel will not be attended."‡

Mr. Endicot was governor in 1655, and was annually chosen until 1660, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor each year.‖ During this period the trade of the colony was in a flourishing state, free admission being allowed to all nations, and the vessels of the colony trading to and from France, Holland, and other parts of Europe, the importation of no commodities whatsoever being prohibited, or

* Hubbard.

† She was not executed until June 1656. She disposed of her estate by will, executed May 27, 1656, and a codicil June 16. She appointed several of the principal gentlemen overseers, and hoped they would shew her so much respect as to see her decently interred. There was no forfeiture of goods for felony.

‡ Hubbard.

‖ *Richard Russell* and *Thomas Danforth* were chosen assistants in 1659, the former of Charlestown. His son, grandson, and two of his great grandsons, have been since of the council. [The present *Thomas Russell*, Esq. who has also been of the council, is descended from him.] The latter was of Cambridge, and had a great share in managing the public affairs in the most difficult times. He left no male children.

or under any clog or reſtraint. Notwithſtanding the great variety of ſectaries in England, there had been no diviſions of any conſequence in Maſſachuſetts; but from 1637 to 1656 they enjoyed, in general, great quietneſs in their eccleſiaſtical affairs, diſcords in particular churches being healed and made up by a ſubmiſſion to the arbitrament of neighbouring churches, and ſometimes the interpoſition of the civil power. The reputation not only of the conſtitution of the churches, but alſo of the New-England clergy, had been for ſome time very great in England, and the opinions of Mr. Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, and others, are cited as authorities by many Engliſh divines. The perſecution of the epiſcopalians by the prevailing powers in England was evidently from revenge for the perſecution they had ſuffered themſelves, and from political conſiderations and the prevalence of a party, ſeeing all other opinions and profeſſions, however abſurd, were tolerated; but in New-England it muſt be confeſſed that bigotry and cruel zeal prevailed, and to that degree that no opinions but their own could be tolerated. They were ſincere, but miſtaken in their principles; and, abſurd as it is, it is too evident, they believed it to be for the glory of God to take away the lives of his creatures for maintaining tenets contrary to what they profeſſed themſelves. This occaſioned complaints againſt the colony to the parliament and to Cromwell, but without ſucceſs.*

Mr. Winſlow the agent for the colony in England being dead, Mr. Leveret, one of Cromwell's commiſſioners in the expedition to Acadie, was appointed in his ſtead. Cromwell had been very deſirous of drawing off the New-Englanders to people Ireland after his ſucceſſes there, and the inhabitants of New-Haven had ſerious thoughts of removing, but did not carry their deſign into execution. Jamaica being conquered, Cromwell renewed his invitation to the colony of Maſſachuſetts to remove and to go and people that iſland, and it appears by Mr. Leveret's letters and

* In 1655 a diſtemper went through the plantations in New-England, like to that in 1647. It was ſo epidemical that few were able to viſit their friends at any diſtance to perform the laſt offices to them. It was attended with a faint cough. Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, miniſter of Ipſwich, died of it July 2. He was ſon of Mr. John Rogers, a celebrated puritan preacher at Dedham in England, deſcended from the protomartyr in Queen Mary's reign. *Hubbard.*

and a letter from the general court to Cromwell that he had it much at heart.* Cromwell foreſaw that the Weſt-India

* "At my preſenting your letter of the firſt of December 56 to his highneſs, he was pleaſed to inquire of New-England's condition, and what news as to the buſineſs of Jamaica; to which I gave anſwer according to the advice received. By his reſent thereof, together with what I had from him the 18th of November, he manifeſteth a very ſtrong deſire in him for ſome leading and conſiderable company of New-England men to go thither; for at that time he was pleaſed to expreſs, that he did apprehend the people of New-England had as clear a call to tranſport themſelves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New-England, in order to their bettering their outward condition, God having promiſed his people ſhould be the head, and not the tail; beſides, that deſign hath its tendency to the overthrow of the man of ſin: and withal was pleaſed to add, that though the people had been ſickly, yet it was ſaid to be a climacterical year; that others had been to view the place, as Nevis people, who upon liking were gone down, and Chriſtopher's people were upon motion, and he hoped by what intelligence he had from Capt. Gookin that ſome conſiderable numbers would go from New-England. His highneſs was pleaſed to hear me in what I objected. As to the bettering our outward condition, though we had not any among us that had to boaſt, as ſome particulars in other plantations, of raiſing themſelves to great eſtates, yet, take the body of the people, and all things conſidered, they lived more comfortably like Engliſhmen than any of the reſt of the plantations. To which his highneſs replied, that they were more induſtrious, what then would they be in a better country? To which I added, that there were more in New-England produced to beſpeak us a commonwealth than in all the Engliſh plantations beſides; the which his highneſs granted. I objecting the contrariety of ſpirits, principles, manners and cuſtoms of the people of New-England to them that were at the iſland or in any other plantations that could remove thither, ſo not like to cement, his highneſs replied that were there conſiderable perſons that would remove from thence, they ſhould have the government in their hands, and be ſtrengthened with the authority of England, who might be capable of giving check to the ill and vicious manners of all. Whilſt his highneſs was pleaſed to entertain me with theſe diſcourſes, an honourable gentleman of his council came in, who, hearing his highneſs upon New-England, was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf concerning New-England's rigidneſs and perſecution; to which his highneſs was pleaſed to anſwer, very much in the favour of them, that they acted like wiſe men, and God had broken the deſigns of evil inſtruments, bearing witneſs with them againſt evil ſeducers which had riſen up among them, mentioning one or two; to which that honourable gentleman replied, the miſcarriage of particular perſons proved not God's bearing witneſs againſt the body of them that withdrew and departed from them for their rigidneſs; to which, with their favour, I replied, that if Rhode-Iſland and thoſe parts were intended, that then God had borne witneſs againſt them in general as well as againſt particulars, which would appear by that looſeneſs and profaneneſs they were left to, ſo that they had not only declined chriſtian religion but moral obſervations; to which the honourable gentleman was pleaſed to wave the credit thereof, and expreſs, that if it were ſo, he thought his highneſs ought to animadvert upon one and the other. Much more paſſed in diſcourſe, and his highneſs broke off with this, that he would not impoſe any particular injunction upon me."—*Extract from J. Leveret's letter to governor Endicot, London, Dec.* 20, 1656.

The Court's letter to Oliver Cromwell.

"SIR,

"We received by Capt. Gookin your highneſs's propoſals for the removal of ſome of ours to the iſland of Jamaica, which by our order were communicated to the people of this juriſdiction in compliance with your highneſs's good and pious intentions of planting the place with ſuch as through the bleſſing of God may hopefully promote a deſign ſo religious. But if, by the intelligence from thence of the mortality of the Engliſh there, the motion here anſwereth not expectation,

may

India planters would raiſe eſtates far ſuperior to thoſe of the inhabitants of the northern colonies, and though a mere wordly conſideration was not proper for him to urge, yet accompanied with the fulfilment of a divine promiſe, that God's people ſhould be the head and not the tail, it was in character, and he artfully enough joined it with the other conſideration. But all was inſufficient to induce the people of New-England to quit a country where they could live tolerably, and were indulged with all the privileges they deſired, and we have no account of many families having removed. A few accepted the invitation. Complaints were carried to Cromwell from Rhode-Iſland againſt Maſſachuſetts by Clark, Holmes and others, but Mr. Leveret, who was a captain of horſe under Cromwell during ſome part of the war, had much of his favour, and though he could not prevent the Rhode-Iſlanders from being favourably received, for no ſect could fail of an advocate in Cromwell's court, yet he prevented ſo much as an inquiry into the conduct of Maſſachuſetts. Nay Cromwell applauded the colony for baniſhing the evil ſeducers which had riſen up among them, of which Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinſon were the chief, and probably he had a view to them in particular. This ſame Mr. Wheelwright had been ſeveral years in England and lived in the neighbourhood of Sir Henry Vane, who had been his patron in New-England and now took great notice of him. Vane being

may it pleaſe your highneſs not to impute it to us as declining your ſervice, much leſs as diſaccepting your favour and endeavours of promoting what may conduce to our welfare, wherein we have always found your highneſs ready upon all occaſions to teſtify the ſame, and in particular by your gracious acceptance of our laſt by Capt. Leveret, by whom we found ourſelves neceſſitated to make our addreſſes to your highneſs, that by your juſt favour we might be ſupported, without which, we have cauſe to fear, we cannot be ſecure from the clamours and calumnies of ſome whoſe endeavours may be to render us obnoxious to your diſpleaſure. We account it our duty to our utmoſt power to advance your highneſs's ſervice; and, if all other opportunities ſhall be wanting, yet never to ceaſe to preſent our requeſts to Him that is able abundantly to recompenſe all your labours of love to his, to preſerve your highneſs, long to continue you a happy inſtrument to carry on his work, overthrow the enemies of his truth, and to enlarge the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we are

Your highneſs's moſt obliged ſervants,

Boſton in New-England, the 24th October, 1656.

Jo. Endicot, gov.
Rich. Bellingham, dep. gov.
Edward Rawſon, ſecr.
In the name and with the conſent of the general court."

being disaffected to Cromwell, it is not likely that Cromwell had any great esteem for Wheelwright, yet he sent for him by one of his guard,* and after a very orthodox discourse, according to Mr. Wheelwright's apprehensions of orthodoxy, "and without shewing countenance to sectaries,"† he exhorted him to perseverance against his opposers, and assured him their notions would vanish into nothing. This meeting effectually engaged Mr. Wheelwright in Cromwell's favour. Leveret's and Wheelwright's letters compared confirm a distinguishing part of Cromwell's character. Besides the complaints from Rhode-Island, Rigby, Gorges, and Godfrey, who claimed lands by patents in the eastern parts of New-England, made complaints to Cromwell against the colony for usurpation, and there were others who envied the flourishing state of the colony, but by means of Mr. Leveret's discreet management and the favourable opinion Cromwell had conceived, all attempts to its prejudice were to no purpose.‡ He did not shew like favour to the other colonies.

Cromwell seems to have been the first who had a true sense of the importance of the colonies to their mother country. The expedition to Hispaniola was by him well intended, though by his servants badly executed, and his plan for enlarging the national interest in America no doubt extended

* "I have lately been at London about five weeks. My Lord Protector was "pleased to send one of his guard for me, with whom I had discourse in private "about the space of an hour. All his speeches seemed to me very orthodox and "gracious, no way favouring sectaries. He spake very experimentally to my ap"prehension of the work of God's grace; and, knowing what opposition I met "withal from some whom I shall not name, exhorted me to perseverance in these "very words, as I remember: 'Mr. Wheelwright, stand fast in the Lord, and you "shall see that these notions will vanish into nothing,' or to that effect. Many "men, especially the sectaries, exclaim against him with open mouths; but I "hope he is a gracious man. I saw the lord mayor and sheriff with their offi"cers carry sundry of the fifth monarchy men to prison, as Mr. Can, Mr. Day, "with others, who used to meet together in Colman street to preach and pray a"gainst the Lord Protector and the present power, &c." *Mr. Wheelwright's letter to the church at Hampton, April* 20, 1658.

† All that do not think as we do in religion are sectaries. There would be some difficulty in determining who upon this occasion were referred to as sectaries, if the fifth monarchy men had not been mentioned presently after.

‡ "Although his highness and divers of the council are very cordial friends to "New-England, yet there are not wanting those who wait an opportunity of "complaints coming against you to usher in something else, the great privileges "belonging to New-England being matter of envy, as of some in other planta"tions to of divers in England who trade to those places." *Leveret's letter to Endicot.*

extended further than the conqueſt of that Iſland. Let us take a view of the ſtate of the colonies at that time. Barbados was then more populous than it is at preſent. That iſland and the Caribbees were under the ſame government. Theſe, with Virginia, Maryland and Bermudas, refuſed to acknowledge the parliament whilſt the King lived, and it occaſioned ſome trouble to reduce them after his death. They were all the colonies, except New-England, which were ſettled when Cromwell took the government upon him. There were no leſs than three different governors over Virginia during his ſhort rule, Digby, Bennet and Matthews. Barbados ſurrendered to Sir George Aiſcough, upon condition that the government ſhould be by governor, council and aſſembly; and Daniel Searl being appointed their governor, continued until the reſtoration. It was a raſh thing to reſiſt the ſupreme authority in England, and gave great offence. Until then, all the colonies had been indulged in a free, open trade to and from all parts of the world, unleſs the privileges granted to the Eaſt-India company made an exception; but Cromwell obtained an act or ordinance of the parliament, prohibiting the plantations from receiving or exporting any European commodities, except in Engliſh-built ſhips, navigated by Engliſhmen; and all correſpondence was forbidden with any nation or colony not ſubject to England; and no alien was allowed to ſet up a factory or carry on a trade in the plantations. Virginia made heavy complaints, that they were not allowed to ſend off their produce to, nor to import neceſſaries from, any foreign countries, whilſt England alone (they ſaid) could not take off their produce, nor could they at that time be ſupplied from thence with all things neceſſary for them. But, however grievous this act might prove to the other colonies, it is certain that thoſe of New-England, whether it was deſigned to extend there or not, ſuffered nothing by it. In a letter to Cromwell in 1654,* Maſſachuſetts ſeem to be under fears leſt they ſhould be deprived of the privileges which had been indulged to them by his predeceſſors, and hope his highneſs will be no leſs propitious, and will

* Appendix.

will not be diſpleaſed with them for aſſerting their juſt privileges, to the prejudice whereof ſome attempts had been made by the commanders of ſhips, eſpecially by ſome armed with commiſſion, which though for fear of offending they had patiently endured, yet they thought it not ſafe to approve of ſuch actings, &c. If this letter had reſpect to any attempts to regulate the trade, they were attempts which were ſoon given over, and cauſed little or no interruption; and they were not only indulged in their trade to all parts, but that extraordinary privilege of having their goods imported into England free from all cuſtom, which other ſubjects were liable to pay, ſeems to have been continued until the reſtoration. No wonder if they were envied by the other colonies, and if the merchants in England were diſſatisfied alſo with the continuance of the laſt mentioned extraordinary favour.

In the year 1656 began what has been generally and not improperly called the perſecution of the Quakers.* Two years before, an order had been made that every inhabitant who had in their cuſtody any of the books of John Reeves and Lodowick Muggleton, "who pretend to be the two laſt witneſſes and prophets of Jeſus Chriſt," which books were ſaid to be full of blaſphemies, ſhould bring or ſend them in to the next magiſtrate, within one month, on pain of ten pounds for each book remaining in any perſon's hands after that time; but no perſon appeared openly profeſſing the opinions of the quakers until July 1656, when Mary Fiſher † and Ann Auſtin arrived from Barbados. A few weeks after arrived in the ſhip Speedwell of London, Robert Lock maſter, nine more of theſe itinerants, whoſe names, "after the fleſh," (the language they uſed to the officers ſent to make inquiry) were William Brend, Thomas Thurſton, Chriſtopher Holder, John Copeland, Richard Smith, Mary Prince, Dorothy Waugh,

* This ſect made its firſt appearance in England in the year 1652. They ſoon ſpread themſelves into America.

† Mary Fiſher travelled as far as Adrianople, and coming near the grand vizier's camp ſhe procured a man to inform him that there was an Engliſh woman had ſomething to declare from the great God to the great Turk. She was introduced and delivered her meſſage, &c. *New-England judged, by G. Biſhop.* She fared better aamong the Turks than among chriſtians.

Waugh, Sarah Gibbons, and Mary Witherhead.* On the 8th of September they were brought before the court of aſſiſtants; and being examined, and each of them queſtioned how they could make it appear that God ſent them, after a pauſe they anſwered, that they had the ſame call which Abraham had to go out of his country: to other queſtions they gave rude and contemptuous anſwers, which is the reaſon aſſigned for committing them to priſon. A great number of their books, which they had brought over with intent to ſcatter them about the country, were ſeized and reſerved for the fire. Soon after this, as the governor was going from the public worſhip on the Lord's day to his own houſe, ſeveral gentlemen accompanying him, Mary Prince called to him from a window of the priſon, railing at and reviling him, ſaying, Wo unto thee, thou art an oppreſſor; and denouncing the judgments of God upon him. Not content with this, ſhe wrote a letter to the governor and magiſtrates, filled with opprobrious ſtuff. The governor ſent for her twice from the priſon to his houſe, and took much pains to perſuade her to deſiſt from ſuch extravagancies. Two of the miniſters were preſent, and with much moderation and tenderneſs endeavoured to convince her of her errors; to which ſhe returned the groſſeſt railings, reproaching them as hirelings, deceivers of the people, Baal's prieſts, the ſeed of the ſerpent, of the brood of Iſhmael, and the like.

The court paſſed ſentence of baniſhment againſt them all, and required the maſter of the ſhip in which they came to become bound with ſureties to the value of five hundred pounds to carry them all away,† and cauſed them to be committed to priſon until the ſhip ſhould be ready to ſail. At this time there was no ſpecial proviſion by law for the puniſhment of quakers; they came within a colony law againſt heretics in general. At the next ſeſſions of the general court, the 14th of October following, an act paſſed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the maſter of any veſſel who ſhould bring a known quaker into any part

* Mr. Neale ſays they came from Rhode-Iſland. I take this account from the records of the ſuperior court. See a letter from the preſident, &c. of Rhode-Iſland in the appendix, ſhewing the ſenſe they had of the quakers at that time.

† I cannot find what law they had for this.

part of the colony, and requiring him to give ſecurity to carry them back again; that the quaker ſhould be immediately ſent to the houſe of correction and whipped twenty ſtripes, and afterwards kept to hard labour until tranſportation. They alſo laid a penalty of five pounds for importing, and the like for diſperſing, quakers' books, and ſevere penalties for defending their heretical opinions. And the next year an additional law was made, by which all perſons were ſubjected to the penalty of forty ſhillings for every hour's entertainment given to any known quaker; and any quaker, after the firſt conviction, if a man, was to loſe one ear, and the ſecond time the other; a woman, each time to be ſeverely whipped; and the third time, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron; and every quaker, who ſhould become ſuch in the colony, were ſubjected to the like puniſhments. In May, 1658, a penalty of ten ſhillings was laid on every perſon preſent at a quaker-meeting, and five pounds upon every one ſpeaking at ſuch meeting. Notwithſtanding all this ſeverity, the number of quakers, as might well have been expected, increaſing rather than diminiſhing,* in October following a further law was made for puniſhing with death all quakers who ſhould return into the juriſdiction after baniſhment.† That ſome proviſion was neceſſary againſt theſe people, ſo far as they were diſturbers of civil peace and order, every one will allow; but ſuch ſanguinary laws againſt particular doctrines or tenets in religion are not to be defended. The moſt that can be ſaid for our anceſtors is, that they tried gentler means at firſt, which they found utterly ineffectual, and that they followed the example of the authorities in moſt other ſtates and in moſt ages of the world, who with the like abſurdity have

* This is the ordinary conſequence of pity and compaſſion for the ſufferers. And although it has been obſerved, that perſecution tends to frighten men from coming into a country, yet it was a characteriſtic of this ſect at the beginning of it to court perſecution, and to ſubmit to death with an infatuation equal to that of ſome roman catholic prieſts carrying their religion into China or Tartary.

† Great oppoſition was made to this law; the magiſtrates were the moſt zealous, and in general for it; but it was rejected at firſt by the deputies, afterwards upon reconſideration concurred by 12 againſt 11, with an amendment, that the trial ſhould be by a ſpecial jury. Capt. Edward Hutchinſon, and Capt. Thomas Clark, two of the court, deſired leave to enter their diſſent againſt this law. *New-England judged.*

have ſuppoſed every perſon could and ought to think as they did, and with the like cruelty have puniſhed ſuch as appeared to differ from them. We may add, that it was with reluctance that theſe unnatural laws were carried into execution, as we ſhall ſee by a further account of proceedings. Nicholas Upſhall was apprehended in October, 1656, fined twenty pounds, and baniſhed, for reproaching the magiſtrates, and ſpeaking againſt the law made againſt quakers; and, returning in 1659, was impriſoned.* At the ſame court, William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stephenſon, Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis were brought to trial. The firſt gave no particular account of himſelf. Stephenſon had made a public diſturbance in the congregation at Boſton the 15th of June before. He acknowledged himſelf to be one of thoſe the world called quakers, and declared that in the year 1656, at Shipton in Yorkſhire, as he was at plough, he ſaw nothing, but heard an audible voice ſaying, "I have ordained thee to be a prophet to the nations," &c.

Dyer declared, that ſhe came from Rhode-Iſland † to viſit the quakers; that ſhe was of their religion, which ſhe affirmed was the truth; and that the light within her was the rule, &c.

Davis came from Barnſtable: he came into court with his hat on, confeſſed he had forſaken the ordinances and reſorted to the quakers. The jury found, "that they were all quakers." Robinſon was whipped twenty ſtripes for abuſing the court, and they were all baniſhed on pain of death.

Patience Scott, a girl of about eleven years of age, came I ſuppoſe from Providence; her friends lived there; and, profeſſing herſelf to be one of thoſe whom the world in ſcorn calls quakers, was committed to priſon, and afterwards brought to court. The record ſtands thus: "The court, duly conſidering the malice of ſatan and his inſtruments by all means and ways to propagate error and diſturb

* Nicholas Upſhall was a member of Boſton church, a very old man. When he was baniſhed he went firſt to Plymouth, where people were forbad entertaining him; but ſome that were more compaſſionate prevailed upon the authority to ſuffer him to tarry until the ſpring. *New-England judged.*

† Her huſband or ſon, Willam Dyer, was ſecretary of that colony.

turb the truth, and bring in confuſion among us—that ſatan is put to his ſhifts to make uſe of ſuch a child, not being of the years of diſcretion, nor underſtanding the principles of religion—judge meet ſo far to ſlight her as a quaker, as only to admoniſh and inſtruct her according to her capacity, and ſo diſcharge her, Capt Hutchinſon undertaking to ſend her home." Strange ſuch a child ſhould be impriſoned! it would have been horrible if there had been any further ſeverity.*

Robinſon, Stephenſon and Dyer at the next general court were brought upon trial, and, "for their rebellion, ſedition, and preſumptuous obtruding themſelves after baniſhment upon pain of death," were ſentenced to die; the two firſt were executed the 27th of October.† Dyer, upon the petition of William Dyer her ſon, was reprieved on condition that ſhe departed the juriſdiction in 48 hours, and if ſhe returned, to ſuffer the ſentence. She was carried to the gallows, and ſtood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. She was ſo infatuated as afterwards to return, and was executed June 1ſt, 1660.‡ The court thought it adviſable to publiſh a vindication of their proceedings; they urge the example of England in the proviſion made againſt jeſuits, which might have ſome weight againſt a charge brought from thence; but in every other part of their vindication, as may well be ſuppoſed from the nature of the thing, there is but the bare ſhadow of reaſon. Chriſtopher Holder, who had found the way into the juriſdiction again, was at this court baniſhed

* Biſhop ſays, that they cut off the right ear of Holder, Copeland, and Rous, in the priſon; and that Catharine Scott, the mother of Patience Scott, reproving them for a deed of darkneſs, they whipped her ten ſtripes, though they allowed her to be otherwiſe of blameleſs converſation and well bred, being a miniſter's daughter in England. *New-England judged.*

† Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, laboured to prevent their execution; and Col. Temple went to the court and told them, "that if according to their declaration they deſired their lives abſent rather than their deaths preſent, he would carry them away and provide for them at his own charge, and if any of them ſhould return he would fetch them away again." This motion was well liked by all the magiſtrates except two or three, and they propoſed it to the deputies the next day, but thoſe two or three magiſtrates with the deputies prevailed to have execution done. *New-England judged.*

‡ Being aſked what ſhe had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be executed; ſhe anſwered, that ſhe denied their law, came to bear witneſs againſt it, and could not chooſe but come and do as formerly. This is the ſame Mary Dyer who in the year 1637 was baniſhed for her familiſtical tenets.

iſhed upon pain of death. At the ſame court ſeven or eight perſons were fined, ſome as high as ten pounds, for entertaining quakers; and Edward Wharton, for piloting them from one place to another, was ordered to be whipped twenty ſtripes, and bound to his good behaviour. Divers others were then brought upon trial, "for adhering to the curſed ſect of quakers, not diſowning themſelves to be ſuch, refuſing to give civil reſpect, leaving their families and relations, and running from place to place vagabonds like;" and Daniel Gold was ſentenced to be whipped thirty ſtripes, Robert Harper fifteen, and they, with Alice Courland, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton, baniſhed upon pain of death; William Kingſmill whipped fifteen ſtripes; Margaret Smith, Mary Traſk and Provided Southwick ten ſtripes each, and Hannah Phelps admoniſhed.

The compaſſion of the people was moved, and many reſorted to the priſon by day and night, and upon a repreſentation of the keeper a conſtant watch was kept round the priſon to keep people off.*

Joſeph Nicholſon and Jane his wife were alſo tried and found quakers, as alſo Wendlock Chriſtopherſon, who declared in court that the ſcripture is not the word of God, and Mary Standley, and all ſentenced to baniſhment, &c. as was ſoon after Benjamin Bellflower; but John Chamberlain, though he came with his hat on, yet refuſing directly to anſwer, the jury found him "much inclining to the curſed opinions of the quakers," and he eſcaped with an admonition.

Nicholſon and his wife returned, and were apprehended; but upon their petition had liberty, with ſeveral others then in priſon, to go for England. Chriſtopherſon returned alſo, and was ſentenced to die. It is ſaid he deſired the court to conſider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings. "For the laſt man (ſays he) that was put "to death, here are five come in his room; and if you have "power to take my life from me, God can raiſe up the "ſame

* The pillory ſerved for a pulpit to George Fox. He preached to the populace, and made ſo many converts that they delivered him in a tumultuous manner, and ſet a clergyman who had been inſtrumental in Fox's puniſhment upon the ſame pillory. *Volt. Letters.*

"ſame principle of life in ten of his ſervants, and ſend "them among you in my room, that you may have tor-"ment upon torment." He was ordered to be executed the fifth day ſevennight after the fourteenth of March 1660, afterwards reprieved till the thirteenth of June; but he was ſet at liberty, upon his requeſt to the court, and went out of the juriſdiction.

Bellflower afterwards in court renounced his opinions, as alſo William King (Kingſmill I ſuppoſe) the only inſtances upon record. Chamberlain was afterwards apprehended again, and found a quaker, and committed to cloſe priſon, but no further ſentence appears.

In September 1660 William Ledea was tried, and convicted of being a quaker, and ſentenced to baniſhment, &c.; but returning, and being apprehended, the general court gave him liberty notwithſtanding to go to England with Nicholſon and others; but he refuſed to leave the country, and was brought upon trial for returning into the juriſdiction after ſentence of baniſhment, acknowledged himſelf to be the perſon, but denied their authority, and told the court, that "with the ſpirit they called the devil he worſhipped God; that their miniſters were deluders, and they themſelves murderers." He was told that he might have his life and be at liberty if he would. He anſwered, I am willing to die, I ſpeak the truth. The court took great pains to perſuade him to leave the country, but to no purpoſe. The jury brought him in guilty, and he was ſentenced to die, and ſuffered accordingly March 14, 1660.

Mary Wright, of Oyſter-bay, was tried at the court in September 1660. She ſaid ſhe came to do the will of the Lord, and to warn them to lay by their carnal weapons and laws againſt the people of God; and told the court they thirſted for blood. The court aſked her what ſhe would have them do; ſhe ſaid, "Repent of your blood-ſhed and cruelty, and ſhedding the blood of the innocent William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stephenſon and Mary Dyer." She ſaid, her tears were her meat many days and nights before ſhe gave up herſelf to this work of the Lord, but added, that if ſhe had her liberty ſhe would be gone quickly.

quickly. Being found a quaker, ſhe was baniſhed.

Edward Wharton, who had been whipped before, was now indicted for being a quaker, convicted, and ſentenced to impriſonment, and afterwards to baniſhment. Judah Brown and Peter Pierſon ſtood mute. They were ſentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail in Boſton, Roxbury and Dedham.

John Smith of Salem, for making diſturbance at the ordination of Mr. Higginſon, crying out, "What you are going about to ſet up, our God is pulling down," was committed to priſon by order of court.

Philip Verin was alſo tried and impriſoned; Joſias Southwick, firſt baniſhed and returning, whipped at the cart's tail, and John Burſtowe bound to his good behaviour. Theſe are all * who were tried by the court of aſſiſtants or by the general court. Some at Salem, Hampton, Newbury and other places, for diſorderly behaviour, putting people in terror, coming into the congregations and calling to the miniſter in the time of public worſhip, declaring their preaching, &c. to be an abomination to the Lord, and other breaches of the peace, were ordered to be whipped by the authority of the county courts or particular magiſtrates. At Boſton one George Wilſon, and at Cambridge Elizabeth Horton, went crying through the ſtreets, that the Lord was coming with fire and ſword to plead with them. Thomas Newhouſe went into the meeting-houſe at Boſton with a couple of glaſs bottles, and broke them before the congregation, and threatened, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." Another time M. Brewſter came in with her face ſmeared and as black as a coal. Deborah Wilſon went through the ſtreets of Salem naked as ſhe came into the world, † for which ſhe was well whipped.

* George Biſhop mentions ſeveral who ſuffered corporeal puniſhment by order of particular magiſtrates or the county courts, of whom I find no notice any where elſe. *New-England judged.*

† One of the ſect, apologizing for this behaviour, ſaid, "If the Lord did ſtir up any of his daughters to be a ſign of the nakedneſs of others, he believed it to be a great croſs to a modeſt woman's ſpirit, but the Lord muſt be obeyed." Another quoted the command in Iſaiah, chap. 20. R. Williams. One Faubord of Grindleton carried his enthuſiaſm ſtill higher, and was ſacrificing his ſon in imitation of Abraham; but the neighbours, hearing the lad cry, broke open the houſe and happily prevented it.

whipped. For these and such like disturbances they might be deemed proper subjects either of a mad-house or house of correction, and it is to be lamented that any greater severities were made use of. After all that may be said against these measures, it evidently appears that they proceeded not from personal hatred and malice against such disordered persons, nor from any private sinister views, as is generally the case with unjust punishments inflicted in times of party rage and discord, whether civil or religious, but merely from a false zeal and an erroneous judgment. In support of their proceedings they brought several texts of the old testament: "Come out of her, my people," &c. "If thy brother entice thee to serve other gods, thou shalt surely put him to death;" and "for speaking lies in the name of the Lord, his father shall thrust him through when he prophecieth;" and the example of Solomon, who first laid Shimei under restraint, and then for his breach put him to death; as also many passages of the new testament, requiring subjection to magistrates, &c. and thus, from a zeal to defend the holy religion they professed, they went into measures directly opposite to its true spirit and the great design of publishing it to the world.

That I may finish what relates to the quakers, it must be further observed, that their friends in England solicited, and at length obtained, an order from the King, Sept. 9, 1661, requiring that a stop should be put to all capital or corporeal punishment of those of his subjects called quakers, and that such as were obnoxious should be sent to England. Whatever opinion they might have of the force of orders from the crown controuling the laws of the colony, they prudently complied with this instruction, and suspended the execution of the laws against quakers, so far as respected corporeal punishment, until further order. Indeed before the receipt of this letter, but probably when they were in expectation of it, all that were in prison were discharged and sent out of the colony. The laws were afterwards revived, so far as respected vagabond quakers, whose punishment was limited to whipping, and, as a further favour, through three towns only. But there was little or no room for carrying the laws into execution, for after

after these first excursions they became in general an orderly people, submitting to the laws, except such as relate to the militia and the support of the ministry; and in their scruples as to those they have from time to time been indulged. At present, they are esteemed as being of good morals, friendly and benevolent in their disposition, and I hope will never meet with any further persecution on account of their peculiar tenets or customs. May the time never come again, when the government shall think that by killing men for their religion they do God good service.*

From 1656 to 1660 I find but very few facts relative to the public affairs of the colony worth transmitting to posterity. After the peace with the Dutch in Europe the trade between the English and Dutch colonies was revived, and Stuyvesant the Dutch governor in 1657 wrote to the commissioners of the English colonies, that the limits agreed and settled in 1650, both upon the main and upon Long-Island, were ratified and confirmed by the States General of the United Provinces, and desired that, the confirmation of the Lord Protector being ready, time and place might be appointed for the exchange. The commissioners in their answer let him know, that they had ever conformed to that settlement although he had not, but they said nothing of the Protector's confirmation. It does not appear that ever they sought for it. Towards the end of this period, the changes in England were so frequent, that it was prudence in the colonies to take as little notice of them as might be, until there appeared a prospect of a lasting establishment. An express acknowledgment of Richard Cromwell was expected from Massachusetts, but they declined it. An original letter † from him

* The author of the account of the European settlements in North-America, who is very erroneous in some historical facts which concern the Massachusetts colony, but has many judicious observations which run through his whole performance, says, upon the subject of the New-England persecutions, "Such is the manner of proceeding of religious parties towards each other, and in this respect the New-England people are not worse than the rest of mankind, nor was their severity any just matter of reflection upon that mode of religion which they profess. No religion whatsoever, true or false, can excuse its own members, or accuse those of any other, upon the score of persecution." *Vol.* II *p.* 185. It is a doctrine of Calvin, *In hæreticos gladio vindicandum est*, and the death of Servetus is generally laid to his charge.

† Appendix No. 12.

him to the governor, recommending the caſe of Mr. Sewall, a miniſter, is all that appears upon the records relative to him.*

The rapid increaſe of the Maſſachuſetts colony, together with the figure which many of the firſt ſettlers made in England before their removal, and the correſpondence which they maintained with their friends of great diſtinction there many years after, eclipſed the colony of New-Plymouth,† whoſe growth and progreſs would otherwiſe have been thought conſiderable. The ſouthern part of the colony in general, being of a light ſandy ſoil, would have been incapable of ſupporting its inhabitants, were it not for the large bodies of ſalt meadow, the hay of which ſerves for fodder for their cattle in the winter, and the dung from it, being an excellent manure, produces good crops of grain with little labour in the ſummer, light land being eaſily tilled. The northern parts, bordering upon Maſſachuſetts, afford many good farms, particularly the town of Bridgwater, which hath been famous for the quality of the land and for good huſbandry. They were few at firſt, and but little additions were made after Maſſachuſetts was planted, except from their natural increaſe; and yet before the year 1643, beſides the town of Plymouth, they had ſettled Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Rehoboth, Sandwich, Barnſtable, Yarmouth, and Eaſtham. Upon the death of Mr. Carver their firſt governor, ſoon after their arrival, they choſe in his ſtead Mr. Bradford, being a grave, diſcreet man. They were ſo well ſatisfied with his adminiſtration, that they continued to chooſe him annually until his death in 1657, except two years when they choſe Mr. Winſlow, and one year Mr. Prince.

Their

* Sir Thomas Temple came firſt to New-England in 1657, having with others obtained from Oliver a grant of lands in Acadie or Nova Scotia, of which he was made governor. He was recommended by Nathaniel Fiennes, ſon to Lord Say. Mr. Fiennes calls him his near kinſman.

† Mr. William Bradford, who had been many years governor of Plymouth colony, died the 9th May, 1657. He was in great eſteem. Having taken notice of Mr. Winſlow's elegy, for the ſame reaſon we cannot well omit three or four of the firſt lines of Mr. Bradford's.

The ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plymouth took;
Governor Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel death, &c.

Theſe will be ſufficient for a ſpecimen of New-England poetry in that age.

Their eccleſiaſtical affairs were for divers years in diſcouraging circumſtances. They had expectations that Mr. Robinſon their paſtor, whom they had left with one half his church in Holland, would follow them, but his death in 1624 put an end to their hopes. They were unſucceſsful in their attempts to ſettle a miniſter; the principles of one and the manners of another were exceptionable; and having ſeveral brethren among themſelves well gifted, they choſe to continue without a miniſter for ſome time rather than to ſettle one who was not exemplary in his life, or who differed from them in points of doctrine or church government. But in 1643 they had a ſet of pious, learned miniſters,* one of which, Mr. Chauncey, ſome years after, was choſen to the preſidentſhip of the college in Maſſachuſetts, and removed to Cambridge.

They had many local laws. In criminal caſes they took Maſſachuſetts for their pattern, but in civil matters they profeſſed to take the common law for their rule more than was practiſed in Maſſachuſetts.

An exemplary piece of juſtice is recorded to their honour in the year 1638, when they cauſed three Engliſhmen to be executed for the murder of an Indian near Providence.

Plymouth colony adjoining to Maſſachuſetts, ſome ſhort diſputes ſubſiſted between them concerning bounds. In order to ſettle the controverſy, commiſſioners were appointed in the year 1640, viz. John Endicot and Iſrael Stoughton for Maſſachuſetts, and William Bradford and Edward Winſlow for Plymouth. It was not then effected. An obſervation had been taken by Nathaniel Woodward, in the year 1638, upon part of Charles river, 41 degrees 59 minutes north latitude, the river ſtill running ſouthward, the perſons employed not being able to proceed farther for want of proviſions. In 1642 the northern bounds of Maſſachuſetts were aſcertained by the ſame Woodward, with Solomon Saffery,† and a ſtation fixed, which has ſince

* Mr. Hubbard gives the liſt of their names. Charles Chauncey, Ralph Partridge, William Hooke, Nicholas Street, John Lothrop, John Mayo, Edward Bulkley, William Leveridge, Richard Blinman, John Miller, and Marmaduke Matthews.

† Douglaſs ſays, they were two obſcure ſailors who aſſiſted in the ſurvey; but they are called in the record two able mathematicians.

ſince been allowed to be the Maſſachuſetts corner, 3 miles ſouth of Charles river; and from this corner the lines between Maſſachuſetts, and the governments of Plymouth, Rhode-Iſland and Connecticut, have been run and confirmed by acts of the ſeveral governments.*

* There has been a pretence ſtarted or revived of late years, that Maſſachuſetts had extended the ſoutherly part of Charles-river to a brook too ſmall to be accounted a branch of it; but ſuch pretences, after ſo many years acquieſcence, can have little weight, eſpecially if it be conſidered that what is now a ſmall brook, after the country has been opened and cleared of wood for an hundred years, may probably have been a navigable ſtream for canoes and boats at the time of fixing the ſtation.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

From the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second to the Year 1686, *when the Charter of the Colony was vacated.*

SINCE the year 1640 the people had been without any apprehenſions of danger to their religious or civil privileges. They prudently acknowledged ſubjection to the parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell, ſo far as was neceſſary to keep upon terms and avoid exception, and no farther. The addreſſes to the parliament and Cromwell ſhew this to have been the caſe. After Cromwell's death, during the frequent changes in the ſupreme authority in England, they ſeem to have taken part with none, but to have waited until ſome ſettlement was made which ſhould have a proſpect of ſtability.* I have no where met with any marks of diſreſpect to the memory of the late King, and there is no room to ſuppoſe they were under diſaffection to his ſon; and if they feared his reſtoration, it was becauſe they expected a change in religion, and that a perſecution of all non-conformiſts would follow it.† At the election in May, they could have received no intelligence from England to enable them to make any certain judgment of affairs. Mr. Endicot was then choſen governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor, both of them as fixed in their principles as any of their brethren. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion of the general court went over, and nothing

* I find this remark in an ancient manuſcript, wrote about the year 1665:— "When a packet of letters was ſent by Mr. John Thurloe, containing an expreſs "order of the council, ſigned by Henry Lawrence preſident, requiring and enjoining the governor and magiſtrates of the Maſſachuſetts colony to proclaim Richard in theſe following terms, that is to ſay, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth "of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging, they "did not obey the ſaid order. And ſince his Majeſty King Charles the Second "was proclaimed in the Maſſachuſetts, at Boſton and other places, they have not "failed in all their courts and judicial proceedings, throughout the colony, to "give that tribute of honour to his Majeſty, which in ſuch like caſes is commonly rendered by the courts of law at Weſtminſter."

† They had undoubtedly a good opinion of the perſons in whoſe hands the adminiſtration then was; but the uncertainty of their continuance in power was reaſon enough for caution.

nothing paſſed relative to affairs in England. On the 27th of July, capt. Peirce, a noted ſhipmaſter in the trade between England and the colony, arrived, and brought the news of the King's being proclaimed. If they received at the ſame time the King's declaration from Breda, and depended that a royal promiſe would be, as it always ought to be, religiouſly complied with, they need not have been under great concern about their public affairs either in church or ſtate. No advices were received from authority, and the King was not proclaimed in the colony,* nor was any alteration made in the forms of their public acts and proceedings. There was a ſeſſion of the general court in October, and a motion was made for an addreſs to the King, but it did not ſucceed. Mr. Norton, one of the miniſters of Boſton, was very earneſt for it; but rumours came by the way of Barbados, that the government in England was in a very unſettled ſtate, the body of the people diſſatisfied, that the Scotch had demanded Monk to be delivered up to them, that lord Fairfax was at the head of a great army, &c. and they had ſeen ſo many changes in the courſe of a few months, that they thought it was not very certain that an addreſs to the King would not fall into the hands of a committee of ſafety, council of ſtate, or a junto with ſome other title. On the 30th of November a ſhip arrived from Briſtol, which brought advices of the proceedings of parliament, and that all matters were fully ſettled. They were alſo informed, by letters from Mr. Leveret their agent, and others, that petitions and complaints were preferred againſt the colony to the King in council, and to the parliament (a citation being poſted upon the exchange in London) by Maſon, Gorges, and others. The governor and aſſiſtants met forthwith, called the general court to convene the 19th of December, a very loyal addreſs to the King was preſently agreed on, and another to the two houſes of parliament. Letters were ſent by ſir Thomas Temple, who was a conſtant friend to the colony, to lord Manchester, lord Say and Seal,

* This was the firſt inſtance of the acceſſion of a prince to the throne ſince this colony had been planted, and perhaps the propriety and neceſſity of this ceremony in the plantations was not fully underſtood and conſidered. I find nothing ſaid about it until notice taken in England of the neglect.

Seal, and other perſons of note, to pray them to intercede in behalf of the colony. A moſt gracious anſwer was given to the addreſs, by the King's letter, dated Feb. 15, 1660, which was the firſt public act or order concerning them after the reſtoration, except a few lines, the 23d of January before, from ſecretary Morice, to incloſe an order for the apprehending two of the late King's judges; both letters, it is probable, by the ſame ſhip, which arrived in May following.

Before the receipt of this letter, the governor and council, March 18th, took public notice of a book publiſhed by Mr. Eliot not long before, entitled The Chriſtian Commonwealth, &c. which they declare they find on peruſal full of ſeditious principles and notions in relation to all eſtabliſhed governments in the chriſtian world, eſpecially againſt the government eſtabliſhed in their native country. Upon conſultation with the elders, their cenſure was deferred until the general court met, "that Mr. Eliot might have the opportunity in the mean time of making a public recantation."

At the next ſeſſions, in May, Mr. Eliot gave into the court the following acknowledgment under his hand:

"Underſtanding by an act of the honoured council, "that there is offence taken at a book publiſhed in Eng- "land by others, the copy whereof was ſent over by my- "ſelf about nine or ten years ſince, and that the further "conſideration thereof is commended to this honoured "general court now ſitting at Boſton; upon peruſal there- "of I do judge myſelf to have offended, and in way of ſa- "tisfaction not only to the authority of this juriſdiction "but alſo to any others that ſhall take notice thereof, I "do hereby acknowledge to this honoured court, that ſuch "expreſſions as do too manifeſtly ſcandalize the govern- "ment of England, by king, lords and commons, as anti- "chriſtian, and juſtify the late innovators, I do ſincerely "bear teſtimony againſt, and acknowledge it to be not "only a lawful but eminent form of government.

"2d. All form of civil government deduced from ſcripture "I acknowledge to be of God, and to be ſubjected to for "conſcience ſake. And whatſoever is in the whole epiſtle

"or

" or book inconſiſtent herewith, I do at once moſt cordial-
" ly diſown. John Eliot."

The books were ordered by the court to be called in, and this acknowledgment to be poſted up in the principal towns in the colony. When the times change, men generally ſuffer their opinions to change with them, ſo far at leaſt as is neceſſary to avoid danger. Between the reigns of Henry the Seventh and James the Firſt, how many times did the whole body of the clergy of England change or ſhift their opinions in matters of greater importance!

A day of public thankſgiving was appointed by authority, to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in inclining the King graciouſly to accept and anſwer the addreſs made to him.

They were notwithſtanding under no ſmall degree of fear, leſt the revolution of government in England ſhould produce as great a change in the form of their government, both in church and ſtate. They were alarmed from all quarters. Reports were ſpread, that Virginia and the iſlands were forbid trading with them, that three frigates would ſoon be ſent from England, and that a general governor over all the colonies was to come in one of them.*

At the ſame ſeſſions in May they paſſed the following vote:

" Foraſmuch as the preſent condition of our affairs of
" the higheſt concernment call for diligent and ſpeedy uſe
" of the beſt means ſeriouſly to diſcuſs and rightly to un-
" derſtand our liberty and duty, thereby to beget unity a-
" mongſt ourſelves, in the due obſervance of obedience and
" fidelity to the authority of England, and our own juſt
" privileges; for the effecting whereof it is ordered, that
" Mr. Simon Bradſtreet, Mr. Samuel Symonds, Major-
" General Deniſon, Mr. Danforth, Major William Haw-
" thorn, Capt. Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Johnſon,
" Capt.

* " The general vogue of people is, that a governor will be ſent over; other rumours there are concerning you. I made bold to addreſs myſelf to lord Say, and deſired his favour. His lordſhip profeſſed his great reſpect for the plantations, and thanked God he prayed for you daily, promiſing to improve his intereſt, &c. Epiſcopacy, common prayer, bowing at the name of Jeſus, ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the altar, and organs, are in uſe, and like to be more. The Lord keep and preſerve his churches, that there may not be fainting in a day of trial." *Leverett's letter to Maſſ. Lond. 13th Feb. 1660.*

" Capt. Eleazer Luſher, Mr. Mather, Mr. Norton, Mr. " Corbett, and Mr. Mitchell,* be and hereby are a com- " mittee, immediately after the diſſolution or adjournment " of the court, to meet together in Boſton on ſecond day " next, at 12 of the clock, to conſider and debate ſuch " matter or thing of public concernment, touching our " patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his Majeſty, as they " in their wiſdom ſhall judge moſt expedient, and draw up " the reſult of their apprehenſions, and preſent the ſame to " the next ſeſſion for conſideration and approbation, that " ſo (if the will of God be) we may ſpeak and act the ſame " thing, becoming prudent, honeſt, conſcientious and " faithful men."†

An anſwer was drawn up, and accepted by the court, at a ſeſſion ſpecially appointed to receive the ſame.‡

In the ſhip which arrived from London the 27th of July, there came paſſengers, col. Whaley and col. Goffe, two of the late King's judges. Col. Goffe brought teſtimonials from Mr. John Rowe and Mr. Seth Wood, two miniſters of a church in Weſtminſter. Col. Whaley had been a member of Mr. Thomas Goodwin's church. Goffe kept a journal or diary from the day he left Weſtminſter, May 4, until the year 1667, which, together with ſeveral other papers belonging to him, I have in my poſſeſſion. Almoſt the whole is in characters or ſhort hand, not very difficult to decypher. The ſtory of theſe perſons has never yet been publiſhed to the world. It has never been known in New-England. Their papers after their death were collected, and have remained near an hundred years in a library in Boſton. It muſt give ſome entertainment to the curious. They left London before the King was proclaimed. It does not appear that they were among the moſt obnoxious of the judges; but as it was expected vengeance would be taken of ſome of them, and a great many had fled, they did not think it ſafe to remain. They did not attempt to conceal their perſons or characters when they arrived at Boſton, but immediately went to the governor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very courteouſly.

* The four laſt named were miniſters.

† Maſſachuſetts records. ‡ Appendix, No. 13.

courteouſly. They were viſited by the principal perſons of the town, and among others they take notice of col. Crown's coming to ſee them. He was a noted royaliſt. Although they did not diſguiſe themſelves, yet they choſe to reſide at Cambridge, a village about four miles diſtant from the town, where they went the firſt day they arrived. They went publicly to meetings on the Lord's days, and to occaſional lectures, faſts and thankſgivings, and were admitted to the ſacrament, and attended private meetings for devotion, viſited many of the principal towns, and were frequently at Boſton, and once when inſulted there the perſon inſulting them was bound to his good behaviour. They appeared grave, ſerious and devout, and the rank they had ſuſtained commanded reſpect. Whaley had been one of Cromwell's lieut. generals, and Goffe a major-general. It is not ſtrange that they ſhould meet with this favourable reception, nor was this reception any contempt of the authority in England. They were known to have been two of the King's judges; but King Charles the Second was not proclaimed when the ſhip that brought them left London; they had the news of it in the channel. The reports afterwards by way of Barbados were, that all the judges would be pardoned but ſeven. The act of indemnity was not brought over until the laſt of November. When it appeared that they were not excepted, ſome of the principal perſons in the government were alarmed; pity and compaſſion prevailed with others. They had aſſurances from ſome that belonged to the general court that they would ſtand by them, but were adviſed by others to think of removing. The 22d of February the governor ſummoned a court of aſſiſtants to conſult about ſecuring them, but the court did not agree to it. Finding it unſafe to remain any longer, they left Cambridge the 26th following, and arrived at New-Haven the 7th of March. One capt. Breedan, who had ſeen them at Boſton, gave information thereof upon his arrival in England. A few days after their removal, an hue-and-cry, as they term it in their diary, was brought by the way of Barbados; and thereupon a warrant to ſecure them iſſued, the 8th of March, from the governor and aſſiſtants, which

was

was ſent to Springfield and the other towns in the weſtern parts of the colony; but they were beyond the reach of it.*

The proclaiming the King having been deferred until Auguſt, 1661, the governor, upon intelligence from England of what was doing there to the prejudice of the colony, did not think proper to delay it any longer, and called the general court together the 7th of Auguſt, when, after a great variety of forms for a proclamation had been propoſed, the following was agreed to:

"FORASMUCH

* They were well treated at New-Haven by the miniſters and ſome of the magiſtrates, and for ſome days ſeemed to apprehend themſelves out of danger. But the news of the King's proclamation being brought to New-Haven, they were obliged to abſcond. The 27th of March they removed to Milford, and appeared there in the day time, and made themſelves known; but at night returned privately to New-Haven, and lay concealed in Mr. Davenport the miniſter's houſe, until the 30th of April. About that time news came to Boſton that ten of the judges were executed; and the governor received a royal mandate, dated March 5, 1660, to cauſe Whaley and Goffe to be ſecured. This greatly alarmed the country, and there is no doubt that the court were now in earneſt in their endeavours to apprehend them; and, to avoid all ſuſpicion, they gave commiſſion and inſtructions to two young merchants from England, Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, zealous royaliſts, to go through the colonies as far as Manhadoes in ſearch of them. They had friends who informed them what was doing, and they removed from Mr. Davenport's to the houſe of one Jones, where they lay hid until the 11th of May, and then removed to a mill, and from thence on the 13th into the woods, where they met Jones and two of his companions, Sperry and Burrill, who firſt conducted them to a place called Hatchet-Harbour, where they lay two nights until a cave or hole in the ſide of a hill was prepared to conceal them. This hill they called Providence-hill, and there they continued from the fifteenth of May to the 11th of June, ſometimes in the cave, and in very tempeſtuous weather in a houſe near to it. During this time the meſſengers went through New-Haven to the Dutch ſettlement, from whence they returned to Boſton by water. They made diligent ſearch, and had full proof that the regicides had been ſeen at Mr. Davenport's, and offered great rewards to Engliſh and Indians who ſhould give information that they might be taken; but by the fidelity of their three friends, they remained undiſcovered. Mr. Davenport was threatened with being called to an account for concealing and comforting traitors, and might well be alarmed. They had engaged to ſurrender, rather than the country or any particular perſons ſhould ſuffer upon their account; and upon intimation of Mr. Davenport's danger, they generouſly reſolved to go to New-Haven, and deliver themſelves up to the authority there. The miſeries they had ſuffered and were ſtill expoſed to, and the little chance they had of finally eſcaping, in a country where every ſtranger is immediately known to be ſuch, would not have been ſufficient to have induced them. They let the deputy governor, Mr. Leete, know where they were, but he took no meaſures to ſecure them, and the next day ſome perſons came to them to adviſe them not to ſurrender. Having publicly ſhewn themſelves at New-Haven, they had cleared Mr. Davenport from the ſuſpicion of ſtill concealing them, and the 24th of June went into the woods again to their cave. They continued there, ſometimes venturing to a houſe near the cave, until the 19th of Auguſt, when the ſearch for them being pretty well over, they ventured to the houſe of one Tomkins near Milford, where they remained two years, without ſo much as going into the orchard. After that, they took a little more liberty, and made themſelves known to ſeveral perſons, in whom they could confide; and each of them frequently prayed, and alſo exerciſed, as they term it, or preached, at private meetings in their chamber. In 1664 the

"FORASMUCH as Charles the Second is undoubted "King of Great-Britain, and all other his Majeſty's terri- "tories and dominions thereunto belonging, and hath been "ſome time ſince lawfully proclaimed and crowned ac- "cordingly: We therefore do, as in duty we are bound, "own and acknowledge him to be our Sovereign Lord and "King; and do therefore hereby proclaim and declare his "ſacred Majeſty Charles the Second to be lawful King of "Great-Britain, France and Ireland, and all other the ter- "ritories thereunto belonging. God ſave the King!"

An

the commiſſioners from King Charles arrived at Boſton. Upon the news of it, they retired to their cave, where they tarried eight or ten days. Soon after, ſome Indians in their hunting diſcovered the cave with the bed, &c. and the report being ſpread abroad, it was not ſafe to remain near it. On the 13th of October, 1664, they removed to Hadley, near an hundred miles diſtant, travelling only by night, where Mr. Ruſſell, the miniſter of the place, had previouſly agreed to receive them. Here they remained concealed fifteen or ſixteen years, very few perſons in the colony being privy to it. The laſt account of Goffe is from a letter, dated Ebenezer (the name they gave their ſeveral places of abode) April 2d, 1679. Whaley had been dead ſome time before. The tradition at Hadley is, that two perſons unknown were buried in the miniſter's cellar. The miniſter was no ſufferer by his boarders. They received more or leſs remittances every year, for many years together, from their wives in England. Thoſe few perſons who knew where they were, made them frequent preſents. Richard Saltonſtall, Eſq. who was in the ſecret, when he left the country and went to England in 1672, made them a preſent of fifty pounds at his departure; and they take notice of donations from ſeveral other friends. They were in conſtant terror, though they had reaſon to hope, after ſome years, that the inquiry for them was over. They read with pleaſure the news of their being killed with other judges in Switzerland. Their diary for ſix or ſeven years contains every little occurrent in the town, church and particular families in the neighbourhood. Theſe were ſmall affairs. They had indeed for a few years of their lives been among the principal actors in the great affairs of the nation, Goffe eſpecially, who turned the members of the little parliament out of the houſe, and who was attached to Oliver and to Richard to the laſt; but they were both of low birth and education. They had very conſtant and exact intelligence of every thing which paſſed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greateſt expectations were from the fulfilment of the prophecies. They had no doubt that the execution of the judges was the ſlaying of the witneſſes. They were much diſappointed when the year 1666 had paſſed without any remarkable event, but flattered themſelves that the chriſtian era might be erroneous. Their lives were miſerable, and conſtant burdens. They complain of being baniſhed from all human ſociety. A letter from Goffe's wife, who was Whaley's daughter, I think worth preſerving.* After the ſecond year, Goffe writes by the name of Walter Goldſmith, and the of Frances Goldſmith, and the correſpondence is carried on as between a mother and ſon. There is too much religion in their letters for the taſte of the preſent day; but the diſtreſſes of two perſons under theſe peculiar circumſtances, who appear to have lived very happily together, are very ſtrongly deſcribed.

Whilſt they were at Hadley (Feb. 10, 1664) Dixwell, another of the judges, came to them; but from whence, or in what part of America he firſt landed, is not known. The firſt mention of him in their journal is by the name of Col. Dixwell, but ever after they call him Mr. Davids. He continued ſome years at Hadley, and then removed to New-Haven. He was generally ſuppoſed to have been

* Appendix, No. 14.

An order paſſed the court the ſame day, and was poſted up in Boſton, forbidding all diſorderly behaviour on the occaſion, declaring that no perſon might expect indulgence for the breach of any law, and "in a particular manner that no man ſhould preſume to drink his Majeſty's health,"* which the order ſays "he hath in an eſpecial manner forbid."

An addreſs to the King was likewiſe agreed to, and ordered to be ſent to England.

Intelligence arriving of further complaints againſt the colony, and orders being received from the King that perſons ſhould be ſent over to make anſwer, the governor called

been one of thoſe who were obnoxious in England, but he never diſcovered who he was until he was on his death-bed. I have one of his letters, ſigned James Davids, dated March 23d, 1683. He married at New-Haven, and left ſeveral children. After his death, his ſon, who before had been called Davids, took the name of Dixwell, came to Boſton, and lived in good repute; was a ruling elder of one of the churches there, and died in 1721 of the ſmall-pox by inoculation. Some of his grandchildren are now living. Col. Dixwell was buried at New-Haven. His grave-ſtone ſtill remains, with this inſcription: "J. D. Eſq. deceaſed March 18th, in the 82d year of his age, 1688."

It cannot be denied that many of the principal perſons in the colony greatly eſteemed theſe perſons, for their profeſſions of piety and their grave deportment, who did not approve of their political conduct. Mr. Mitchell, the miniſter of Cambridge, who ſhewed them great friendſhip upon their firſt arrival, ſays, in a manuſcript which he wrote in his own vindication, "Since I have had opportunity by reading and diſcourſe to look a little into that action for which theſe men ſuffer, I could never ſee that it was juſtifiable." After they were declared traitors, they certainly would have been ſent to England if they could have been taken. It was generally thought they had left the country; and even the conſequence of their eſcape was dreaded, leſt when they were taken thoſe who had harboured them ſhould ſuffer for it. Mr. Endicot, the governor, writes to the Earl of Mancheſter, that he ſuppoſes they went towards the Dutch at Manhadoes, and took ſhipping for Holland; and Mr. Bradſtreet, the then governor, in December 1684 writes to Edward Randolph, "that after their being at New-Haven he could never hear what became of them." Randolph, who was ſent to ſearch into the ſecrets of the government, could obtain no more knowledge of them than that they had been in the country, and reſpect had been ſhewn them by ſome of the magiſtrates. I am loth to omit an anecdote handed down through governor Leveret's family. I find Goffe takes notice in his journal of Leveret's being at Hadley. The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in 1675, in the time of public worſhip, and the people were in the utmoſt confuſion. Suddenly, a grave, elderly perſon appeared in the midſt of them. In his mein and dreſs he differed from the reſt of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themſelves, but put himſelf at their head, rallied, inſtructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulſed. As ſuddenly the deliverer of Hadley diſappeared. The people were left in conſternation, utterly unable to account for this ſtrange phenomenon. It is not probable that they were ever able to explain it. If Goffe had been then diſcovered, it muſt have come to the knowledge of thoſe perſons who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him.

* Hoc eſt ad noſtros non leve crimen avos." *Ovid.*

called the court together again the 31ſt of December; and Simon Bradſtreet, one of the magiſtrates, and John Norton, one of the miniſters of Boſton church, were choſen agents for the colony, and inſtructions given them, the ſum of which was—to repreſent the colony as his Majeſty's loyal and obedient ſubjects—to endeavour to take off all ſcandal and objections—and to underſtand his Majeſty's apprehenſions concerning them; to do nothing which might be prejudicial to the charter, and to keep the court adviſed of theſe tranſactions and all occurrences.*

Theſe gentlemen engaged in the ſervice with great reluctance, Mr. Norton particularly. A ſhip was ſtopped for them upon demurrage, and then diſcharged, and then ſtopped again. At length the committee, appointed to do every thing neceſſary for their diſpatch in the receſs of the court, engaged "to make good all damages they might ſuſtain by the detention of their perſons in England or otherwiſe." They departed the 10th of February.

Their reception in England was much more favourable than was expected, their ſtay ſhort, returning the next fall with the King's moſt gracious letter, ſome parts of which cheered the hearts of the country; and they then looked upon, and often afterwards recurred to them, as a confirmation of their charter privileges, and an amneſty of all paſt errors. The letter was ordered to be publiſhed; and in an order for a public thankſgiving particular notice is taken of "the return of their meſſengers, and the continuance of the mercies of peace, liberties, and the goſpel."†

There

* Mr. Pynchon writes to Mr. Davenport at New-Haven, March 26, 1662, "Our general court after much agitation and oppoſition have at laſt ſent two "meſſengers to England, Mr. N. and Mr. B. who went from Boſton 10th Feb. "I pray God it may be for the beſt. The event is doubtful to me, ſeeing we "have ſo many falſe friends and open enemies." The fears of the people while they were abſent appear from many paſſages in private letters, mentioning reports that Mr. Bradſtreet and Norton were detained in England, that Mr. Norton was in the tower, &c.

† Lord Say, who, upon the reſtoration, which he had been inſtrumental in promoting, was made lord privy ſeal, retained his friendſhip for the colony, as appears by the following letter.

"London, 10th July, 1661.

"Gentlemen and honoured friends,

"Having ſo ſafe a hand and ſo true a friend to convey a line to you, as the bearer, Mr. Crowne, I was loth to omit writing, becauſe it may be my laſt, my glaſs being almoſt run out, and I retiring home. You have had ſeveral appeared here

There were ſome things however in the King's letter hard to comply with; and although it was ordered to be publiſhed, yet it was with this caution, that "inaſmuch as "the letter hath influence upon the churches as well as "civil ſtate, all manner of actings in relation thereto ſhall "be ſuſpended until the next general court, that ſo all "perſons concerned may have time and opportunity to "conſider of what is neceſſary to be done in order to his "Majeſty's pleaſure therein." The King expreſſly declares, "We will preſerve, and do hereby confirm, the "patent and charter heretofore granted unto them by our "royal father, of bleſſed memory; and they ſhall fully "enjoy all the privileges and liberties granted to them in "and by the ſame; and we will be ready to renew the "ſame charter to them under our great ſeal of England "whenſoever they ſhall deſire it." His Majeſty's gracious pardon to all his ſubjects was likewiſe declared, for all treaſons, &c. during the late troubles, except to ſuch as ſtood attainted by act of parliament, if any ſuch ſhould have tranſported themſelves thither: but then it was required, that all their laws ſhould be reviewed, and ſuch as were contrary or derogatory to the King's authority and government ſhould be annulled and repealed; that the oath of allegiance ſhould be duly adminiſtered; that the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhould be in the King's name: that freedom and liberty ſhould be given to all ſuch as deſired to

here againſt you, and have been examined againſt you, as Capt. Breedan and others, of whom, and about what, this bearer can more particularly inform you than I will at this time write; and I muſt lay for Mr. Crowne, he hath appeared both here in the council, and to the lord chamberlain and others, as really and cordially for you as any could do, and hath allayed the ill opinion of your cruelty againſt the quakers, willingly neglected his paſſage to ſtay here to ſerve you; and by his means and information of the ſtate of your government as now it is, I hope you will have no governor put upon you but of your own liking, wherefore I muſt requeſt you will really own and accordingly requite Mr. Crowne his love, care and pains for you, of which I have been an eye witneſs. I have brought him to the lord chamberlain and other, and have requeſted their lordſhips to aſſiſt him in your behalf. I have not been wanting both to the King and council to advance your intereſt, more I cannot do, but earneſtly to pray the Lord to ſtand with you and for you. I remain your aſſured loving friend to ſerve you,

For my very honoured friends the governor of the Maſſachuſetts colony in New-England, for the time being, to be communicated to the reſt of the magiſtrates and aſſiſtants there.

W. [illegible] & SEALE."

to uſe the book of common prayer, and perform their devotions in the manner eſtabliſhed in England, and that they might not undergo any prejudice thereby; that all perſons of good and honeſt lives and converſations ſhould be admitted to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the book of common prayer, and their children to baptiſm; that in the choice of governor and aſſiſtants, the only conſideration to be had ſhould be of the wiſdom, virtue and integrity of the perſons to be choſen, and not of any faction with reference to opinions and outward profeſſion; that all freeholders of competent eſtates, not vicious, &c. though of different perſuaſions concerning church government, ſhould have their votes in the election of all officers, civil and military; and, finally, that this letter ſhould be publiſhed, &c.

However reaſonable the ſeveral things required by the King appear to us at this day,* yet many of them were grievous to our anceſtors. The agents met with the fate of moſt agents ever ſince.† The favours they had obtained were ſuppoſed to be no more than might well have been expected, and their merits were ſoon forgot; the evils which they had it not in their power to prevent were attributed to their neglect or unneceſſary conceſſions. Mr. Bradſtreet was a man of more phlegm, and not ſo ſenſibly touched;

* When the legiſlator has believed it a duty to permit the exerciſe of many religions, it is neceſſary that he ſhould enforce alſo a toleration amongſt theſe religions themſelves. *Spir. Laws.*

† Mr. Davis, a merchant in Boſton, lately arrived from England, writes to Mr. Davenport at New-Haven as follows: "Mr. Norton hath loſt himſelf much in the eſteem of the generality, and will do more. I was told that he declared to the court, if they complied not with the King's letter, the blood that ſhould be ſpilt would lie at their door. Yeſterday half a dozen of the great church went to him and Mr. Wilſon and elder Penn, in the name of themſelves and others, deſiring that an aſſiſtant might be choſen (intending Mr. Allen, I ſuppoſe, whom the Lord appears much with, having given him large room in the hearts of the people) but ſome I hear have gone on the other ſide and oppoſed it."

Doctor Mather ſays, upon this occaſion, "Such has been the jealous diſpoſition of our New-Englanders about their dearly bought privileges, and ſuch alſo has been the various underſtanding of the people about the extent of thoſe privileges, that of all the agents which they have ſent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with ſome very froward entertainment among his countrymen. And there may be the wiſdom of the holy and righteous God, as well as the malice of the evil one, acknowledged in the ordering of ſuch temptations. Of theſe temptations a conſiderable ſhare fell to Mr. Norton; concerning whom there were many who would not ſtick to ſay, that 'he had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties,' and his melancholy mind imagined that his beſt friends began therefore to look awry upon him." *Magnalia.*

touched; but Mr. Norton was so affected, that he grew melancholy. He died suddenly, very soon after his return (April 5, 1663.)* The only thing done at this session in compliance with his Majesty's orders, besides making the letter public, was the giving directions, that all writs, processes, &c. should be in his Majesty's name. A committee was afterwards appointed to consider what was proper to be done as to the other parts, who were to report the next session; and liberty was given to any of the reverend elders, to any freemen, and to any other the inhabitants, to send in their thoughts, that so after serious consideration something might be agreed upon, "satisfactory and safe, conducing to the glory of God and the felicity of his people."

The year 1662 was remarkable for a synod or general council of all the churches, held at Boston in the month of September, by order of the general court.

The two questions referred to their decision, and concerning which the country was much divided in sentiment, were these:

1st. Who are the subjects of baptism?

2d. Whether according to the word of God there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?

The result of this synod was printed by order of the general court, and is particularly mentioned by Doctor Mather, Mr. Neal, and other writers. †

John

* Upon his sudden death the Quakers remarked, "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord was smitten; and as he was sinking down by the fire side, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." *Represent. to King and Parliament.*

A drunken justice, who had been a great persecutor of the Quakers in England, was threatened by Fox with divine punishment. The justice died of an apoplexy two days after. His death was not ascribed to his intemperance, but to Fox's predictions. *Volt. Let.*

Subito mori piis pariter atque impiis commune est. *Eras. Epist.*

† It being part of the result of this synod, that the children of such as made a public profession of their faith, &c. although not in full communion, might be admitted to baptism, several of the members dissented. Mr. Chauncey, the president of the college, and Mr. Davenport, of New-Haven, opposed it in print. Mr. Allen answered the first, and Mr. Richard Mather the other. His son, Mr. Increase Mather, a young gentleman about three and twenty, was with the dissenters. He writes Mr. Davenport, October 21, 1662, "I have your writings "still in my hands. I offered the synod to read them, but Mr. Norton advised "them not to suffer me; whereupon I let them have a copy of them, which was

John Touton, a French doctor and inhabitant of Rochel in France, made application to the court in behalf of himself and other protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, that they might have liberty to inhabit here, which was readily granted to them.

Capt. Breedan, who as we have before mentioned had been in England, and had complained of the government for harbouring regicides, and had laid divers other things to its charge to render it obnoxious, returned to New-England this year, and behaved with great insolence in the face of the court, usurping authority, and laying his commands on them; but he soon found they had not lost their spirit. They committed him to prison for his contemptuous carriage, and afterwards fined him two hundred pounds,* and ordered that he become bound in two hundred pounds, with sureties, to be of good behaviour, standing committed until sentence be performed. On the other hand, Isaac Cole, the constable of Woburn, being charged with having refused to publish the King's letter, and Edward Converse, one of the selectmen of that town, with having spoken disrespectfully of it, as tending to popery, process was ordered against them, and they were held to answer for a high misdemeanor; but the facts charged against them not being proved, they were acquitted.

The severe acts of parliament against nonconformists caused some of them again to think of a place of refuge. Several

"was generally transcribed. I have given in yours and Mr. Street's testimony "unto the general court, with a preface subscribed by Mr. Chauncey, Mr. Mayo, "my brother, and myself, in the name of others of the dissenting brethren in the "synod, wherein we declare that we fully concur with what is inserted by your- "self in those papers. Some of the court would fain have thrown them out "without reading, but the major part were not so violent. It was moved they "might be printed. All the answer we could get was, that we might do as we "would. We count it a favour we were not commanded to be silent. You "may see which way things are like to be carried."

Mr. Eleazer Mather, of Northampton, writes to Mr. Davenport, of New-Haven, 4th of 5th month, 1662, "There was scarce any of the congregational "principles but what were layen at by some or other of the assembly; as rela- "tions of the work of grace, power of voting of the fraternity in admission, pro- "fession of faith and repentance not to be required of such as were baptized in "the church, in reference to the baptism of their children. Mr. Parker, of "Newbury, was one of the great antagonists of the congregational way and "order, though it not being the work of the present synod, his many motions to "consider whether we were in the right ecclesiastical order were not attended."

* Afterwards, upon application from Sir Thomas Temple, seconded by governor Winthrop of Connecticut, the fine was remitted, or granted to Sir Thomas Temple to be disposed of at his pleasure.

Several miniſters came over, and more intended to follow; but New-England was threatened with a loſs of their privileges, and if the threat had been executed they would not have been ſecure in theſe remote parts.*

The inhabitants upon Connecticut river being increaſed to three townſhips, Springfield, Northampton and Hadley, at the ſeſſions of the general court in May, 1662, they were made a county by the name of Hampſhire.

A letter was ſent ſigned by the governor in the name of the general court, dated Oct. 20, 1663, to Doctor John Owen, deſiring him to come over and to accept the call or invitation which the firſt church in Boſton had given him to become their teacher in the room of Mr. Norton; but he could not be prevailed upon.†

In 1664 the people of New-England were ſurpriſed with the appearance of a very large comet, which continued from the 17th of November, until the 4th of February following. At firſt it appeared in the eaſt, bearded; afterwards in the weſt, with a tail. They were not alone in their opinion that comets were omens of great evils. So judicious a writer as Sleidan obſerves, that a comet was ſeen all the month of Auguſt preceding the October when Zuinglius was ſlain; he adds, that the queen mother of France died about the ſame time. One had appeared juſt before Mr. Cotton's death. The death of their aged governor, and the troubles the colony met with the next year from the King's commiſſioners, tended to confirm people in their opinion. The aurora borealis, and even eclipſes, in

* "Here is come with Woodgreene one Mr. Davies, a rich merchant; and "there came with him one Mr. Allen, a young man, a very able teacher, recom-"mended by Mr. Goodwin. He hath taught here divers times ſince he came. "Many are expected this ſummer. Mr. Bartlett of Biddeford, and his ſon, "were ſhipped for New-England; but an oath being required of them before "they could get out of the harbour, they choſe to die in priſon rather than take "it." *E. Mather's letter to Davenport, July*, 1662. Another MS in 1662 ſays, "There is great talk of many miniſters with their congregations coming over the "next year, if room can be found for them. There was a general governor and "a major general choſen, and a biſhop with a ſuffragan; but Mr. Norton writes, "that they are not yet out of hopes to prevent it; the governor's name is Sir "Robert Carr, a rank papiſt."

† Capt. Gookin, one of the aſſiſtants, in a letter dated July, 1666, ſays, "Doctor Owen and ſome choice ones who intended to come with him in Mr. "Peirce are diverted, and that not from hopes of better times there, but from "fears of worſe here, which ſome new counſels there acting gave them occaſion "for, ſo that in all probability a new cloud is gathering and a ſtorm preparing "for us."

in former ages have been deemed prodigies, and of ill omen.*

The firſt proſecution I find upon record of any of the people called anabaptiſts was in the year 1665. William Turner, Thomas Gold, Edward Drinker, John George, and Thomas Oſborne, were charged before the governor and other magiſtrates with "gathering themſelves into a pretended church ſtate,† in oppoſition to the order of the churches of Chriſt in the colony, and intermeddling with thoſe holy appointments of the Lord Jeſus, which are proper only to office truſt." They confeſſed they had joined in a church ſociety, that they had been rebaptized, and that one of them adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper. They were admoniſhed, and threatened that if they continued to meet and practiſe contrary to the order of the goſpel, the court would proceed againſt them according to their demerits. They perſevered notwithſtanding, and were ſentenced by the court to be diſfranchiſed, if they were freemen, and if they ſtill continued their practice to be committed to priſon upon conviction before one magiſtrate, until the general court ſhould take further order; and ſome time after they were impriſoned and baniſhed. *Nitimur in vetitum* was verified in this proceeding as it uſually is in the like caſes. Severity made converts, and then it was thought adviſable to ceaſe from further proſecutions.‡ The baptiſts in England were diſtinguiſhed at this

* Cœlum viſum eſt ardere plurimo igni, portentaque alia aut obverſata oculis, aut vana exterritis oſtentavere ſpecies. *Liv.*

† This ſeverity was diſagreeable to many. A petition to the court was ſigned by Capt. Hutchinſon, Capt. Oliver, and others, in 1668, for favour to Thomas Gold and the reſt; but it gave offence, and ſome of the petitioners were obliged to acknowledge their fault, ſome expreſſions in the petition being conſtrued reproachful, and the chief promoters were fined. Mr. Increaſe Mather writes to his brother at Northampton, July 3d, 1665, "In this town is lately congregated a church of anabaptiſts. They take advantage from the commiſſioners, who declared that they would have liberty given to all ſorts and ſects of men."

‡ This was not the firſt appearance of antipædobaptiſm in the colony. Mr. Dunſtar, the preſident of the college, made profeſſion of it, and was forced to quit his preſidentſhip. Mr. Chauncey, his ſucceſſor, held immerſion neceſſary, but was content that the ordinance ſhould be adminiſtered to infants, provided it was done in that way. In Mr. Hooker's time, ſoon after the year 1640, it appears by his letters that many were inclined that way, and he expreſſes his apprehenſions that the number would increaſe. "In 1644, one Painter, for refuſing to let his child be baptized (his wife deſiring it) was brought before the court, where he declared their baptiſm to be antichriſtian. He was ſentenced to be

this time into three diviſions. "Such as look upon all "who had not been baptized after they came to adult age "as little better than heathens, and will not join in prayer "with the moſt eminent congregational miniſters, if they "were providentially in a family together. Others are ſo-"ber, moderate men, and manifeſt the power of godlineſs "in their converſations; and theſe upon our occaſional "meetings we join hand and heart with, and call ſome of "them out to pray with us, and we would not have this "difference in judgment between us make the leaſt breach "in affection, for many of thoſe we look upon to be emi-"nent, precious, holy men. We have a third ſort, but "they are not many (and moſt of them at London) that "take into fellowſhip thoſe that are godly, and deſire to "join with them, though they come not up to be baptiz-"ed, and walk lovingly together.* The firſt baptiſts in Maſſachuſetts are repreſented by the writers of that day to have been of the ſame principles with thoſe firſt deſ-cribed. Some of them were not ſo. I have ſeen a letter dated not many years after this time, from Mr. Miles, the baptiſt miniſter at Swanzey, to one of the congregational miniſters at Boſton, which breathes the true ſpirit of the goſpel, and urges chriſtian concord, charity and love, al-though they did not agree in every point.

In the year 1664 the line between Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth was fully and amicably ſettled and ran, by a committee from each colony, their return being accepted by the general court of Maſſachuſetts, and ordered to be recorded;

be whipped, which he bore without flinching, and boaſted that God had aſſiſted him. His neighbours gave him the character of an idle, lying fellow." *Hubbard.*

Mr. Weſtgate, who had been in New-England, writes from Harleſtone, 5th 2d month, 1653, to Mr. Thomas Lake, a merchant of note in Boſton, "Pray inform "me in your next whether Mr. Cotton be alive, and if he be dead, what ſupply "the church have in his ſtead, and how the ſtate of it ſtands, and alſo the ſtate "of the other church in Boſton, of which I can hear nothing. Inform me whe-"ther the number of thoſe that oppoſe baptizing of infants increaſe, and how it "is taken by the magiſtrates and churches, and who of Boſton church declare "themſelves that way."

When the proceedings againſt the congregationaliſts in England were com-plained of, they were told by Dr. Stillingfleet that they were juſtified by the pro-ceedings of their brethren in New-England againſt diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed worſhip there. *Still. miſch. of ſeparation.*

* Mr. Weſtgate's letter to Mr. Increaſe Mather.

recorded; and there is no doubt the general court of Plymouth colony accepted it likewiſe.*

From the reſtoration until the vacating the charter, the colony never ſtood well in England; the principal perſons both in church and ſtate were never without fearful expectations of being deprived of their privileges. The years 1664 and 1665 afforded them greater occaſion for fears than they had met with at any time before.† In the ſpring of 1664 intelligence was brought that ſeveral men of war were coming from England, and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction aboard them. As ſoon as the general court met in May, they ordered the captain of the caſtle to give the ſpeedieſt notice, upon ſight of the ſhips, to the governor and deputy governor; appointed a committee to repair on board, to preſent the reſpects of the court to the gentlemen, and to acquaint them, that it was the deſire of the authority of the place that ſtrict orders ſhould be given to the under officers and ſoldiers, in their coming aſhore to refreſh themſelves, at no time to exceed a convenient number, and thoſe without arms, and to behave themſelves orderly, and to give no offence to the people and laws of the place. This was no more than a prudent precaution, conſidering how ſtrict the laws were againſt all immoralities, the ſenſe the magiſtrates had of their obligations to execute them upon all offenders without diſtinction, the certainty that the crews of men of war would offend, and the danger of tumults, quarrels and bloodſhed when they ſhould be brought to puniſhment. Preparation was likewiſe made for receiving and entertaining the gentlemen in the beſt manner.

A day of faſting and prayer ‡ was appointed to be obſerved

* Although there have been diſputes concerning this line ſince the preſent charter, between the proprietors of the towns in the county of Plymouth and Suffolk, which were bounded by the colony lines, yet the ſtation from whence they then began to run has never been doubted. The committee ſay in their return, "We all mutually agreed upon the firſt ſtation, having meaſured three miles ſoutherly of the ſouthernmoſt part of the ſaid river." Charles river being juſt before mentioned.

† In the year 1664 the wheat through the colony was ſpoiled by blaſt or mildew. This is repreſented as a new or unuſual thing, but continued more or leſs for divers years together, until the people were diſcouraged from ſowing, but little wheat having been raiſed ſince, except in the towns upon Connecticut river.

‡ This was their practice upon every important occaſion. Their dependence upon theſe days however was not ſuch as cauſed them to neglect any other means in

ſerved throughout the juriſdiction, to implore the mercy of God to them under their many diſtractions and troubles according as they ſhould ſtand in need. And apprehending it to be of great concernment that the patent or charter ſhould be kept ſafe and ſecret, they ordered the ſecretary to bring it into court, and to deliver it, together with a duplicate, to four of the court,* who were directed to diſpoſe of them as might be moſt ſafe for the country.

The ſhips arrived Saturday the 23d of July, with Col. Richard Nichols, and George Cartwright, Eſq.† who, together with Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick, Eſq. had received a commiſſion‡ from the King for reducing the Dutch at the Manhadoes, viſiting the colonies in New-England, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and ſettling the peace and ſecurity of the country, any three or two of them to be a quorum, Col. Nichols during his life being one. At their deſire the governor ordered a meeting of the council on Tueſday the 26th. The commiſſioners laid their commiſſion before the council, with the King's letter of the 23d of April, and part of an inſtruction referring to the reducing the Manhadoes; and propoſed the raiſing ſuch a number of men as the country could ſpare, to begin their march on the 20th of Auguſt, promiſing that if in the mean time they could prevail by treaty or any nearer aſſiſtance they would ſtop the progreſs of raiſing or marching the men.

The council gave their anſwer, that they would cauſe the general court to aſſemble the 3d of Auguſt, and communicate the propoſal to them. The commiſſioners then acquainted the council that there were many more things to ſignify to them at their return from Manhadoes; and the council was deſired in the mean time further to conſider of his Majeſty's letter to the colony, June 28, 1662, and to give a more ſatisfactory anſwer than formerly. The commiſſioners then proceeded to the Manhadoes.

The

in their power for promoting the public weal. Modern hiſtorians cenſure this conduct as weakneſs. Cato only cenſured the ancient Romans for not joining their endeavours to their prayers. "Ubi focordiæ tete atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam deos implores, irati infeſtique ſunt." *Cato apud Saluſt.*

* Mr. Bellingham, Maj. Gen. Leveret, Capt. Clark, and Capt. Johnſon.

† Sir Robert Carr and Mr. Maverick arrived at Piſcataqua about the ſame time.

‡ Appendix, No 15.

The court assembled at the time appointed. They first resolved "that they would bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and adhere to their patent, so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men." And then resolved to raise a number not exceeding two hundred men, at the charge of the colony, for his Majesty's service against the Dutch. The men were raised; but the place surrendering on articles, no orders were given for them to march.* The court in the next place considered of his Majesty's letter of 1662, and repealed the law relating to the admission of freemen, and instead of it provided another that allowed English subjects, being freeholders, rateable to a certain value, certified by the minister of the place to be orthodox, and not vicious in their lives, to be made freemen, although not members of the church. The other parts of the letter were referred until the commissioners' return.

They agreed upon an address to the King, setting forth the purchase of the soil from the council of Plymouth—the charter from King Charles the First—the great charge they had been at in transporting themselves and families, in purchasing lands of the natives, and settling the colony—his Majesty's explicit confirmation of their privileges, &c. They then express their grief in having four persons sent over, one of them † their known and professed enemy, with such extraordinary powers, by means whereof they were like to be subjected to the arbitrary power of strangers, proceeding not by any established law but their own discretion; and being thus subjected to complaints, appeals, and the determinations of new judges, the government and administration would be made void and of no effect; and although they had but tasted of the words and actions of the gentlemen, yet they had enough to satisfy them that the powers given by the commission would be improved to the

* Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, as commissioners from Massachusetts, attended the King's commissioners to Manhadoes. The Manhadoes surrendered the 27th Aug. 1664, the inhabitants becoming English subjects and being left in the enjoyment of their estates and many of their privileges; Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, also becoming subject to the English government. I have the copy of a letter sent to him from the Dutch West-India company, requiring him to come home, and give a more satisfactory account by word of mouth than he had done by his letters.

† Maverick.

the ſubverſion of their all; that if things went on according to the preſent appearance, they muſt either ſeek new dwellings or ſink under intolerable burdens, the inhabitants would be driven to they knew not what extremities, and a hopeful plantation ruined; that if any profit was expected by the King, or by new rulers impoſed upon them, they would be diſappointed, the country being poor, and but juſt affording ſubſiſtence; that if the people ſhould be drove out of the country (for to a coalition they would never come) it would be hard to find another people that would ſtay long in it; that the body of the people was ſatisfied with the preſent government; that there was no government under heaven where there were no diſcontented perſons; that there were but few among them, and fewer that had cauſe to be ſo. They appeal to God that they came not into this wilderneſs to ſeek great things for themſelves, but for the ſake of a quiet life. They profeſs their ſubjection to his Majeſty, and willingneſs to teſtify their dutiful affection in any righteous way; but it was a great unhappineſs to be reduced to the hard caſe of having no other way of doing it but by deſtroying their own being, which nature taught them to preſerve, or yielding up their liberties, far dearer to them than their lives; which if they had had any reaſon to expect, they would not have wandered from their fathers' houſes to the ends of the earth, a royal donation from ſo great a Prince being the greateſt ſecurity in human affairs. They ſent letters humbly to ſue for favour to ſeveral of the nobility, and among others to the Lord Clarendon, from whom they had an unfavourable anſwer.*

The Dutch being reduced, Nichols remained at New-York; the other commiſſioners returned to Boſton the 15th of February, and acquainted the governor and council that the next day they ſhould go to Plymouth to deliver the King's letter to that government, and deſired orders might be given to all the inhabitants to aſſemble together the next election day: to which it was anſwered, that all were at their liberty; but the reaſon of ſuch a motion they could not ſee into, nor ſhould they encourage it, not only on account

* Appendix, No. 17.

count of the buſineſs of the ſeaſon, but becauſe the wives and children of a conſiderable part of the people, together with many aged perſons, muſt be left expoſed to the rage of the natives. To which Cartwright replied, "that the motion was ſo reaſonable, that he that would not attend to it was a traitor." This was rough uſage, and could have no good conſequences. The commiſſioners ſent letters in their own name about the country, to invite the people to aſſemble.

Having diſpatched their buſineſs at Plymouth,* they went

* His Majeſties commiſſioners propoſitions to Plymouth jurisdiction.

WE were comaunded particularly to recomend theſe thinges to yeu from his Majeſtye.

1. That all houſeholders inhabitinge in your cólonye take the oath of allegiance. And that your adminiſtrations of juſtice be in his Majeſtye's name.

2. That all men of competent eſtates and civil converſation, though of different judgment, may be admitted to be freemen, and haue liberty to choote and be chooſen officers both civill and military.

3. That all men and woemen of orthodoxe opinions, competent eſtates, knowledge, civill liues and not ſcandalous, may be admitted to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and their children to baptiſme [if they deſire it] either by admittinge them into the congregation already gathered, or permittinge them to gather themſelves into ſuch congregations, where they may enjoy benefitt of the ſacrament, and that difference in opinion may not breake the bonds of peace and charity.

4. That all lawes and expreſſions in lawes derogatory to his Majeſty, if any ſuch haue beene made in theſe partes in the laite troubleſome tymes, may be repealed, altered and taken off from the file.

The Court's anſwer.

1. To the firſt we conſent, it haueing been the practiſe of this court in the firſt place to inſart in the oath of fidelity, required of every houſeholder, to be true and loyall to our ſoveraigne Lord the King, his heires and ſucceſſors: alſoe to adminiſter all actes of juſtice in his Majeſtyes name.

2. To the ſecond we alſoe conſent, it haueing beene our conſtant practiſe to admitt men of competent eſtates, and civill converſation, though of different judgments, yet beinge otherwiſe orthodoxe, to be freemen, and to haue liberty to choote and to be chooſen officers both civill and military.

4. To the 4th we conſent, that all lawes and expreſſions of lawes derogatory to his Majeſtye [if any ſuch be found amongſt us, which at preſent we are not conſcious of] ſhall be repealed, altered and taken off the file.

3. To the 3d, we cannot but acknowledge it to be a high favour from God and from our Soveraigne that we may enjoy our conſciences in point of God's worſhip, the main end of tranſplanting ourſelves into theſe remote corners of the earth, and ſhould moſt heartily rejoice that all our neighbours, ſo qualified as in that propoſition, would adjoine themſelves to our ſocieties according to the order of the goſpel, for the enjoyment of the ſacraments to themſelves and theirs; but if through different perſwaſions reſpecting church government it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any according to the propoſition that are truly conſcientious, althô differing from us (eſpecially where his Majeſtye commands it) they maintaining an able preaching miniſtry for carrying on of publick ſabbath worſhip, which we doubt not is his Majeſties intent, and withdraw not from paying their due proportions of maintenance to ſuch miniſters as are orderly ſettled in the places where they live, until they have one of their owne, and that in ſuch places as are capable of maintaining the worſhip of God in two diſtinct congregations.

went to the Narraganſet country, and at Warwick held their court, made inquiry into the titles of lands there, and made divers determinations which had no long effect, and came privately and ſeparately to Boſton the latter end of April, and ſo prevented, deſignedly as was ſuppoſed, that reſpect which was intended to have been ſhewn them at their arrival. Mr. Endicot, the governor, died the 15th of March, 1665. Mr. Bellingham, the deputy governor, with ſome of the magiſtrates, aſſembled as uſual, the 2d of May, the day before the election, to prepare for the buſineſs of the next day. The commiſſioners deſired to ſpeak with them, which though at firſt they refuſed, being no court, yet when it was urged by the commiſſioners, it was ſubmitted to. Five writings were delivered as part of their inſtructions. The firſt, expreſſing "the great kindneſs of the King for the colony, and his deſire to advance a plantation which had given ſo good an example of ſobriety and induſtry to all others." The ſecond, declaring that the King was ſo far from any thought of abridging, that he was very ready to enlarge all the conceſſions made by his royal father in the charter, or to make any alterations for the proſperity of the colony." The third, "that the principal end of their journey was to remove all jealouſies the King might have of the loyalty and affections of his good ſubjects towards him, or which they might have of his good opinion and confidence in them, and his protection over them." The fourth, "that by this means the deſigns of wicked and ſeditious perſons would be diſappointed, and a foundation laid for mutual confidence and ſatisfaction; the King would look upon his colony of Maſſachuſetts within the ſame limits of affection, duty and obedience to his

gregations. We being greatly incouraged by his Majeſties gracious expreſſions in his letter to us, and your honours further aſſurance of his royal purpoſe to continue our liberties, that where places by reaſon of our paucity and poverty are uncapable of two, it is not intended that ſuch congregations as are already in being ſhould be rooted out, but their liberties preſerved, there being other places to accommodate men of different perſwaſions in ſocieties by themſelves, which by our knowne experience tends moſt to the preſervation of peace and charity.

The league between the colonies was not with any intent (that ever we heard of) to caſt off our dependance upon England, a thing which we utterly abhorre; intreating your honours to believe us, for we ſpeak as in the preſence of God.

New-Plymouth,
May 4, 1665.

By order of the general court for the juriſdiction of New-Plymouth,
per me Nathaniel Morton, ſecry.

his perſon and government as Kent or Yorkſhire, and they again would have the ſame confidence of his care and protection as the others had, and all have great reaſon to acknowledge the good effects which by God's bleſſing would proceed from this commiſſion." Theſe were given as from his Majeſty. The fifth was a meſſage of their own, "aſſuring the council, in his Majeſty's name, that whatever had been granted by his royal predeceſſor, or promiſed by himſelf, ſhould to the utmoſt be made good; and deſiring they might have no juſt cauſe to repreſent to his Majeſty any thing which might ſeem to come ſhort of that juſt duty and allegiance which might merit his Majeſty's favour." They then acquainted the council with the favourable repreſentation they had made to his Majeſty of the readineſs of the colony to have aſſiſted in the expedition againſt the Dutch, if it had been neceſſary.*

Before there was an opportunity for an anſwer, they acquainted the deputy governor and the reſt with two other inſtructions; one, "for publiſhing the letters which had been ſent to the King, with the anſwers to them;" the other, "for laying before the commiſſioners a map or plan of the colony, that they might hear and determine all claims made by ſuch as bordered upon it." They alſo complained of ſlanderous reports about the country, that they were come to raiſe a revenue of 5000l. a year for the King, to lay 12d. per acre annual rent on all improved lands, &c.

As ſoon as the election was over, viz. on the 4th of May, theſe matters were laid by the governor before the general court. The commiſſioners were immediately deſired to communicate to the court the whole which his Majeſty had given in command to declare to them, that ſo they might have their whole work before them: but they replied, that they would not obſerve that method, but when they had an anſwer to what they had given in, they would then preſent them with more work. The refuſal itſelf

* Mr. Smith in his hiſtory of New-York ſays, that Col. Nicholls and Sir George Carteret in their letter to the Secretary of State complain much of the backwardneſs of Maſſachuſetts. Two hundred men it is certain were raiſed and ready to march with great expedition.

itſelf was not ſo diſpleaſing as the terms and manner in which it was expreſſed and delivered.

The 5th the court gave their anſwer, in ſubſtance as follows, reſerving liberty to enlarge afterwards if there ſhould be cauſe, viz.

"That they acknowledged with all humble thanks his Majeſty's grace and favour in his letters and meſſages, and they would lay hold of every opportunity to ſhew their duty and loyalty to him.

"That what relates to the Dutch being fully accompliſhed, no further anſwer could be expected, only an acknowledgment of the favourable repreſentation which the commiſſioners had made of the conduct of the court.

"As to a map of the colony, it was preparing, and they ſhould ſoon have ſatisfaction therein.

"That his Majeſty's letters had been laid before the court, and ſo had the papers received from the commiſſioners, and copies were ſpread about the country, and if the commiſſioners deſired any further publication they would endeavour their ſatisfaction.

"That they were willing to adviſe with the commiſſioners upon the beſt way of putting a ſtop to all falſe rumours; and finally, that their confidence of his Majeſty's grace and favour and royal intentions to them, being further cheriſhed by the commiſſioners, would undoubtedly draw from them more ample expreſſions and demonſtrations of duty, loyalty and good affection to his Majeſty, according as by their patent they were bound."

To this anſwer the commiſſioners replied,

That to the preface "they deſired the court to improve the liberty reſerved of enlarging, &c."

To the firſt head, "that the opportunity they ſeemed ſo willing to lay hold of was now brought to their hands."

To the ſecond, "that nothing further was neceſſary."

To the third, "that many things of great moment could not be iſſued until a perfect map was had."

To the fourth, "That they would not aggravate any neglect, but they hoped the general court by practical aſſertions of duty would give his Majeſty ſatisfaction upon the

the points contained in the letter of 1662, which had ſo long ſlept in ſome hands."

To the fifth, "they were fully perſuaded the printing the reſults and concluſions which ſhould be made on his Majeſty's part, and the part of the colony, would ſilence all thoſe falſe and malicious reports which they expected ſhould be inquired into."

To the concluſion, "that altho' their patent laid them under peculiar obligation, yet it did not circumſcribe all that duty and allegiance which was due to his Majeſty from natural born ſubjects, and which they themſelves in former papers had more fully expreſſed."

The ſame day the commiſſioners communicated other parts of their inſtructions, viz.

"That they ſhould inform themſelves of the ſtate of the neighbouring Indian Princes, and inquire what treaties had been made between them and any of the King's ſubjects, and if there had been any failure on the part of any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, the commiſſioners ſhould take effectual courſe that reparation and ſatisfaction be made for any injury ſuſtained thereby, and uſe all ways and means to let thoſe Princes and other Indians know of his Majeſty's charge, &c."

The commiſſioners informed the court of great complaints received from the Narraganſet Indians, and deſired to be adviſed how they ſhould attain a true information, that they might do juſtice and give the King a juſt account, &c.

"That they ſhould make due inquiry what progreſs had been towards the foundation and maintenance of any college or ſchools for the education of youth and converſion of infidels, the King having taken abundant ſatisfaction in the accounts he had received of the deſigns of the colony herein, which he hoped would draw a bleſſing upon all their other undertakings."

"That they ſhould not give too eaſy an ear to clamours or accuſations againſt ſuch as then were, or had been, in places of government, except from men of equal condition, and then they ſhould proceed to examine and determine, according to the rules of juſtice, without reſpect of perſons or opinions." "That

"That they ſhould not receive any complaints againſt a magiſtrate, except for ſomething done againſt equity or againſt the charter, nor interrupt the courſe of juſtice between party and party, except the proceedings ſhould be expreſſly contrary to the rules preſcribed by the charter, or the matter in difference aroſe from ſome expreſſion or clauſe in ſome grant under the great ſeal. In thoſe caſes to examine and proceed according to juſtice."

Upon the ſubject of this inſtruction the commiſſioners acquainted the court, "they had received many complaints from the Engliſh of hard meaſure in ſeveral kinds, one more eſpecially which they offered to communicate, and dared not refuſe to examine it, but had ſo much reſpect to the authority in the ſeveral colonies that they would leave it to the choice of the court whether it ſhould be heard at Providence in Rhode Iſland, or at Boſton, either at that time, or after the commiſſioners' return from the eaſtward where they were going." This referred to a criminal proſecution againſt one John Porter, jun. to whom they had granted a warrant of protection, as it was termed.

"That in due ſeaſon they ſhould inquire how far the particulars required by the King's letter of 1662 had been complied with," as,

1ſt, "That all perſons take the oath of allegiance."

2d, "That all proceſs and adminiſtration of juſtice be performed in our name."

3d, "That ſuch as deſire to uſe the book of common prayer, be permitted ſo to do without incurring any penalty, reproach, or diſadvantage, it being very ſcandalous that any perſons ſhould be debarred the exerciſe of their religion according to the laws and cuſtoms of England, by thoſe who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profeſſion or religion they pleaſed."

4th, "That perſons of good and honeſt converſation might enjoy the privilege of chooſing and being choſe into places of government and the like."

The commiſſioners deſired they might be enabled to give the King ſuch information as ſhould be fully ſatisfactory.

The

The 8th of May they delivered three other writings as parts of their inſtructions, viz.

"That they ſhould duly inquire whether any perſons attainted of high treaſon now reſide there, or have been entertained there, and by whom, and what is become of them, and endeavour to cauſe them to be apprehended and ſent to England."

"That they ſhould take care that ſuch orders be eſtabliſhed as that the act of navigation be punctually obſerved, it being of infinite concernment, and what the hearts of the whole nation were ſet upon, but had been evaded, under pretence that acts made in the aſſembly there during the late rebellion were in force notwithſtanding the act of parliament; an aſſertion the King would not ſuffer to be made; but that all ſuch acts of aſſembly ſhould be repealed, taken off the files, and no more remain upon record; and that they ſhould cauſe juſtice to be done to Thomas Dean, who had been denied it in a proſecution upon the act of parliament."

The commiſſioners deſired a book of the colony laws, that they might examine, &c. and that any laws contrary to this act might be declared null.

"That they ſhould inform themſelves of the whole frame and conſtitution of government, civil and eccleſiaſtical, the yearly taxes and impoſitions, the ſhipping, the militia, horſe and foot, fortified towns, and forts, &c."

They deſired ſome perſons might be appointed to draw up an information of all thoſe particulars, to ſatisfy his Majeſty's deſires.

Before the court gave anſwer to theſe papers, they ſent a meſſage, May 9th, to the commiſſioners, to acquaint them that the court apprehended their patent to be greatly infringed by the warrant granted to John Porter: upon which the commiſſioners deſired a conference with a committee, that the court might have better information; which was agreed to, and held the 11th.

The commiſſioners aſſerted, that they were to be juſtified by their commiſſion in what they did, and that the charter was not infringed. The committee urged, "that the general court had full power and authority to make laws, and

and provide for the execution of them: they were very ready to give an account to his Majeſty of all their proceedings, whenſoever he required it; but it would be an inſuperable burden if the colony muſt be brought upon a level, and ſtand with every criminal upon whom ſentence had been paſſed, at the bar of another tribunal, which their charter knew nothing of." The commiſſioners being aſked, "Whether they propoſed a jury ſhould paſs upon theſe and the like caſes? they replied, no, theirs was a commiſſion of oyer and terminer. Whether they would admit of new evidence? yea." The committee then further urged, "that they eſteemed it their greateſt unhappineſs to be held to give up their privileges by charter, and the rights of Engliſhmen, or elſe be accounted among ſuch as denied his Majeſty's authority." The commiſſioners nevertheleſs inſiſted upon their own authority, and required a ſubmiſſion to it. The court then proceeded to give anſwer to the other inſtructions which had been communicated.

To that which relates to the Indians, called the fifth inſtruction, they ſay, "that they have been too long acquainted with the falſehood of the Narraganſet and other Indians, to wonder that they ſhould complain of injuries when they themſelves were the aggreſſors; that all matters relating to the Indians had been managed by the commiſſioners of the united colonies, and their records might be examined."

To the next or ſixth inſtruction: "That there is a ſmall college at Cambridge, from which, they might ſay without boaſting, more than an hundred able preachers, phyſicians, and other uſeful perſons, had iſſued; for the particulars of the foundation and benefactions they referred to the preſident and fellows; that the country was well provided with ſchools; that there was alſo at Cambridge a ſmall fabric of brick for the uſe of the Indians, built by the corporation in England, in which there were then eight Indian ſcholars, one of which had been admitted into college; that there were ſix towns of Indians in the juriſdiction, profeſſing the chriſtian religion; that they had ſchools to teach the youth to read and write, and perſons appointed

appointed to inſtruct them in civility and religion, who had orders to wait upon the commiſſioners and ſhew them the towns and manner of life of the Indians, if it ſhould be deſired."

To the propoſition upon the 7th and 8th inſtructions, by which an offer is made of the choice of a place for hearing and determining complaints, they ſay, "that hearing and determining appeals from their judgments is inconſiſtent with their charter; nevertheleſs, as they deſired to be doers of truth and righteouſneſs, and not to ſhun the light, if the commiſſioners would be pleaſed to impart the complaints that had been brought againſt the government, they hoped to be able to give ſuch anſwer as ſhould ſatisfy his Majeſty that their actions had been conſonant to reaſon and equity, and not ſuch as evil-minded men had repreſented them."

To the ninth, touching his Majeſty's letter of June, 1662, they ſay, "that they had endeavoured formerly to ſatisfy his Majeſty's expectations, &c. and now further ſay, touching the oath of allegiance, that in Auguſt laſt the court by a public declaration expreſſed their reſolution, God aſſiſting, to bear faith and true allegiance to his Majeſty, and to adhere to their patent, the duties and privileges thereof; that many now in authority, and alſo many of the common people, had taken the oath of allegiance before they left their native country; and they had ordered that the oath, in the form preſcribed by the colony law, ſhould be taken by all freemen and all other houſholders."*

"And touching civil liberties, they obſerved the qualifications mentioned in his Majeſty's letter,† orderly evidenced to them,‡ as appeared by their late law and practice thereupon."

"And as to eccleſiaſtical privileges, they had commended to the miniſtry and people here the word of the Lord for their rule." To

* The oath was in this form:—"Whereas I, A. B. am an inhabitant within this juriſdiction, conſidering how I ſtand obliged to the King's Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, by our charter and the government eſtabliſhed thereby, do ſwear accordingly, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to our ſovereign Lord the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors. So help me God."

† Orthodox in religion, and not vicious in their lives.

‡ By certificate from the miniſter.

To the next or tenth inſtruction: "That they knew of no perſons attainted of high treaſon who had arrived here, except Mr. Whaley and Mr. Goffe, and they before the act of parliament, and they departed this juriſdiction the February following; and a proclamation againſt them coming ſoon after by way of Barbados, the court ſent two gentlemen, Mr. Kellond and Mr. Kirke, after them to Connecticut and New-Haven to apprehend them."

To the eleventh inſtruction they ſay, "The act for trade had been for ſome years obſerved here; that they had been miſrepreſented to his Majeſty, the act not having in any inſtances that they knew of been greatly violated, and ſuch laws as appeared to be againſt it were repealed, and that juſtice had been done in the caſe of Thomas Dean, as they would find upon inquiry."

To the twelfth: "For the form of their conſtitution they refer to their patent. The annual ordinary charges of government were about 1200l. For their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, they had none impoſed by civil authority; all that was enjoined by that, was attendance on public worſhip on Lord's days and other occaſional days. The people who maintained, alſo choſe their miniſters, whoſe adminiſtrations were known, and they hoped conſonant to the word of God; and if any deviated, in ſuch caſe they made uſe of a ſynod and the civil authority. The militia conſiſted of about four thouſand foot and four hundred horſe; more might be in the liſts, but aged and infirm were excuſed. They had a fort or keep at the entrance of Boſton harbour, with five or ſix guns, two batteries in the harbour, and one at Charleſtown. The number of their ſhips and veſſels as follows, about eighty from 20 to 40 tons, about forty from 40 to 100 tons, and about a dozen ſhips above 100 tons."

Theſe papers were delivered to the commiſſioners on the 16th of May, and on the 18th they made their reply.

"They were ſorry to find by the court's anſwer to the 7th and 8th inſtruction, that they put more value upon their own conceptions, than the wiſdom of the King, in interpreting the charter. The commiſſioners would reduce all the diſcourſes upon this head to one queſtion: Do you acknowledge

acknowledge his Majesty's commission, wherein we are nominated commissioners, to be of full force to all the purposes therein contained?"

To their answer to the 9th instruction the commissioners reply, "That the court had been so far from endeavouring to give his Majesty satisfaction, by observing what he required, that they had even complained of his Majesty for enjoining them, and for the commission given to inquire whether they had observed them or not; that they professed highly to prize the King's favour, and yet in the same paper refuse to do what the King required, viz. that all who came into the colony should take the oath of allegiance, making provisoes not expressed in their charter, and so curtailing the oath. That the end of the first planters' coming over, as the court expressed in their address, 1660, was liberty of conscience, and yet it was denied to those for whom the King required it. That they had tentered the King's qualifications for freemen, by suffering none to be made such who were not church members, unless they paid ten shillings to a single rate, which not one church member in a hundred did pay; and although they commend the word of the Lord to the ministry and people for their rule, yet it was with a proviso that they have the approbation of the court. The commissioners supposed the King and his council and the church of England understood the word of God as well as the Massachusetts corporation. They feared these answers would highly offend the King, and advised to an ingenuous and free consent to what he desired."

On the 19th of May the court by a message to the commissioners desired to be excused from a direct answer to the question, "whether they acknowledged his Majesty's commission," &c. and chose rather to plead his Majesty's charter, and his special charge to the commissioners not to disturb them in the enjoyment of it: they were ready to give such an account of their proceedings as that the commissioners might be able to represent their persons and actions to his Majesty.

The commissioners, by a message on the 20th, insisted on a direct answer to their question; and on the 22d the court

court declared, that it was enough for them to give their ſenſe of the powers granted to them by charter, and that it was beyond their line to determine the power, intent or purpoſe of his Majeſty's commiſſion.

On the 23d the commiſſioners informed the court, that ſince they had been pleaſed to ſend them a more dubious anſwer than the former, that they might diſcharge their duty to his Majeſty, they intended to ſit to-morrow morning, at the houſe of Capt. Thomas Breading, as his Majeſty's commiſſioners, to hear and determine the cauſe of Mr. Thomas Dean and others, againſt the governor and company and Joſhua Scottow merchant, defendants; and that they thought proper to give this notice, and expected that they would appear by their attorney to anſwer to the complaint. They ſent at the ſame time a ſummons to Joſhua Scottow. The court thereupon drew up a declaration, which they ſent to the commiſſioners; but they not receding from their purpoſe, when the time appointed for their meeting was come, the court ordered the declaration to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, in the following words:

"WHEREAS in the debate and conference had between this court and Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick eſquires, his Majeſty's honourable commiſſioners, we have pleaded only the maintenance of his Majeſty's authority in the government of the people of this colony according to the rules and preſcriptions of his charter under the great ſeal of England, the full and peaceable enjoyment whereof his Majeſty hath given good aſſurance of to all his loyal ſubjects of this place, giving ſpecial charge to the abovenamed gentlemen not to diſturb us therein; yet accounting it our duty to God and his Majeſty, by all lawful ways and means, to give full ſatisfaction unto his Majeſty touching all ſuch caſes and complaints againſt us as in his wiſdom and prudence he ſhall ſee reaſon to take cognizance of; we have ſundry times in our conferences both by word and writing tendered unto the aboveſaid gentlemen our readineſs to preſent unto them a full and clear account of the grounds of our proceedings in any caſe, matter or complaint

complaint that themſelves ſhall ſee meet to inquire into, whereby they may be enabled to repreſent the matter truly to his Majeſty, his Majeſty's letters to this colony of April 23d, 1664, expreſſly declaring this to be his principal end in ſending hither the aboveſaid gentlemen in ſuch a capacity, and that for ſuch pious and good intentions as is therein more particularly declared, and not in the leaſt to infringe our charter or any the privileges thereof.

" All this notwithſtanding, the aboveſaid gentlemen not reſting ſatisfied with theſe our tenders and propoſals made unto them (wherein we have endeavoured to anſwer his Majeſty's juſt expectation) contrary to the expreſs charge of his Majeſty unto them, they have by warrant under three of their hands given protection to John Porter, jun. an high offender againſt God, his Majeſty's authority, laws, and the peace of his good ſubjects here (who breaking priſon made his eſcape out of the hands of juſtice) and that before any ſignification to the government of this place of any complaint made againſt them, their ſentence, or proceedings againſt the ſaid Porter, and requiring all officers, as well military as civil, to be obſervant to them therein. And although this court have expreſſed their ſenſe of this act, in conjunction with ſome other of their propoſals, to be an infringement of our privileges granted us by his Majeſty's royal charter, yet they have not withdrawn their protection of the ſaid Porter, but have proceeded to ſummon, as well the governor and company of this his Majeſty's colony, as alſo particular perſons, to appear before them, to anſwer to the complaint of Thomas Dean and others for injuſtice done unto them. The ſubmiſſion unto which proceedings of theirs being, as we apprehend, inconſiſtent with the maintenance of the laws and authority here, ſo long enjoyed and orderly eſtabliſhed under the warrant of his Majeſty's royal charter, the upholding whereof being abſolutely neceſſary for the peace and well-being of his Majeſty's good ſubjects here—— This court doth, therefore, in his Majeſty's name, and by his authority to us committed by his royal charter, declare to all the people of this colony, that in obſervance of their duty to God and to his Majeſty, and to the truſt committed

ted unto us by his Majeſty's good ſubjects in this colony, we cannot conſent unto, or give our approbation of the proceedings of the aboveſaid gentlemen, neither can it conſiſt with our allegiance that we owe to his Majeſty to countenance any who ſhall in ſo high a manner go acroſs to his Majeſty's direct charge, or ſhall be their abettors or conſentors thereunto. God ſave the King.

By the court, Edward Rawſon, ſecr'y."

After the publiſhing of this declaration the commiſſioners ſent the following writing to the court.

"Gentlemen,

"We thought when we received our commiſſion and inſtructions that the King and his council knew what was granted to you in your charter, and what right his Majeſty had to give us ſuch commiſſion and commands. And we thought the King, his Chancellor,* and his Secretary, had ſufficiently convinced you that this commiſſion did not infringe your charter. But ſince you will needs miſconſtrue all theſe letters and endeavours, and that you will make uſe of that authority which he hath given you to oppoſe that ſovereignty which he hath over you, we ſhall not loſe more of our labours upon you, but refer it to his Majeſty's wiſdom, who is of power enough to make himſelf to be obeyed in all his dominions; and do aſſure you, that we ſhall not repreſent your denying his commiſſion in any other words than yourſelves have expreſſed it in your ſeveral papers under your ſecretary's hands. But for the better manifeſtation of the tranſactions between us, and for the ſatisfaction of all concerned in theſe parts, we deſire that you will cauſe his Majeſty's commiſſion to us, his Majeſty's letters of June 28th, 1662, of April 23d, 1664, of February 25th, 1664, by Mr. Secretary Morrice, and all thoſe papers we have given into the court, and yours alſo, may be printed and publiſhed.

May 24, 1665. Richard Nichols, Robert Carr, Geo. Cartwright, Sam. Maverick.

To the general court of his Majeſty's colony of the Maſſachuſetts."

The

* This refers to the chancellor's letter.

The commiſſioners at the ſame time laid before the court propoſals for amendments or alterations of the laws, to the number of twenty-ſix.

The court the ſame day acquainted the commiſſioners, that they ſhould be ready, by writing or conference, whenever the commiſſioners pleaſed, to lay before them the grounds and reaſons of their claim and exerciſe of juriſdiction in the eaſtern country, that ſo his Majeſty might be ſatisfied of the true ſtate of the controverſy; and that as his Majeſty had directed his commiſſioners to examine into the proceedings in the caſe of Thomas Dean, and cauſe juſtice to be done, the court had ſummoned the ſaid Dean before them, at nine of the clock the next day, to make out the truth of his complaint to his Majeſty; and the commiſſioners were deſired to be preſent, that they might underſtand the grounds of the ſaid complaint, and that juſtice may be done.

The commiſſioners replied, the 26th, that they could not have imagined that the court, after interruption of the authority committed by his Majeſty to the commiſſioners, would have aſſumed to themſelves the hearing of the ſame caſe, wherein the governor and company are impleaded, it being unheard of, and contrary to all the laws of chriſtendom, that the ſame perſons ſhould be judges and parties; and declared it contrary to his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, that the cauſe ſhould be examined by any other perſons than themſelves.

The commiſſioners broke off from any further conference; and all, except Colonel Nichols, went to New-Hampſhire and the province of Main, where they appointed juſtices of the peace, and exerciſed divers acts of government, and then returned to Boſton. The court declared that their proceedings at the eaſtward tended to the diſturbance of the public peace, and deſired a conference with them concerning their doings there, but received ſuch an anſwer from Sir Robert Carr as determined them to put a ſtop to all further treaty. He told them, amongſt other things, that the King's pardon to them for all their deeds during the late rebellion was conditional, and depended upon their future good behaviour; and threatened the

the leaders or contrivers of their meaſures with the puniſhment which ſo many concerned in the rebellion had met with in England. They had no better ſucceſs at Connecticut than in the Maſſachuſetts colony. At Plymouth and Rhode-Iſland they met with leſs oppoſition. They ſat as a court at Providence and Warwick, in the colony of Rhode-Iſland, and ſpent divers months in the colony, examining into purchaſes and titles of lands from the Indians, hearing the complaints of Gorton and his company againſt Maſſachuſetts, inquiring into the proceedings of the executive powers of that colony, and receiving all complaints which diſcontented perſons were ready to offer.

Col. Nichols, by his diſcreet behaviour, gained the eſteem of the people; and afterwards, whilſt he was governor of New-York, kept up a friendly correſpondence with the governor and company of Maſſachuſetts. Carr and Cartwright were men very unfit for ſuch a truſt, and by their violent proceedings rendered themſelves odious. Maverick ſeems to have been appointed only to increaſe the number, and to be ſubſervient to the others. He had lived in the colony from its beginning. He was always in oppoſition to the authority. Upon the reſtoration he went home to complain to the King, was two or three years ſoliciting that commiſſioners might be appointed; at length the meaſures againſt the Dutch at New-York being agreed upon, the conduct of that affair, and this extraordinary power, were committed to the ſame perſons. He was in the colony again in 1667, with a meſſage from Col. Nichols, which is the laſt account given of him. Sir Robert Carr went firſt to Delaware, and ſoon after home to England, and died at Briſtol June 1ſt, 1667, the day after he landed.* Cartwright in his paſſage was taken by the Dutch, ſtripped, and very ill uſed. He had taken the minutes of all their proceedings, and went home the moſt enraged; but the enemy took all his papers from him, and he never could recover them. The principal perſons in the colony were afraid of further proceedings. Capt. Gookins, one of the aſſiſtants, writes to his friend, in 1666, "In all probability a new cloud is gathering, and a new ſtorm

* Morton's Memorial.

ſtorm preparing for us, which we expect every day."

The government of the colony I imagine will not be thought culpable for refuſing entirely to ſubmit to the abſolute authority of the commiſſioners, which muſt have ſuperſeded their charter; and if this authority had been once admitted, they would have found it very difficult ever after to have ejected it. Some part of their conduct may appear extraordinary; particularly their refuſing to make the oath of allegiance neceſſary, unleſs with reſtrictions and limitations, and to cauſe all proceedings at law to be more expreſſly in his Majeſty's name and by his authority. From ſome original manuſcripts, which diſcover the ſentiments of ſome perſons of influence amongſt them upon the nature of civil ſubjection, their conduct in this and ſome former inſtances may be pretty well accounted for.

They diſtinguiſhed civil ſubjection into neceſſary and voluntary. From actual reſidence within any government neceſſarily aroſe ſubjection, or an obligation to ſubmit to the laws and authority thereof. But birth was no neceſſary cauſe of ſubjection. The ſubjects of any prince or ſtate had a natural right to remove to any other ſtate, or to another quarter of the world, unleſs the ſtate was weakened and expoſed by ſuch remove; and even in that caſe, if they were deprived of the right of all mankind, liberty of conſcience, it would juſtify a ſeparation; and upon their removal, their ſubjection determined and ceaſed. The country to which they themſelves had removed was claimed and poſſeſſed by independent princes, whoſe right to the lordſhip and ſovereignty thereof had been acknowledged by the Kings of England.* They therefore looked upon themſelves obliged, and accordingly, as appeared by their records, actually had purchaſed, † for valuable conſiderations, not only the ſoil, but the dominion, the lordſhip and

* Bartholomew Sharp the buccaneer was tried in England for robbery and piracy upon the Spaniards in South-America, and acquitted becauſe he had a commiſſion from the Indian Princes of Darien. *Det. of Scot's Settlement.*

† Mr. Joſias Winſlow the governor of Plymouth in a letter dated May 1ſt 1676 ſays "I think I can truly ſay that before theſe preſent troubles broke out, the Engliſh did not poſſeſs one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honeſt purchaſe of the Indian proprietors."

and ſovereignty of thoſe princes; and without ſuch purchaſe, in the ſight of God and men, they had no right or title to what they poſſeſſed. The King indeed, in imitation of other Princes of Europe who laid claim to countries merely from the diſcovery of them, had granted this country to certain of his ſubjects; and the firſt planters thought it proper to purchaſe the title of ſuch grantees, to prevent moleſtation from them or from other ſtates; and they had alſo received a charter of incorporation from the King, containing a mutual compact, from whence aroſe a new kind of ſubjection, to which they were held, and from which they would never depart.

This was what they called voluntary civil ſubjection, ariſing merely from compact; and from thence it followed, that whatſoever could be brought into queſtion relative to their ſubjection muſt be determined by their charter. The compact between the King and the city of London, as contained in its charter, was not the conſtituting cauſe of ſubjection in the inhabitants there, becauſe they were reſident, and from thence neceſſary ſubjection remained; but when reſidence, the ſole grounds of this neceſſary ſubjection, ceaſes, then it becomes voluntary, and depends upon compact alone. By this compact they acknowledged they were ſo bound, that they were not at liberty to ſubject themſelves to, or to ſeek protection from, any other prince; they were to pay a fifth part of all ſilver and gold mines; they were to make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, &c.: but on the other hand they were to be governed by laws made by themſelves, and by officers elected by themſelves, &c. But *however pleaſing theſe principles were in ſpeculation*, or *whatever foundation they may have in nature, yet they could not continue to practiſe upon them, nor would they bear the teſt when adopted by Engliſh ſubjects.* In a ſhort time, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, they were content fully to comply with the oath of allegiance without qualifying it, and to give up other points which they had before inſiſted upon; and *their poſterity*, who claim by birthright as well as charter the peculiar privileges of Engliſhmen, and who enjoy the protection, *are very ſenſible that they likewiſe owe the allegiance of Engliſh ſubjects, which by a general*

*eral rule of law is not conſidered as local, but perpetual and unalienable.**

The King's letter to New-Plymouth, dated April 10, 1666, highly approving their behaviour, may be ſeen in the appendix. Mr. Maverick, who had been one of the commiſſioners, delivered to the governor a writing of the ſame date, ſaid to be a copy of a letter to Maſſachuſetts from the King ;† wherein he requires five perſons to be ſent to England to anſwer for the conduct of the colony, and that Mr. Bellingham and Mr. Hawthorne be two of the number. A ſpecial court was called by the governor, Sept. 11th, to conſider of this letter; and thoſe of the elders who were in town were deſired to be preſent to give their advice. A letter was agreed upon to Mr. Secretary Morrice, wherein the court ſeem willing to doubt of the genuineneſs of the King's letter, and excuſe themſelves from ſending any perſons over, ſuppoſing the ableſt among them could not declare their cauſe more fully than it had been already done.‡

I will finiſh what relates to theſe commiſſioners with a ſhort account of a proſecution commenced by one of them againſt Arthur Maſon, a conſtable.

The commiſſioners with other gentlemen meeting ſometimes at a public houſe called the Ship tavern,‖ the conſtable expected to find them there upon a Saturday evening, which would have been a breach of law; but before he came,

* July 15, 1665, Capt. Richard Davenport, commander of the caſtle, being fatigued with labour, laid down upon his bed to reſt, and was ſtruck dead with lightning. Three or four of the people were hurt, a dog was killed at the gate. There was only a wainſcot partition between the room where the captain was killed and the magazine of powder. *Hubbard.*

† Maverick delivered it to the governor when he was ſitting in a court of aſſiſtants for the trial of cauſes, affirming it came under cover with a letter from the King to Sir Robert Carr and the reſt of the Commiſſioners. *Sup. Court Rec.*

‡ Several perſons of Boſton, with John Appleton of Ipſwich, petitioned the general court, praying them to comply with the King's order, but they were cenſured for intermedling; and ſome of the elders inclined that the two magiſtrates ſhould be ſent, and thought they ought to obey for conſcience ſake; but Mr. Mitchel oppoſed it, urging, that if two might be ſent for, ten might; that the civil magiſtrate was the miniſter of God for the good of the people, and ſo far as his commands tended to their good, they ought to obey; but none would ſay it was for the good of the colony to ſend away their rulers. *Mr. Cobbett's letter & MS paper.*

‖ The oppoſite corner to what is called Clarke's ſhip-yard at the north part of the town.

came, they had adjourned to Mr. Kellond's, a merchant, who lived oppoſite to the tavern. Another conſtable, who had been at the tavern before, had been beaten by them. Maſon, who had more courage and zeal, went into the company with his ſtaff, and told them he was glad to ſee them there, for if he had found them on the other ſide the ſtreet he would have carried them all away; and added, that he wondered they ſhould be ſo uncivil as to beat a conſtable, and abuſe authority. Sir Robert Carr ſaid, it was he that beat him, and that he would do it again. Maſon replied, that he thought his Majeſty's commiſſioners would not have beaten his Majeſty's officers, and that it was well for them that he was not the conſtable who found them there, for he would have carried them before authority. Sir Robert aſked, if he dare meddle with the King's commiſſioners? Yes, ſays Maſon, and if the King himſelf had been there I would have carried him away. Upon which, Maverick cried out, Treaſon! Maſon, thou ſhalt be hanged within a twelvemonth! Sir Robert Carr ſpake to Sir Thomas Temple and ſome others of the company, to take notice of what paſſed; and the next day Maverick ſent a note to Mr. Bellingham, the governor, charging Maſon with high treaſon for the words ſpoken, and requiring the governor to ſecure him. The governor appointed a time for Maverick to come to his houſe, and to oblige himſelf to proſecute the conſtable at the next court of aſſiſtants; but Maverick, inſtead of appearing, thought proper only to ſend another note, promiſing to appear againſt the conſtable, and charge him home, and therefore required his perſon ſhould be ſecured. The governor thought it adviſable to cauſe Maſon to recognize, as principal, in five hundred pounds, with two ſufficient ſureties in two hundred and fifty each, for his appearance; but the day before the court Maverick ſent another note to the governor, deſiring to withdraw his charge, being "ſatisfied that although the words were raſh and inconſiderate, yet there was no premeditated deſign in Maſon to offer any injury to the King or his government." The governor returned for anſwer, "the affair was of too high a nature for him to interpoſe in, Maſon being bound over to anſ-

wer." Upon his appearance a bill was laid before the grand jury, wherein he was charged with maliciouſly and treaſonably uttering the treaſonable words mentioned. According to liberty taken by grand juries at that day, they only found "that the words charged were ſpoken;" and Maſon being brought upon trial, and the words fully proved, the court of aſſiſtants ſuſpended judgment, and referred the cauſe to the next general court, where it was reſolved, that although the words were raſh, inſolent, and highly offenſive, yet, as his accuſers and witneſſes all cleared him from any overt act, or evil intended againſt the King, the court did not ſee cauſe to adjudge him a capital offender, but ſentenced him to be admoniſhed in ſolemn manner by the governor.* However trivial this anecdote may appear, yet there are circumſtances which throw ſome light upon the character of the commiſſioners, as well as that of the governor, and the juſticiary and miniſterial powers of the government at that time.

The commiſſioners had prevailed on ſome of the inhabitants of the towns in New-Hampſhire † to ſign a petition and complaint to his Majeſty of the wrongs they had ſuſtained from Maſſachuſetts, "who had uſurped the government over them;" but the inhabitants of Dover in town meeeting, and Portſmouth and Exeter by writings under the hands of the town officers, declared their diſſent, and all the towns deſired to be conſidered as part of the Maſſachuſetts colony, as they had been for many years before.‡ Three perſons || were alſo appointed to repair to the province of Main, to ſettle the peace of the towns there, by bringing them to an orderly ſubmiſſion, which was not immediately effected.§

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* Sup. Court Rec. † Portſmouth, Dover and Exeter.

‡ The ſecretary was ordered to iſſue an attachment, directed to the conſtables of Dover and Portſmouth, to apprehend one Abraham Corbet, and to bring him before the governor or magiſtrates at Boſton, to anſwer for his tumultuous behaviour againſt the government, who fined him 20l. and bound him to his good behaviour.

|| Thomas Danforth, Eleazer Luſher, and John Leveret, eſquires.

§ Ferdinando Gorges, grandſon to Sir Ferdinando, attempted a ſettlement of the province of Main under himſelf as lord proprietor, ſoon after the reſtoration. He obtained a letter from King Charles, dated the 11th of January, 1664, directed to the governor of the Maſſachuſetts colony, and council of New-England, requiring

I have endeavoured impartially to relate the proceedings between the commiſſioners and the colony. On the one hand, I think it appears that the government had not ſufficient excuſe for not complying more fully with what the King required of them by his letter in 1662. Mr. Norton, their agent, who knew the reſolutions of the King and his miniſters, ſaw the neceſſity of it. This would probably have prevented ſuch a commiſſion from iſſuing. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the commiſſion was a ſtretch of power, ſuperſeding in many reſpects the authority and powers granted by the charter; and there appears in the conduct of the general court, upon this occaſion, not an obſtinate, perverſe ſpirit, but a modeſt, ſteady adherence to what they imagined, at leaſt, to be their juſt rights and privileges.* At the ſame time they endeavoured, not only by repeated humble addreſſes, and profeſſions of loyalty, to appeaſe his Majeſty, but they purchaſed a ſhip-load of maſts (the freight whereof coſt them ſixteen hundred pounds ſterling) and preſented to the King, which he graciouſly accepted; and the fleet in the Weſt-Indies being in want of proviſions, a ſubſcription and contribution was recommended through the colony, for bringing in proviſions to be ſent to the fleet for his Majeſty's ſervice.† It appears by the record that ſeveral towns had liberally ſubſcribed, and it was recommended to the reſt not to fall ſhort of what had been done by thoſe who had gone before them, but I find no record of the whole

quiring reſtitution to be forthwith made, and quiet poſſeſſion delivered, or otherwiſe, without delay, reaſon be ſhewn for the contrary. By their humble addreſs they excuſed themſelves from the delivery, and attempted to give reaſons for their conduct; but Mr. Gorges appointed officers in ſeveral parts of the Province, whoſe authority was of ſhort continuance.

* The King having recommended, by a letter, Feb. 22d, 1665, to the governor and council, an expedition againſt Canada, the court in their anſwer to Lord Arlington, July 17th, 1666, ſay, that "having conſulted with Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova-Scotia, and with the governor of Connecticut (Mr. Winthrop, who had lately been in England) they concluded it was not reaſible at preſent, as well in reſpect of the difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of a land march over the rocky mountains and howling deſarts, about four hundred miles, as the ſtrength of the French there, according to reports."

† This was ſo well received, that a letter was ſent to the general court under the King's ſign manual, dated the 21ſt of April, 1669, ſignifying how well taken it was by his Majeſty. So the letter expreſſes it.

whole amount. About two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of St. Chriſtopher's, which had been taken by the French, arriving in the ſpring of 1666, and more being daily expected, proviſion was made by the court for the relief and ſupport of ſuch as were in neceſſity. Upon the news of the great fire in London, a collection was made through the colony for the relief of ſufferers. The amount of it cannot be aſcertained. I have a letter from Mr. Seaman and other diſſenting miniſters in London, to Mr. Syms and Mr. Shephard, miniſters of Charleſtown, adviſing the receipt of 105l. ſterling collected in that church. If others contributed in proportion, a large ſum muſt have been raiſed.

There had been a preſs for printing at Cambridge for near twenty years. The court appointed two perſons,* in October, 1662, licencers of the preſs, and prohibited the publiſhing any books or papers which ſhould not be ſuperviſed by them; and in 1668 the ſupervifors having allowed of the printing "Thomas a Kempis de imitatione Chriſti," the court interpoſed, "it being wrote by a popiſh miniſter, and containing ſome things leſs ſafe to be infuſed among the people;" and therefore they commended to the licencers a more full reviſal, and ordered the preſs to ſtop in the mean time. In a conſtitution leſs popular, this would have been thought too great an abridgment of the ſubject's liberty.

From 1666 to 1670 Mr. Bellingham was annually choſen governor, and Mr. Willoughby deputy govenor. Nova-Scotia and the reſt of Acadie, which had been reſcued from the French by Cromwell, were reſtored by the treaty of Breda. The French made little progreſs in ſettling this country. The only inconvenience Maſſachuſetts complained of, until after the revolution, was the encouragement given to the Indians to make their inroads upon the frontiers. Sir Thomas Temple, who, with others, had a grant of the country firſt from Cromwell, and afterwards from King Charles, thought he had reaſon to complain; and the King's order was repeated to him to give up his forts

* Capt. Daniel Gookins, and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, the miniſter of Cambridge.

forts to the French, ſome pretence being made for not complying with the firſt order.

After forty years, the greateſt part of our firſt emigrants had finiſhed their pilgrimage, and were arrived at the place of their everlaſting abode. Some of them lamented their being born too ſoon to ſee New-England in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. This will be the caſe with their poſterity for many generations yet to come. Mr. Wilſon, the firſt miniſter of Boſton church, died Auguſt 7th, 1667, in the 79th year of his age. He left an amiable character, and is repreſented by his contemporaties as one of the moſt humble, pious and benevolent men of the age. He was ſon of Doctor Wilſon, a prebend of St. Paul's, Rocheſter and Windſor, and rector of Cliff, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He married a daughter of Lady Mansfield, and a near kinſwoman of Sir William Bird. It was with much difficulty that he perſuaded her to go to New-England. After having ſpent one winter there without her, he returned to England to fetch her. His life has been publiſhed by Dr. Mather. I have it in manuſcript by another hand. In both are related many inſtances to ſhew his prophetic ſpirit. We may very well remark upon thoſe ſort of prophecies, *Qui bene conjiciet, hunc vatem.* Richard Mather, a learned, grave divine, and miniſter of Dorcheſter, died the 22d of April, 1669, aged 73. Charles Chauncy, bachelor of divinity, the venerable learned preſident of the college, died the 19th of February, 1671, in his 80th year.* Beſides theſe, we are not

* This is the Charles Chauncy of whom Ruſhworth in his collections for the year 1629 takes this notice: "Mr. Charles Chauncy, miniſter of Ware, uſing ſome expreſſions in his ſermon, that idolatry was admitted into the church, that the preaching of the goſpel would be ſuppreſſed, that there is much atheiſm, popery, arminianiſm and hereſy crept into the church, and this being looked upon to raiſe a fear among the people that ſome alteration in religion would enſue, he was queſtioned in the high commiſſion, and by order of that court the cauſe was referred to the biſhop of London, being his ordinary, who ordered him to make a ſubmiſſion in latin." A letter which he wrote two years before to Mr. Cotton will be thought by ſome worthy of being preſerved.

"*Salutem in ſonte ſalutis.*

"Good Sir,

"My kindeſt reſpects and moſt loving ſalutations to yourſelf and your wife. The preſent convenience of a meſſenger from Ware makes me bold to trouble you with theſe few lines. I am now (by God's good hand) vicar of Ware, and deſire your beſt direction how I may with moſt profit and edification of my charge

not to omit Jonathan Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge, who died the 9th of July, 1668, in his 43d year, and is always spoken of as one of the most learned men and best preachers in his day. Mr. Davenport, who had been minister of New-Haven from the first settlement of that colony, removed to Boston about the year 1667, to the great grief of his people, and against the mind of many of the principal persons of the church in Boston, which caused them, some time after, to separate from their brethren, and to form a new society, ever since known by the name of the south church.* He died of the palsy March 16th, 1670, in the 73d year of his age.†

Mr. Gorges' claim to the province of Main, supported by the acts of the commissioners, had encouraged the people to withdraw from their subjection to Massachusetts; but the province, according to some accounts, was in the utmost confusion, and in 1668 some of the principal persons applied to the general court of Massachusetts to reassume the jurisdiction over them. The court always thought it

charge proceed in the Lord's work. I have a very large parish and a dissolute town to deal with (as you may well guess); and, which is worse, we have little government in the place to assist us. The people have wanted instruction for many years (such I mean as might build them up in the faith, and make them wise unto salvation); besides, the places round about me are a barren wilderness, and so must undergo much opposition. I have already sustained *aliqua gravamina conscientiæ*, to go thus far in regard to the government and discipline of our church, and am likely to undergo more in the book of articles, which we are bound to read publicly, and to yield our assent unto; the article concerning the ordination of bishops and ministers doth somewhat trouble me, as also the ceremonies which we are bound unto, which though I forbear myself, yet I know not how to avoid but that my curate must use it I will stand here. I pray afford your wisest advice herein. *Hæc sub sigillo.*

I shall be glad to see you at my poor vicarage, *in transitu;* and for my part (if God permit) I will not fail to see you once a year. I pray salute Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bellingham with their wives in my name, and the rest of my christian friends in your town or family, and I beseech you remember me unto the Lord in your prayers, and the Lord give a blessing to your person and labours.

Yours in the Lord, with all hearty affection,

Ware, March 15, 1627. Charles Chauncy."

* Mr. Thomas Thacher was the first minister of this church, and Mr. Rainsford, brother to Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, was the first ruling elder. [From him Rainsford's island took its name.]

† In 1667 the people at Cape-Fear being under distressing circumstances, a general contribution by order of court was made through the colony for their relief. Although this was a colony subject to the proprietary government of Lord Clarendon and others, yet the foundation was laid, about the time of the restoration, by adventurers from New-England; who supposed they had a right to the soil as first occupants and purchasers from the natives, and, issuing from Massachusetts, to the same civil privileges; but they were disappointed as to both. *MS.*

it the part of good governors, as well as of good judges, to amplify their jurisdiction; and, from a sense of their duty to God and the King, published a declaration, requiring the inhabitants of the county of York to yield obedience to the laws of the colony, and to choose officers within the several towns, as they had done before the late interruption. As this proceeding was made one of the grounds of complaint against the colony, a more particular account of it may not be improper.

The declaration of the court was of the form following:

"WHEREAS this colony of the Massachusetts, in observance of the trust to them committed by his Majesty's royal charter, with the full and free consent and submission of the inhabitants of the county of York, for sundry years did exercise government over the people of that county; and whereas about three years now past some interruption hath been made to the peace of that place and order there established, by the imposition of some, who, pretending to serve his Majesty's interest, with unjust aspersions and reflections upon this government here established by his royal charter, have unwarrantably drawn the inhabitants of that county to submission unto officers that have no royal warranty, thereby infringing the liberty of our charter, and depriving the people now settled of their just privileges, the effect whereof doth now appear to be not only a disservice to his Majesty, but also the reducing a people that were found under an orderly establishment to a confused anarchy: The premises being duly considered, this court doth judge meet, as in duty they stand bound to God and his Majesty, to declare their resolution again to exert their power of jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the said county of York; and do hereby accordingly, in his Majesty's name, require all and every of the inhabitants there settled, to yield obedience to the laws of this colony as they have been orderly published, and to all such officers as shall be there legally established by authority of his Majesty's royal charter and the order of our commissioners, whom this court hath nominated and empowered

" empowered to ſettle all affairs neceſſary for the govern-
" ment of the people there, and to keep a court this pre-
" ſent ſummer the firſt Tueſday in July, at York town, as
" hath been formerly accuſtomed; and for that end we
" have commanded our ſecretary to iſſue out warrants to the
" inhabitants there in their reſpective towns to meet to
" chooſe jurors, both grand and petit, conſtables and other
" officers, for the ſervice of that county, as the law re-
" quireth; the ſaid warrant to be directed unto Nathaniel
" Maſterſon, who is by this court appointed marſhal of
" that court as formerly; and by him the ſaid warrants
" are to be delivered to the ſeveral conſtables, to be accor-
" dingly executed; a due obſervance whereof, with an or-
" derly return to be made to the court to be held as afore-
" ſaid, is hereby required of all perſons reſpectively con-
" cerned, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril.

By the court, Edward Rawſon, ſecr'y."

The commiſſioners appointed were Major-General Leveret, Mr. Edward Tyng,* Capt. Waldron,† and Capt. Pike.‡ They made return to the general court, who gave them thanks for their good ſervices, allowed and approved of what they had done, and ordered their proceedings to be entered upon their records as followeth:

" UPON receipt of this court's commiſſion, which is re-
" corded in the laſt ſeſſion, we preſently appointed Peter
" Wyer clerk of the writs; and hearing Maſterſon, ap-
" pointed by the court, was impriſoned, we appointed an-
" other marſhal, by warrant under our hands; but the
" former marſhal being ſet at liberty, the other did not act.
" The court being by law to be kept in York the firſt
" Tueſday of July, 1668, being the 7th day of the month,
" we repaired to York upon Monday the 6th day. Mr.
" Jocelin and ſeveral others, ſtyled juſtices of the peace,
" coming nigh to the ordinary where we were before the
" door, after ſalutes paſſed, they told us they deſired to
" ſpeak with us in the morning. To their deſires we com-
" plied,

* Edward Tyng was afterwards an aſſiſtant.

† Richard Waldron was ſpeaker of the deputies, and repreſented Dover.

‡ Robert Pike was of Saliſbury. He was afterwards one of the council named in the province charter.

" plied, and gave them a meeting, where we acquainted " them we were ready to hear what they had to ſay, but " not as ſent to treat with them about what we had to do by " virtue of the general court's commiſſion. They acq- " uainted us, that they had lately received, in a pacquet " from Col. Nichols, his letter to the governor and magiſ- " trates of the Maſſachuſetts colony, which they deſired " us to read, and firſt their commiſſion, the which we " read; and having read them, we told them that thoſe " concerned the general court, and had been under their " conſideration, all but the letter from Col. Nichols; and " that they had ſent their declaration into the county; ſo " that we had nothing to ſay, only that we did not un- " derſtand that the commiſſioners had power to make any " ſuch temporary ſettlement, his Majeſty having before him " the caſe, for that the Maſſachuſetts had in obedience ſent " their reaſons why they did not deliver up the government of " that country to Mr. Gorges, which was according to his " Majeſty's command. Then Mr. Jocelin told us there " was not above five or ſix of a town for us: to which we " replied, we ſhould ſee by the returns made to the court's " warrants and appearances; and further told them, we " muſt attend our commiſſion, in proſecution whereof we " ſhould attend his Majeſty's and the country's ſervice, not " our own, and if we met with oppoſition we ſhould ad- " viſe what to do. Many other things paſſed, but with " mutual reſpect. They ſaid they muſt attend their com- " miſſion. We parted, and repaired to the meeting-houſe, " and there opened the court by reading our commiſſion " publicly, and declaring to the people wherefore we came; " whereto there was great ſilence and attention. Then by " the marſhal we called for the town returns to be brought " in for the election of aſſociates;* and returns were made " from five towns, the other two being hindered (as they " ſaid) by the juſtices; yet in one of them above half the " electors ſent in their votes. Whilſt the court was buſy " in opening, ſorting and telling the votes, the juſtices " came, and, without doors, by ſome inſtrument, made " proclamation

* The aſſociates ſeem to be intended in the room of magiſtrates, and being joined with perſons appointed by the general court had the ſame power as the court of magiſtrates or aſſiſtants had in the colony.

" proclamation that all ſhould attend to hear his Majeſty's
" commands; upon which, orders were given to the mar-
" ſhal, and accordingly he made proclamation, that if any
" had any command from his Majeſty, they coming and
" ſhewing it to the court, the court was open and ready to
" hear the ſame. Thereupon theſe gentlemen came in,
" and manifeſted their deſire that what they had ſhewn to
" us in private might be read in court to the people: to
" whom we replied, that the court was in the midſt of
" their buſineſs in opening the returns of the county from
" the ſeveral towns of election, and ſo ſoon as that was
" over, and after dinner, they ſhould have their deſire
" granted; ſo they left us, and we proceeded to ſee who
" were choſen aſſociates, had the returns of the jurymen
" and their names entered, both the grand jury and that
" of trials, alſo of the conſtables, but did not ſwear any
" one, but adjourned the court and went to dinner; in
" which time we heard that the gentlemen were going to
" the meeting-houſe to ſit as an aſſembly, they having be-
" fore iſſued out their warrants for the towns to ſend their
" deputies; whereupon we ſent to ſpeak with them after
" dinner. They returned they would, provided we would
" not proceed any further till we ſpake with them. We
" ſent them word we did engage it. They ſent us word
" they would meet with us at the meeting-houſe; and
" preſently after their marſhal and Nathaniel Phillips went
" up and down, and at all public places publiſhed a paper
" or writing; whom meeting upon their return, it was de-
" manded what, and upon what authority, they had pub-
" liſhed to the people to make a diſturbance; they anſ-
" wered, they publiſhed what they had in the King's name:
" they were demanded to ſhew their order or authority;
" they anſwered, that was for their ſecurity: ſo refuſing to
" ſhew it, they were committed to the marſhal. Then we
" went to court, where we found the houſe full, and the
" gentlemen to have taken up our ſeats; ſo room being
" made, we went up to them, and told them we expected
" other things than that they would have put ſuch an af-
" front upon the court, nor ſhould motions hinder us from
" proſecuting our commiſſion; we could keep the court
" elſewhere.

" elſewhere. Some of the people began to ſpeak, but we " commanded ſilence, and the officer was commanded by " us to clear the court, whereupon Mr. Jocelyn ſpake to " ſome nigh him to depart; ſo they coming from their " ſeat, we came to private diſcourſe, and they inſiſted to " have their commiſſion and the King's mandamus of 1666 " to be read; we told them we would perform what we " had promiſed when the court was ſet; ſo we repaired to " our ſeat, and they being ſet by us deſired that their com- " miſſion might be read, which was done, and the grounds " of it expreſſed to be from the people's petitioning, who " were told that they could beſt give anſwer thereto, but " ſaid nothing; then that part of the mandamus of 1666 " which they deſired might be read, was read. After which " they deſired that Col. Nichols's letter to the governor and " magiſtrates of the Maſſachuſetts might be read; but that " not being of concernment to them there, ſave only for " information of the juſtices of what had paſſed from him " to the governor and magiſtrates to whom it was directed, " it was refuſed; ſome ſhort account being publicly given, " that that which had been read, for the matter, having " been before under the conſideration of the general court, " they had the declaration of their intendments, in proſe- " cution whereof we were commiſſionated to keep court " and ſettle the country; which work we had begun, and, " God willing, would proſecute, to perform the truſt com- " mitted to us; and have declared to the people that we " were not inſenſible how at the time of the interruption " of the government, in the year 1665, by ſuch of the " gentlemen of the King's commiſſioners as were then up- " on the place, they had manifeſted their diſpleaſure by " telling the people that the Maſſachuſetts were traitors, " rebels, and diſobedient to his Majeſty, the reward where- " of, within one year, they ſaid, ſhould be retributed; yet " we told them, that through the good hand of God and the " King's favour, the Maſſachuſetts were an authority to aſ- " ſert their right of government there, by virtue of the royal " charter derived to them from his Majeſty's royal prede- " ceſſors, and that we did not doubt but that the Maſſa- " chuſetts colony's actings for the forwarding his Majeſty's

" ſervice

" ſervice would outſpeak others' words, where there was " nothing but words for themſelves or againſt us. Which " done, the gentlemen left us, and we proceeded to the " work of the court, to impannel the grand jury, gave them " their oaths and charge, and then the aſſociates preſent we " called to take their oaths; one of them, viz. Mr. Roger " Plaiſted, expreſſed publicly that he was ſent by the town " he lived in; accordingly he had applied himſelf to the " major-general more privately, to know how we reaſſumed " the government, and how they were to ſubmit to it; " which he now mentioned in public, that he might render " himſelf faithful to them that ſent him: to which he was " anſwered in public, as he had been in private, that we " reaſſumed the government by virtue of the charter, and " that they were to have the like privileges with ourſelves " in the other counties. We had alſo from Scarborough " a paper preſented, which we herewith preſent to the " court. Then having ſworn the conſtables preſent, im- " panelled the jury for trials, ſworn them, and committed " what actions were entered, and proſecuted to them, in " which time the gentlemen ſent to deſire that at our " leiſure time they might ſpeak with us; they were ſent " for, and preſented us with a paper. After we had received " it, we attended to ſettle the buſineſs of the military " officers and trained bands, and commiſſionated, for " York, Job Alcock lieutenant, Arthur Bragdon enſign; " for Wells John Littlefield lieutenant, Francis Littlefield " jun. enſign; for Scarborough, Andrew Augur, lieutenant; " for Falmouth, George Ingerfield lieutenant; for Kitte- " ry, Charles Froſt captain, Roger Plaiſted lieutenant, " John Gaffingſley enſign; for Saco, Bryan Pendleton ma- " jor, and he to ſettle Black-point. Mr. Knight, of Wells, " the morning before we came away, being Thurſday the " 9th of July, came and took his oath in court to ſerve as " an aſſociate. The court made an order for a county " court to be held the 15th of September there at York, " and for that end continued the commiſſion to Capt. " Waldron, Capt. Pike, and others, for the better ſtrength- " ening the authority upon the place, as by their " commiſſion may appear. The aſſociates that are now in

" place

" place are Major Pendleton, Mr. Francis Cotterell, Mr. " Knight of Wells, Mr. Raynes of York, Mr. Roger Plai- " ſted of Kittery. Which is humbly ſubmitted to the " honourable general court as the return of your ſervants,

John Leveret,

" The 23d of October, 1668. Edward Tyng,

Richard Waldron."

This proceeding of Maſſachuſetts was reported and publiſhed by Jocelyn* in a more unfavourable light, and as an act of greater force and violence. Indeed, he does not pretend that there was any oppoſition made by the inhabitants, but only by the particular perſons appointed by the commiſſioners to govern there, and it always appeared to be the deſire of a great part of the people to live under the government of Maſſachuſetts.

The people of New-Hampſhire had continued in a quiet and orderly ſtate ever ſince the year 1641. There was no perſon who had any pretence to the powers of government, Maſon having only a grant of the ſoil from the council of Plymouth; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges received a royal charter, granting the ſame royalties, privileges and franchiſes as are of right or ought to be enjoyed by the biſhop of Durham,

* " The province of Main, or the country of the Troquois (Iroquois) heretofore called Laconia or New-Somerſetſhire, is a colony belonging to the grandſon of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Aſhton Phillips, in the county of Somerſet. The ſaid Sir Ferdinando Gorges did expend, in planting ſeveral parts of New-England, above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling; and, when he was between three and fourſcore years of age, did perſonally engage in our royal maſter's ſervice, and particularly in the ſiege of Briſtol, and was plundered and impriſoned ſeveral times, by reaſon whereof he was diſcountenanced by the pretended commiſſioners for foreign plantations, and his province encroached upon by the Maſſachuſetts colony, who aſſumed the government thereof. His Majeſty that now reigneth ſent over his commiſſioners to reduce them within their bounds, and to put Mr. Gorges again into poſſeſſion: but there falling out a conteſt about it, the commiſſioners ſettled it in the King's name (until the buſineſs ſhould be determined before his Majeſty) and gave commiſſions to the judge of their courts, and the juſtices, to govern and act according to the laws of England, and by ſuch laws of their own as were not repugnant to them. But as ſoon as the commiſſioners were returned for England, the Maſſachuſetts enter the province in a hoſtile manner with a troop of horſe and foot, and turned the judge and his aſſiſtants off the bench, impriſoned the major or commander of the militia, threatened the judge and ſome others that were faithful to Mr. Gorges' intereſts. I could diſcover many other foul proceedings, but for ſome reaſons which might be given I conceive it not convenient to make report thereof to vulgar ears," &c. *Joſſelyn's voyage to New-England, p.* 199.

This Mr. Joſſelyn I take to be brother to the juſtice of peace mentioned in the report of the Maſſachuſetts commiſſioners. He writes with acrimony, and in this account as well as ſeveral other parts of his voyages to New-England diſcovers a ſtrong prejudice againſt the people of the colony.

Durham, in the county palatine of Durham, with power to conſtitute a deputy governor, a chancellor, a treaſurer, a marſhal, a judge of admiralty, officers of admiralty for ordering maritime affairs, maſter of ordnance, a ſecretary, &c.; and by repeatedly nominating ſome ſuch officers, and attempting to eſtabliſh a form of government conſiſting of different perſons from thoſe appointed by Maſſachuſetts, there were always two different parties and intereſts kept alive in that province. New-Hampſhire had been ſo long united to Maſſachuſetts, that the people of both colonies were of one heart and mind in civil and religious affairs. The town of Portſmouth ſhewed an inſtance of their great regard to the public intereſt, and in 1669 made a collection, as it is termed in the inſtrument preſented to the general court, more probably a ſubſcription, of ſixty pounds per annum, for the term of ſeven years, for the uſe of Harvard college, to be paid into the hands of the overſeers; and they ſay they hoped to make it more.* The colony about this time made a greater figure than it ever did at any other time. The report made by the commiſſioners to the King had produced no further troubles from England. The plague, the fire of London, the diſcontents among the people of England, cauſed by their jealouſies of a deſign to ſubvert the conſtitution there, may well enough be ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe of a reſpite in favour of the people here. Maſſachuſetts governed without oppoſition the province of New-Hampſhire and province of Main, and were beginning ſettlements even further eaſtward. The French were removed from their neighbourhood on the one ſide, and the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Their trade was as extenſive as they could wiſh. No cuſtom-houſe was eſtabliſhed. The acts of parliament of the 12th and 15th of King Charles the Second, for regulating the plantation trade, were in force; but the governor, whoſe buſineſs it was to carry them into execution, was annually to be elected by the people, whoſe intereſt it was

* Boniface Burton, aged 113 years, died the 13th June, 1669. *Almanack for* 1673.

April 4th, 1671, Mr. Willoughby the deputy governor died. He was a great oppoſer of the perſecutions againſt the Baptiſts. Elder Penn died the 30th September the ſame year. He was a leading man in church and town affairs. He is the ſame perſon who was choſen beadle in 1630.

was that they ſhould not be obſerved. Some of the magiſtrates and principal merchants grew very rich,* and a ſpirit of induſtry and economy prevailed through the colony. But a change of affairs came on ſoon after.

Mr. Bellingham continued governor in 1671 and 1672.† Mr. Leveret was choſen deputy governor both thoſe years; and in 1673 he ſucceeded Mr. Bellingham in the place of governor, when Mr. Samuel Symonds was choſen deputy governor.

The ſtrict union, which had been from the beginning between the civil and eccleſiaſtical parts of the conſtitution, was about this time in danger of being broke, or greatly weakened. After Mr. Wilſon's death, the firſt church in Boſton invited Mr. Davenport, the miniſter of New-Haven, to ſucceed him. He was then about 70, had gone into the wilderneſs with perſons cloſely attached to him, and remained with them about 30 years, and they were extremely averſe to his leaving them; and beſides, he was at the head of a party more ſtrict and rigid than the body of the people of the country, for he had always oppoſed the admitting to baptiſm the children of any who were not in full communion with one or other of the churches. It is not ſtrange that there ſhould have been a party of Boſton church which oppoſed his ſettlement. The two parties in this church, the firſt in rank (although the church of Salem was the oldeſt) in the country, produced two parties, not in the other churches only, but in the ſtate alſo. A conſiderable part of the church, both for number and eſtate, formed themſelves, as has been obſerved,

* Joſſelyn, p. 180.

† Mr. Bellingham died December 7th, 1672. He lived to be the only ſurviving patentee named in the charter. It is always mentioned as a part of his character, that he hated a bribe. He was bred a lawyer, but, like ſome much greater lawyers, made his laſt will and teſtament in ſuch a manner, that after ſome years diſpute, the general court thought it neceſſary to ſupply the defects of it, by making a diſpoſition of his eſtate themſelves. [Some controverſies occaſioned by it have laſted more than a century.] Mr. Leveret was among the junior aſſiſtants, but he had been long employed in public affairs and places of great truſt. Oliver Cromwell had made him one of his commiſſioners in 1654, for the reduction of the Manhadoes. He was in England at the reſtoration, and appeared an advocate for the colony. Upon his return to New-England, ſoon after, he was choſen a member for Boſton; in 1664 was choſen major-general, and in 1665 an aſſiſtant.

ed, into a ſeparate ſociety. Seventeen miniſters* bore a public teſtimony againſt the proceedings of the three elders† of the firſt church in Boſton, viz. againſt Mr. Davenport for leaving his church at New-Haven, contrary to his profeſſed principles, and againſt all of them for communicating parcels only of letters from the church of New-Haven to the church in Boſton, by which artifice the church was deceived, and made to believe the church of New-Haven conſented to his diſmiſſion, when, if the whole had been read it would have appeared they did not. This teſtimony was ſent to the elders the day before a public faſt. An anſwer was given, in which the elders deny that the letters concealed would have been evidence of the refuſal of the church of New-Haven to conſent to Mr. Davenport's leaving them and ſettling at Boſton; the church was only unwilling to make his diſmiſſion their immediate act. Neither the church of New-Haven nor the elders of the church of Boſton can be wholly juſtified. There does not ſeem to have been that fairneſs and ſimplicity in their proceedings which the goſpel requires. The firſt church refuſed the invitation of the new ſociety to join with other churches in ordaining their officers, &c. The miniſters and members of churches in the colony were engaged, ſome on one ſide, and ſome on the other, and the contentions were ſharp;‡ at length the houſe of deputies eſpouſed the cauſe of the firſt church, and having at their ſeſſion in May, 1670, appointed a committee to inquire into the prevailing evils which had procured or been the cauſe of the

* John Allin, John Higginſon, John Ward, John Wilſon, Edmund Browne, Samuel Whiting, ſen. Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increaſe Mather, Samuel Torrey, Zechary Symmes, John Brocke, Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, jun. John Hale.

† Mr. John Davenport, Mr. James Allen, and the ruling elder James Penn.

‡ Before this, viz. in July, 1669, a council had been called by Mr. Bellingham the governor; fearing, as he ſays in the order, "a ſudden tumult, ſome perſons attempting to ſet up an edifice for public worſhip, which was apprehended by authority to be detrimental to the public peace." Mr. Bellingham, it is evident, was warmly engaged againſt the ſeceders, but the council thought it beſt not to interpoſe, and if any perſon had offended againſt the laws, they adviſed to proceed againſt him in a due courſe of law. They judged it meet to declare, "that it was the duty of thoſe who were about to erect a new meeting-houſe, to obſerve the laws and orders of the general court for regulating prudential affairs, &c. and if they did not they ſhould have no countenance of authority in their proceedings."

the diſpleaſure of God againſt the land, they reported, among other cauſes, theſe that follow, viz. "Declenſion "from the primitive foundation work; innovation in doc- "trine and worſhip, opinion and practice; an invaſion of "the rights, liberties and privileges of churches; an uſur- "pation of a lordly and prelatical power over God's herit- "age; a ſubverſion of goſpel order; and all this with a "dangerous tendency to the utter devaſtation of theſe "churches, turning the pleaſant gardens of Chriſt into a "wilderneſs, and the inevitable and total extirpation of "the principles and pillars of the congregational way: theſe "are the leaven, the corrupting gangrene, the infecting, "ſpreading plague, the provoking image of jealouſy ſet up "before the Lord, the accurſed thing, which hath provok- "ed divine wrath, and doth further threaten deſtruction." They then take notice of the late tranſaction of churches and elders, in conſtituting the third church in Boſton, as irregular, illegal and diſorderly.*

Several of the miniſters at the next ſeſſion of the general court preſented a petition or addreſs, acknowledging the great goodneſs of God in favouring the land for ſo long a time with a godly and able magiſtracy; and deſiring that it might alſo be remembered that the people were led forth into this wilderneſs not only "by the hands of Moſes, but alſo of Aaron; viz. that reverend miniſtry which had tranſported the ark of the covenant, the preſence of God in his ordinances ſettled in goſpel order." This being premiſed, they ſolemnly profeſſed that they ſtill adhered to the ſafe and ſober principles of the congregational way, in oppoſition to ſeparation, morellian or anarchical confuſion, and licentious toleration. This profeſſion they made to vindicate their integrity and innocency from the unjuſt charge of innovation, and loud cry of apoſtacy, laid upon the generality of the miniſtry, heightened by the reports of the committee choſen by the houſe of deputies in their laſt

* Mr. Flint, the miniſter of Dorcheſter, in his diary, whilſt this court was ſitting, has this obſervation: "A ſpirit of diviſion, perſecuting and oppreſſing God's miniſters and precious ſaints, is the ſin which is unſeen, and none bears witneſs againſt. It is a great ſin, and threatens a ſword of divine wrath. God's elect fear it, and their bowels and compaſſions are moved at it."

laſt ſeſſion, and the votes of the major part of the houſe. They go on and ſay, that "this charge evidently appears to be the tranſports of a party, by inſtancing the buſineſs of the third church, and ſo deſigning to hinder the conſummation of that work of God, in the peaceable ſettlement thereof in actual and full communion with other churches, and by miſrepreſenting that weighty and worthy tranſaction, before inquiry had been made into the ſtate of the caſe. Theſe things were matters of great grievance, inaſmuch as an antiminiſterial ſpirit had thereby been ſtrengthened and emboldened, the hearts and hands of thoſe who laboured in the miniſtry weakened, the ſpirits of many being filled with groundleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions againſt the miniſtrations of the elders. They made this humble repreſentation in hopes of redreſs, either by being called upon publicly to vindicate themſelves, or by the court's moving for a general convention of churches, by their elders and meſſengers, for the deciſion of queſtions and accommodation of differences, or by ſuch other means and meaſures as to the wiſdom of the court ſhould ſeem meet."*

The court took this addreſs into their immediate conſideration; and having firſt aſſerted their own authority, and that the acts of the court were not liable to queſtion by any, and that free debates were the indubitable right of the court, they then acknowledged, that in an hour of temptation ſuch acts may paſs in one court, as may, according to principles of religion, prudence and ſtate intereſt, be reviewed, and upon mature deliberation be rectified, in another; and in the caſe then under conſideration, the court thought it their duty to declare, that ſeveral expreſſions in the votes referred to in the petition appeared exceptionable; and, that the court might remove all juſt grounds of grievance in the hearts of the reverend elders, and that their miniſtry might not be made ineffectual by that antiminiſterial ſpirit that too much ran through the country, it was ordered that all papers referring to the caſe ſhould

* Signed by John Allin, Thomas Cobbet, William Hubbard, Samuel Whiting, Samuel Whiting jun. John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Samuel Torry, John Ward, John Higginſon, Thomas Shepard, Antipas Newman, Edmund Browne, Thomas Thacher, Seaborn Cotton.

ſhould be accounted uſeleſs, and not be improved againſt the reverend elders, as having been the cauſe of God's diſpleaſure againſt the country: and whereas many had taken upon them to publiſh the ſecrets of the court in that caſe, the court further declared, that they knew no juſt cauſe of thoſe ſcandalizing reflections indefinitely caſt upon magiſtrates, elders and churches, either in reference to the new church in Boſton, or otherwiſe; and therefore, until they were further informed, they judged them to be innocent, calumniated and miſrepreſented. The court then profeſs, that they will adhere to the primitive ends of their coming over, and retain the ſober principles of the congregational way, and the practice of their churches, "in their pureſt and moſt athletic conſtitution."*

I have been more particular in relating this tranſaction, becauſe it gives us a pretty good idea of the connection between the civil and eccleſiaſtical power; the churches, notwithſtanding their claim to independency, being liable to controul as oft as their proceedings were diſapproved by the civil magiſtrate; and, on the other hand, the magiſtrates, who were annually elected, being ſometimes liable to be diſplaced by the influence of the clergy in elections, when their proceedings were ſuppoſed to bear hard upon the liberties of the churches, for the clergy ſtill retained a great proportion of the weight they had at the beginning. Indeed pariſhes were multiplied in the colony, many of them ſmall, and in new ſettlements. The ſtipends to the miniſters were leſſened; and ſoon after this time ſome of them complained, as many curates do in England, "that they prophecied in ſackcloth." Notwithſtanding this, as long as the charter continued, their influence in the affairs of government continued, as we ſhall have further occaſion to obſerve.

The war with the Indians, commonly called Philip's war, endangered the very being of the colony; and it was a queſtion with ſome, whether the Indians would not prevail

* This change of ſentiments in the court was owing to the change of perſons in the houſe of deputies, there being of fifty members, the number of the houſe this year, twenty only who were of the houſe the year before; and this is an evidence of the whole colony's being engaged in this diſpute.

vail to a total extirpation of the Engliſh inhabitants. At the firſt arrival of the Engliſh, the Indians were treated with kindneſs, to obtain their friendſhip and favour; but they having no acquaintance with fire-arms, the Engliſh grew by degrees leſs apprehenſive of danger, finding by means of corſlets or armour that they were not much expoſed to danger from bows and arrows of ſo ſimple conſtruction as thoſe of the Indians. The quarrels which the Indians had always been engaged in amongſt themſelves were a further ſecurity to the Engliſh, who on the one hand endeavoured to reſtrain them from an open war with one another, and on the other to keep up ſo much contention as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to the Engliſh, as umpires, neceſſary from time to time. The Engliſh, before their arrival, had ſuch ideas of the ſachems, that at the firſt meetings reſpect was ſhewn them, in ſome proportion to what would have been required by the prince of a petty ſtate in Europe; but the baſe, ſordid minds of the beſt of them, and the little authority they had over their own ſubjects, ſoon rendered them contemptible. At New-Plymouth, the governor in the firſt treaty with Maſſaſoiet, in 1620, acquainted him that King James conſidered him as his good friend and ally. This was too great an honour for Maſſaſoiet; he was content to acknowledge the King to be his ſovereign. The next year the governor cauſed the petty ſachems to ſign an inſtrument, in which they owned themſelves to be ſubject to King James.* Subjects, was a word of which they had no preciſe idea. For near forty † years together, they were under no great concern, or of no long continuance, in that colony from the

* "Sept. 13, A. D. 1621. Know all men by theſe preſents, that we, whoſe names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourſelves to be the loyal ſubjects of King James, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witneſs whereof, and as a teſtimonial of the ſame, we have ſubſcribed our names or marks as followeth,

Ohquamehud	Nattawahunt	Quadaquina
Conwacomet	Caunbatant	Huttamoiden
Obbatinnua	Chickatawbut	Apannow."

† Alexander, eldeſt ſon of Maſſaſoiet, ſoon after his father's death, about 1656, was ſuſpected of plotting with the Narraganſets againſt the Engliſh. Mr. Joſias Winſlow, with eight or ten ſtout men armed, took him by ſurpriſe at a hunting houſe about ſix miles diſtant from the Engliſh towns, and carried him to the governor. This raiſed his indignation to that degree as to bring a fever upon him which put an end to his life and plots together. Philip, his brother, a young lad, ſucceeded him. *MS.*

the neighbouring Indians, Maſſaſoiet or Ouſamequin always courting the friendſhip of the Engliſh. After his death* and the death of his eldeſt ſon Wamſutta or Alexander, Metacom or Philip,† his ſecond ſon, a man of great ſpirit, by his behaviour raiſed ſuſpicions of a deſign againſt the Engliſh, but appearing before the court in Plymouth in 1662 he expreſſed his deſire to continue in friendſhip, and promiſed that he and his ſucceſſors would always remain faithful ſubjects to the Kings of England, and that he would never alienate his lands, and never make war with any other Indians without the privity and allowance of the government of New-Plymouth.‡ The Indians within Maſſachuſetts bounds were not under one general ſachem, but divided into ſmaller cantons. Theſe, one after another, were brought to acknowledge their ſubjection to Maſſachuſetts government; particularly in 1643, when danger was apprehended from the Narraganſets, five ſachems ſubjected themſelves by the ſame inſtrument.‖ Beſides rules and orders which they were encouraged to make for their own government, for any offence againſt the Engliſh they were

* Maſſaſoiet, juſt before his death, when he was treating for the ſale of ſome of his lands at Swanzey, inſiſted upon it as a condition, that the Engliſh ſhould never attempt to draw off any of his people from their religion to chriſtianity, and would not recede until he found the treaty would break off if he urged it any further. *Hubbard.*

† In 1662, when Maſſaſoiet's two ſons were at Plymouth, the governor gave them their Engliſh names. The Indians in general were fond of having names given to them. Their father never took an Engliſh name. Philip was charged by the Engliſh with being not only haughty, but perfidious and impious. They charged him with pride and ambition, in aſpiring to the ſovereignty of a country which he would have enjoyed as his inheritance if they had not prevented; with perfidy, in breaking promiſes made whilſt under reſtraint and in the power of thoſe to whom they were made; and with impiety, in refuſing to receive his religion from his enemies.

‡ However it may be queſtioned whether this was a reaſonable requiſition, the terms of it were plain and well underſtood.

‖ We have and by theſe preſents do voluntarily and without any conſtraint or perſuaſion, but of our own free motion, put ourſelves, our ſubjects, lands, and eſtates, under the government and juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts, to be governed and protected by them according to their juſt laws and orders, ſo far as we ſhall be made capable of underſtanding them; and we do promiſe, for ourſelves and all our ſubjects and all our poſterity, to be true and faithful to the ſaid government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof to our beſt ability, and from time to time to give ſpeedy notice of any conſpiracy, attempt or evil intention of any, of which we ſhall know or hear of againſt the ſame; and we do promiſe to be willing from time to time to be inſtructed in the knowledge and worſhip of God. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto put our hands, the 8th of the firſt month, 1643-4.

Cutchamacke Naſhowanon Woſſamegon
Maſkanomet Squaw Sachem

were punished by the English laws, and so likewise for any capital or heinous offence among themselves. The case of a squaw convicted of adultery was referred to the elders, for advice whether she should die or not. They were merciful to her, and she escaped with a smart whipping. Notwithstanding the laws to restrain all persons from selling guns or ammunition to the Indians, they were generally furnished with both, and were become good marksmen.

In 1670 the Pokanoket or Philip's Indians were again suspected, by their frequent assembling together, by fixing up their guns, grinding their hatchets, and other preparations, and by insults offered to the English in different places, to be meditating a general war. The government of Plymouth, in March, sent messengers to them to inquire into the reason of this behaviour, and at the same time wrote to Massachusetts, acquainting them therewith. The governor and magistrates, always averse to an open breach, immediately dispatched their own messengers* to Taunton, to prevent a war if possible, which Plymouth had intimated that they should be obliged to begin, if they could not otherwise bring the Indians to reason. They met at Taunton the 13th of April, where the governor† and two other of Plymouth gentlemen‡ met with them; and whilst they were in conference, and examining witnesses concerning the behaviour of the Indians, the governor received a message from Philip, signifying that he was at three mile river, and that he desired the governor to come thither to speak with him. The governor returned answer,‖ that he was at Taunton ready for a treaty, and expected Philip to come to him, promising security. Philip refused to move until two of the govrnor's messengers§ offered to remain as hostages, and then he declined coming into the town, and resolved to go on as far as the mill, with all his men in arms, desiring the governor to come to him there. This return was made to the governor, with further intelligence that Philip was on the march with all his men in arms, and soon after he appeared at the mill, placing centinels round

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* William Davis, William Hudson, and Thomas Brattle.
† Mr. Prince. ‡ Mr. Josias Winslow, and Constant Southworth.
‖ By old Roger Williams and some others.
§ Mr. Williams and Mr. Brown.

a hill near to it, but ſent no meſſage into the town. Some within the town were for attacking him, but the Maſſachuſetts commiſſioners were afraid of the event and would not conſent to it. All agreed that the governor ſhould not condeſcend to go out to him. At length the Maſſachuſetts commiſſioners offered to go out and try to perſuade him to come in. At firſt he was unwilling, and his counſellors declared he ſhould not go, but finally he conſented, provided his men might go with him, they to be on one ſide of the meeting-houſe and the Engliſh on the other. Philip denied that he had any further purpoſe in bringing his men together and arming them, than to defend himſelf from any attacks which might be made by the Narraganſet Indians, ſome of whom had been engaged in quarrels with ſome of his people; but upon inquiry it appeared, that he was on better terms with the Narraganſets than ever before; and plentiful evidence being produced of his preparations both of ammunition and proviſions, and of parties of his men being deſtined for the attack of Taunton, Seaconk, and other places, he was confounded, and made a full confeſſion. Such improvement was made of it by the commiſſioners, that they required of him ſatisfaction for paſt damages and ſecurity againſt future injuries. The firſt was not long inſiſted on; but with reſpect to the latter, he was prevailed on to deliver up what Engliſh arms he then had with him, being about 70 guns, and to promiſe to ſend in the remainder in a few days. A writing was alſo drawn up, which he conſented to ſign, acknowledging his paſt breach of faith, and promiſing future fidelity.*

The loſs of ſo many guns muſt have been grievous to Philip

* "Taunton, 12th April, 1671. Whereas my father, my brother, and myſelf, have formerly ſubmitted ourſelves, our country, and our people, unto the King's Majeſty of England and colony of New-Plymouth, by ſolemn covenant under our hands, but I having of late, through my indiſcretion and the naughtineſs of my heart, violated and broken this my covenant with my friends, by taking up arms with evil intent againſt them, and that groundleſsly, and being now deeply ſenſible of my unfaithfulneſs and folly, deſire at this time ſolemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends and my father's friends above-mentioned, and do deſire this may teſtify to the world againſt me, if ever I ſhall again fail in my faithfulneſs towards them (that I have now and at all times found ſo kind to me) or any other of the Engliſh colonies. And as a real pledge of my true intention for the future to be faithful and friendly, I do freely engage to reſign up to the government of New-Plymouth all my Engliſh arms, to be kept by them for their ſecurity, ſo long as they ſhall ſee reaſon. For the true performance of the premiſes

Philip at a time when he only waited a good opportunity of falling upon the Engliſh. His ſubmitting to the acknowledgment in writing was of no conſequence. The Indians in general will promiſe any thing required of them, to remove an impending danger, or to procure an immediate benefit, and they regard ſuch promiſes not a minute longer than it is for their advantage to do it. When Philip was at liberty, he thought no more of his engagements; the guns were not brought in, and he himſelf refuſed to come to Plymouth, when required. Many ſtrange Indians reſorted to him. On the 23d of Auguſt Mr. Morton, ſecretary, in the name of the court of Plymouth, wrote to the Maſſachuſetts governor, to be communicated to the council, acquainting him, that they had ſummoned Philip to appear on the 13th of September; that if he did not do it they had determined on the 20th to ſend out forces to reduce him to reaſon, unleſs better reaſon ſhould ſeaſonably appear to them, by the Maſſachuſetts advice, to prevent it; that it was a common cauſe, and they ſhould well accept of aſſiſtance; but it was plainly intimated, that if aid ſhould be refuſed they would engage alone. Philip happened to come to Boſton, with his counſellors, the ſame day the letter was received, and repreſented his caſe ſo favourably to the governor and council, that, in their anſwer to Plymouth, they urged that government to refer the difference between Philip and them to commiſſioners from Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut.* Plymouth declined this propoſal, and inſiſted on Philip's appearance at the time propoſed;† but finally Maſſachuſetts declaring

premiſes I have hereunto ſet my hand, together with the reſt of my council.
In the preſence of — The mark of Philip, chief ſachem P
Wm. Davis — The mark of Tacaſoe V
Wm. Hudſon — The mark of Capt. Wiſpaſh T
Tho. Brattle." — The mark of Woukaponkanet T
The mark of Nimrod L

* At this time there was a breach in the union between the colonies from ſome miſunderſtandings, but the next year, 1672, it was healed, and ſome alterations made in the articles.

† The nature of Philip's ſubjection to the government of Plymouth was inquired into upon this occaſion by Maſſachuſetts. They ſay, in their letter of the 8th of September, "We do not underſtand how far he hath ſubjected himſelf to you; but the treatment you have given him, and proceedings towards him, do not render him ſuch a ſubject, as that if there be not a preſent anſwering to ſum-
mons

declaring that there did not appear ſufficient grounds for commencing hoſtilities, Plymouth conſented to give Philip further time until the 26th, promiſed him ſafe conduct, and deſired commiſſioners from Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut to be preſent and give advice. Whilſt Philip was at Boſton he engaged that he would not enter into a quarrel with Plymouth until he had firſt addreſſed himſelf to Maſſachuſetts for advice and approbation.

The mediators met at Plymouth, and matters ſeemed to be accommodated; Philip ſigned to ſuch articles as it was thought reaſonable he ſhould do, and were as follows:

"WE, Philip, and my council, and my ſubjects, do acknowledge ourſelves ſubject to his Majeſty the King of England and the government of New-Plymouth, and to their laws.

"2dly. I am willing and do promiſe to pay unto the government of Plymouth one hundred pounds in ſuch things as I have, but I would entreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, foraſmuch as I cannot do it at preſent.

"3dly. I do promiſe to ſend unto the governor, or whom he ſhall appoint, five wolves heads, if I can get them,

mons there ſhould preſently be a proceeding to hoſtilities; and the ſword once drawn and dipped in blood may make him as independent upon you as you are upon him." Notwithſtanding that in the treaties from time to time the Indians have acknowledged themſelves ſubjects to the Kings of England, yet they ſtill retained, in their idea of ſubjection, a degree of independency which Engliſh ſubjects have no pretence to. The ſix nations go no farther than to call the great King their father. They never call themſelves ſubjects. When Philip was at Boſton in 1671, and the letters which had been received from Plymouth were read to him, he expreſſed himſelf before the governor and council as follows: "That his predeceſſors had been friendly with Plymouth governors, and an engagement of that nature was made by his father and renewed by his brother, and (when he took the government) by himſelf; but they were only agreements for amity, and not for ſubjection, any further, as he apprehends; he deſired to ſee a copy of the engagement they ſpeak of, and that the governor of Maſſachuſetts would procure it for him. He knew not that they were ſubjects. Praying Indians were ſubject to Maſſachuſetts, and had officers and magiſtrates appointed; they had no ſuch thing with them, and therefore were not ſubject." *(Maſſ. files.)* In the ſeveral treaties between Maſſachuſetts and the eaſtern Indians, from Sir William Phips's treaty in 1693 down to the laſt treaty of peace in 1749, the Indians have always acknowledged ſubjection to the crown of England; notwithſtanding ſuch agreements, they have remained as independent of the Maſſachuſetts government as they were before any treaty was made with them. When they call the King their ſovereign, perhaps they have no other idea than the Six Nations have when they call him father. It is indeed at this day of no other importance than a matter of mere ſpeculation, the eaſtern Indians, the ſubjects of theſe treaties, if the remains of all their tribes were collected into one, not deſerving the name of a nation, and in a few years more they will be extinct.

them, or as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly.

"4thly. If any difference fall between the Engliſh and myſelf and people, then I do promiſe to repair to the governor of Plymouth to rectify the difference amongſt us.

"5thly. I do promiſe not to make war with any but with the governor's approbation of Plymouth.

"6thly. I promiſe not to diſpoſe of any of the lands that I have at preſent, but by the approbation of the governor of Plymouth.

"For the true performance of the premiſes, I the ſaid Sachem Philip of Pawkamauket do hereby bind myſelf and ſuch of my council as are preſent, ourſelves, our heirs, our ſucceſſors, faithfully. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our hands the day and year above written.*

"In the preſence of the court and divers of the gentlemen of the Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut."

The mark *P* of Philip the Sachem of Pawkamauket.
The mark ℭ of Uncompan.
The mark [of Wotokom.
The mark 7 of Samkana.

The Engliſh have been charged by ſome writers with acts of injuſtice to the Indians, which have provoked them, and occaſioned the frequent wars. There have been many inſtances of abuſes offered to particular perſons among the Indians by evil-minded Engliſhmen; and the inhabitants of ſome parts of the province which have ſuffered moſt by Indian cruelties may have been under too ſtrong prejudices, and by this means offenders, when brought upon trial, may have been acquitted by too favourable juries. We are too apt to conſider the Indians as a race of beings by nature inferior to us, and born to ſervitude. Philip was a man of a high ſpirit, and could not bear to ſee the Engliſh of New-Plymouth extending their ſettlements over the dominions of his anceſtors; and although his father had, at one time or other, conveyed to them all that they were poſſeſſed

* There is no date to the printed articles in Mr. Hubbard's hiſtory of the war. An Engliſhman was found dead, having been ſhot through the body, in Dedham woods, in the ſpring of the year 1671; an Indian, the ſuppoſed murderer, was taken and impriſoned, whether executed or not I do not find, but it kept the colony in an alarm for ſome time.

poſſeſſed of, yet he had ſenſe enough to diſtinguiſh a free, voluntary covenant from one made under a ſort of dureſſe, and he could never reſt until he brought on the war which ended in his deſtruction. The eaſtern wars have been cauſed by the attachment of thoſe Indians to the French, who have taken all opportunities of exciting them to hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh.

From 1671 to 1674* we meet with no tranſaction of moment relative to the Indians; but it is affirmed that Philip was all this time uſing meaſures to engage the Indians in all parts of New-England to unite againſt the Engliſh. The Indians about Hadley confeſſed ſuch a plot. The Narraganſets had engaged to bring four thouſand men. This could not be done immediately. The Engliſh were upon the watch. Some fire-arms had been taken from the Indians. To provide ſufficient arms, ammunition and proviſions, whilſt under ſuſpicion, was a work of time. They did not expect to be prepared before the ſpring of 1676; but Philip precipitated his own nation and his allies into

* In May 1672 the union between the three colonies, being renewed by commiſſioners, was ratified by the general court at Boſton. They were to meet now but once in three years, unleſs upon extraordinary occaſions. The proportion of men for any general ſervice was ſettled for 15 years to come as follows, viz. Maſſachuſetts 100, Plymouth 30, Connecticut 60.

May 28th, 1672, war was proclaimed againſt the Dutch in Boſton, in conſequence of the King's declaration of war publiſhed in England. This was the firſt inſtance of any public declaration of war in the colony. In the Dutch wars in the time of the Parliament and Cromwell, and in the former war after the reſtoration, until forces came to reduce the Manhadoes, correſpondence and commerce continued between the colonies notwithſtanding the war in Europe.

March 21ſt, 1673, the caſtle at the entrance of Boſton harbour, being of timber, was burnt down by accident. A new fortreſs of ſtone was erected, ſaid then to be a ſtrong work.

In Auguſt the ſame year, advice came to Boſton that the Dutch, after taking ſeveral ſhips at Virginia, had poſſeſſed themſelves of New-York, whilſt Col. Lovelace the governor was at New-Haven, and that the Dutch force was bound further northward. This intelligence cauſed a great alarm in the colony. The caſtle having been deſtroyed not long before, Boſton was leſs capable of defence. The beſt preparations were made which could be made. The Dutch fleet returned to Europe.

This acquiſition was accidental, according to the account given by the Dutch at New-York. Four Hollanders and three Zealanders met off Martinico, one ſide with French, the other Engliſh colours, and prepared to fight, until by hoiſting their proper colours they better underſtood one another. They then joined together and agreed upon an expedition to Virginia and New-York. The Dutch Guinea fleet was intended for the ſame ſervice, but theſe other ſhips ſaved them the trouble. *MS account of a meſſage from Hartford to New-York.*

A collection was made in 1672 for rebuilding Harvard-college, amounting to 1895*l.* 2*ſ.* 9*d.* The town of Boſton gathered 800*l.* of which 100*l.* was given by Sir Thomas Temple, as true a gentleman, ſays Doctor Mather, as ever ſat foot on the American ſtrand.

into a war before they were prepared. This was evident from the diſtraction of the Indians in all parts of New-England, upon the firſt news of the diſturbance from Philip. They were amazed, not knowing which way to turn, ſometimes ready to declare for the Engliſh, as they had been uſed to do in the former conteſts with Philip; at other times inclining to join with Philip, as firſt or laſt moſt of them did. The war was hurried on by a piece of revenge, which Philip cauſed to be taken upon John Sauſaman, a praying Indian. He had been bred up in the profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, was ſome time at the college, and afterwards employed as a ſchoolmaſter at Natick, but upon ſome miſdemeanor fled to Philip, who made him his ſecretary and chief counſellor and confidant. After remaining ſome years with Philip, Mr. Eliot, the Indian evangeliſt, who had been his ſpiritual father, prevailed with him to return to the chriſtian Indians at Natick, where he manifeſted public repentance for his apoſtacy, and became a preacher, and conformed more to the Engliſh manners than any other Indian. In the year 1674 Sauſaman upon ſome occaſion went to Namaſket (Middleborough) where he fell into company with ſome of Philip's Indians, and with Philip himſelf. There he diſcovered by ſeveral circumſtances that the Indians were plotting againſt the Engliſh. He informed the governor what he had diſcovered, and told him that if he ſhould be known to be the informer it would coſt him his life. It was not long after, that Sauſaman was met by three or four Indians upon a frozen pond; they knocked him down and put him under the ice, leaving his gun and hat upon the ice to make the world believe that he accidentally fell in and was drowned. When the body was found and taken up, the wounds appeared upon his head. An Indian happened to be upon a hill at a diſtance, and ſaw the murder committed: he concealed it for ſome time, but at length diſcovered it. The murderers were apprehended, tried upon the Indian's teſtimony and other circumſtances, convicted and executed, two of them denying the fact to the laſt, the third, when he came to die, confeſſing he was a ſpectator of the murder committed by the other two. This trial was at Plymouth, in June, 1675.

1675.* Philip, enraged to see the immediate actors brought to punishment by the English laws, and expecting that it would be his own turn next, being conscious that the murderers were employed by him, took no pains to exculpate himself, but gathered what strangers he could, and together with his own men marched them up and down the country in arms. The English of Plymouth ordered a military watch in every town, but took no other notice of the Indians' behaviour, hoping that when Philip saw no measures were used for apprehending him, the threatened storm would blow over, as it had done several times before. But the Indians coming in to him from several quarters gave him fresh courage, and he behaved with insolence, first threatening the English at Swanzey, then killing some of their cattle, and at length rifling their houses.† An Englishman was so provoked, that he fired upon an Indian and wounded him.‡ June 24th, in the morning, one of the inhabitants of Rehoboth was fired upon by a party of Indians, and the hilt of his sword shot off.§ The same day in the afternoon, being a fast, as Swanzey people were coming from public worship, the Indians attacked them, killed one and wounded others, and killed two men who were going for a surgeon, beset a house in another part of the town and there murdered six more. Massachusetts, before this, had determined to raise 100 men for the assistance of Plymouth; but before they marched it was thought best to

* Mr. Winslow, governor of Plymouth, writes to Mr. Leveret, the Massachusetts governor, July 4, 1675—"I do solemnly profess we know not any thing from us that might put Philip upon these motions, nor have heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we had killed some Indians and intended to send for himself for the murder of John Sausaman. The last that was executed this week confessed that he saw the other two do the murder. Neither had we any thoughts to command him in about it." This action of Philip in procuring the death of Sausaman has always been pronounced to be a most heinous crime. Philip no doubt considered him as a traitor and renegade who had justly forfeited his life. The Indians left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends, but punished traitors by public execution.

† In 1671 he confessed that he intended to provoke the English to begin with him first. At this time a whimsical opinion prevailed, that the side which did the first execution, would finally be conquered.

‡ This is said to be the first gun. *(Hubbard.)*

§ Governor Winslow's letter 24th of June.

to ſend meſſengers to Philip at Mount Hope* to divert him from his deſign if poſſible; but the meſſengers, ſeeing ſome of the Swanzey men lying murdered in the road, did not think it ſafe to go any further, and returned as faſt as as they could with this intelligence to Boſton. On the 26th, a foot company under Capt. Henchman, and a troop under Capt. Prentice, marched from Boſton towards Mount Hope, and were overtaken by another company of 110 volunteers under Capt. Moſely,† and all arrived at Swanzey the 28th, where they found Plymouth forces under Capt. Cudworth. They made the miniſter's houſe (Mr. Miles‡) near the bridge, their head quarters. About a dozen of the troop went immediately over the bridge, where they were fired upon from out of the buſhes, one killed and one wounded. This action drew the body of the Engliſh forces after the enemy, whom they purſued a mile or two until they took to a ſwamp, killing about half a dozen of them. Philip thought it beſt to quit his ſtation at Mount Hope. A day or two after, Major Savage,§ being arrived with more forces from Boſton, and a general command, marched into the Indian towns,‖ which they found deſerted, with marks of great haſte. They diſcovered Philip's wigwam amongſt the reſt. They met with none of the enemy. The next day they returned to their head quarters at Swanzey. It is not my deſign to enter into every minute circumſtance of the war.¶ The Maſſachuſetts

* Philip's chief ſeat of government was at Mount Hope, but he removed to other places for hunting and fiſhing, particularly to Namaſket or Middleborough, and he had a hunting houſe in Taunton, near a ſwamp or pond called the fowling pond, which has been ſince ſet off from Taunton and with other lands made a town by the name of Raynham. In 1763 a jury which went to view ſome controverted bounds were ſatisfied that they had diſcovered the ruins of Philip's houſe, and the hearth where he uſed to cook, covered over with earth, the coals remaining entire to that time.

† Moſely had been an old privateerer at Jamaica, probably of ſuch as were called Bucaneers.

‡ This was the baptiſt miniſter mentioned page 209.

§ Mr. Joſeph Dudley, then member for Roxbury, afterwards governor of the province, accompanied him.

‖ They paſſed through many fields of corn. *Hubbard.*

¶ A letter to London mentions an inſtance of heroiſm in a maid ſervant of one Mr. Minot of Dorcheſter. She was left at home upon a Lord's day in July, when an Indian came to the door, and finding it ſhut, attempted the window. When ſhe perceived it ſhe tied two young children ſhe had with her under two

braſs

chuſetts government ſent Capt. Hutchinſon as their commiſſioner to treat with the Narraganſets.* It was thought convenient to do it ſword in hand, therefore all the forces marched into the Narraganſet country. Connecticut afterwards ſent two gentlemen in behalf of that government, and on the 15th of July they came to an agreement with the Narraganſet Indians, who favoured Philip in their hearts, and waited only a convenient opportunity to declare openly for him, but whilſt the army was in their country were obliged to ſubmit to terms impoſed upon them.†

As

braſs kettles, and ran up ſtairs and charged a muſket, but the Indian was quicker than ſhe was, and fired firſt and miſſed her. She fired and ſhot him in the ſhoulder. He was not ſo diſabled as to give over his deſign, but ſhe had reſolution enough, as he was entering the window, to clap a ſhovel full of live coals to his face, which cauſed him to flee, and marked him ſo that he was known when found dead in the woods at five miles diſtance. The ſame letter takes notice of Cornellis, a Dutchman under ſentence of death for piracy, but pardoned on condition of enliſting. "He purſued Philip ſo hard that he got his cap and now wears it. The general finding him a brave man, ſent him with a command of twelve men to ſcout, with orders to return in three hours on pain of death: he met 60 Indians hauling their canoes aſhore: he killed 13 and took 8 alive, and purſued the reſt as far as he could go for ſwamps, and on his return burnt all the canoes. The exploit took up eight hours. A council of war was called, and Cornellis was again ſentenced to die for breach of orders, but a ſecond time received his pardon, and a ſhort time after was ſent out on the like deſign, and brought in 12 Indians alive and two ſcalps."

* "We do judge that it will be of abſolute neceſſity to put all the Indians that are neighbouring to the Engliſh to the teſt of their fidelity—If they deſire our friendſhip they muſt not harbour or nouriſh any that are our declared enemies; but in caſe that Philip or any of his men, women or children be fled to them, that they forthwith deliver them up, and alſo that they ſend hoſtages for our ſecurity, and do join with us in the purſuit and conqueſt of their and our enemy; this we judge to be juſt and equal as well as neceſſary. We have commiſſioned Capt. Hutchinſon to repair to Narraganſet Indians, who will bring a ſmall party with him, and will have a view to the forces with you for his aſſiſtance." *General court's letter to Maj. Savage, July* 4, 1675.

† "Articles, covenant and agreement had, made and concluded by and between Maj. Thomas Savage, Capt Edward Hutchinſon, and Mr. Joſeph Dudley, in behalf of the government of Maſſachuſetts colony, and Maj. Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith in behalf of Connecticut colony, on the one party, and Agamaug, Wampſh alias Corman, Taitſon, Tawageſon, counſellors and attorneys to Canonicus, Ninigret, Mattatoag, old Queen Quaiapen, Quananſhit and Pomham, the ſix preſent ſachems of the whole Narraganſet country, on the other party, referring to ſeveral differences and troubles lately ariſen between them, and for a final concluſion of ſettled peace and amity between the ſaid ſachems, their heirs and ſucceſſors forever, and the governors of ſaid Maſſachuſetts and their ſucceſſors in the ſaid government forever.

1ſt. That all and every of the ſaid ſachems ſhall from time to time carefully ſeize, and, living or dead, deliver unto one or other of the abovesaid governments all and every of Sachem Philip's ſubjects whatſoever that ſhall come or be found within the precinct of any of their lands, and that with greateſt diligence and faithfulneſs.

2d. That they ſhall with their utmoſt ability uſe all acts of hoſtility againſt the ſaid Philip and his ſubjects entering his lands or any other lands of the Engliſh, to

kill

As soon as the treaty was finished, the forces left the Narraganset country, and came to Taunton the 17th in the evening. Hearing that Philip was in a swamp at Pocasset,

kill and destroy the said enemy, until a cessation from war with the said enemy be concluded by both the abovesaid colonies.

3d. That the said sachems by themselves and their agents shall carefully search out and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever taken by any of their subjects from the English, whether formerly or lately, and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the estate of any of the subjects of the several colonies according to the judgment of indifferent men in case of dissatisfaction between the offenders and the offended parties, or deliver the offenders.

4th. That all preparations for war or acts of hostility against any of the English subjects, shall forever for the future cease, together with all manner of thefts, pilferings, killing of cattle, or any manner of breach of peace whatsoever, shall with utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a guard round about the Narraganset country for the English inhabitants' safety and security.

5th. In token of the abovesaid sachems reality in this treaty and conclusion, and for the security of the several English governments and subjects, they do freely deliver unto the abovesaid gentlemen, in behalf of the abovesaid colonies, John Wobequob, Weochin, Pewkes, Wenew, four of their near kinsmen and choice friends, to be and remain as hostages in several places of the English jurisdiction, at the appointment of the honourable governors of the abovesaid colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as prisoners, but otherwise at their honours' discretion, until the abovesaid articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several governors, the departure of any of them in the mean time to be accounted a breach of the peace of these present articles.

6th. The said gentlemen, in behalf of the governments to which they do belong, do engage to every of the said sachems and their subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either of the abovesaid English governments, or to Mr. Smith, inhabitant of Narraganset, Philip sachem alive, he or they so delivering shall receive for their pains, forty trucking cloth coats; in case they bring his head, they shall have twenty like good coats paid them; for every living subject of said Philip, so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction that the heads or persons are belonging to the enemy, and that they are of their seizure.

7th. The said sachems do renew and confirm unto the English inhabitants or others, all former grants, sales, bargains or conveyances of lands, meadow, timber, grass, stones, or whatever else the English may have heretofore bought, or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them and their heirs and assigns forever, as also all former articles made with the confederate colonies.

Lastly. The said counsellors and attorneys do premeditately, seriously, and with good advice, covenant, conclude and agree all abovesaid solemnly; and call God to witness, they are, and shall remain true friends to the English governments, and perform the abovesaid articles punctually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein. In witness whereof they have set their hands and seals, Petaquamscot, July 15, 1675.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us under-written, being carefully interpreted to the said Indians before sealing,
Daniel Henchman
Thomas Prentice
Nicholas Page
Joseph Stanton interpreter
Henry Hawlaws
Pecoq Buckow
Job Nett."

Tawagason his mark C
Taytson his mark O
Agamaug his mark T
Wampsh alias Corman his mark X

caſſet, the Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth forces joined, and arrived at the ſwamp the 18th, which they reſolutely entered. They found about one hundred wigwams empty. The enemy had deſerted them, and retired deeper into the ſwamp. The Engliſh followed, but in diſorder, which was inevitable, penetrating a thick ſwamp. They found they were in danger one from another, every man firing at every buſh he ſaw ſhake. Night coming on, it was neceſſary to retreat. They loſt fifteen men. How many they killed of the enemy is uncertain. It was an unſucceſsful attempt, and the more unfortunate becauſe, as they were afterwards informed, Philip was in ſuch diſtreſs that if they had followed him half an hour longer he would have ſurrendered himſelf and his men, which would have put an end to the war.* This diſappointment encouraged the Indians in other parts of New-England to follow Philip's example, and begin their hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh. Some few had begun before. The Nipnet or Nipmuck Indians had killed four or five people at Mendon, in the Maſſachuſetts colony, the 14th of July. The governor and council, in hopes of reclaiming the Nipnets, ſent Capt. Hutchinſon with twenty horſemen to Quabaog (Brookfield) near which place there was to be a great rendezvous of thoſe Indians. The inhabitants of Quabaog had been deluded with the promiſe of a treaty, at a place agreed upon, the 2d of Auguſt. Some of the principal of them accompanied Capt. Hutchinſon thither. Not finding the Indians there, they rode forward four or five miles, towards the Nipnets' chief town. When they came to a place called Meminimiſſet, a narrow paſſage between a ſteep hill and a thick ſwamp, they were ambuſhed by two or three hundred Indians, who ſhot down eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, Capt. Hutchinſon † being one of the number. The

* Mather's hiſtory of the war.

A letter from Boſton to London, Nov. 10, 1675, ſays, that a brother of Philip's, a privy counſellor and chief captain, who had been educated at Harvard college, was killed in this fight.

† Capt. Hutchinſon was carried to Quabaog, and afterwards to Marlborough, where he died the 19th of Auguſt.

" Captain Hutchinſon had a very conſiderable farm thereabouts, and had occaſion to employ ſeveral of the Nipmug ſachem's men in tilling and ploughing the ground.

The reſt eſcaped through a by path to Quabaog. The Indians flocked into the town; but the inhabitants, being alarmed, had all gathered together in the principal houſe. They had the mortification to ſee all their dwelling houſes, about twenty, with their barns and out-houſes, burnt. The houſe where they had aſſembled was then ſurrounded, and a variety of attempts made to ſet fire to it. At length the Indians filled a cart with hemp and other combuſtible matter, which they kindled, and, whilſt they were thruſting it towards the houſe, a violent ſhower of rain fell ſuddenly and extinguiſhed the fire.* Auguſt 4th, Major Willard, who had been ſent after ſome other Indians weſtward, heard of the diſtreſs of Brookfield when he was about four or five miles from Lancaſter, which cauſed him, with 48 men, to alter his courſe, and the ſame night he reached Brookfield, after 30 miles march; and though the Indian ſcouts diſcovered him and fired their alarm guns, yet the main body, from their high joy, always accompanied with a horrid noiſe, heard nothing of them. Willard joined the beſieged,† and the Indians immediately poured in all the ſhot they could, but without execution, and then quitted the ſiege, and deſtroyed all the horſes and cattle they could find, and withdrew to their dens. They were not purſued, being much ſuperior in numbers. The Engliſh were not yet uſed to fighting. A party likewiſe were ſent from Springfield to the relief of Brookfield. Finding it effected, they returned, meeting none of the enemy. Philip and his people continued in the ſwamp at Pocaſſet until the laſt of July. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with Captain Church and other parties, they eſcaped from the ſwamp, notwithſtanding the Maſſachuſetts forces kept their guards round it,

ground, and thereby he was known by face to many of them. The ſachems ſent word they would ſpeak with none but Capt. Hutchinſon himſelf, and appointed a meeting at ſuch a tree and ſuch a time. The guide that conducted him and thoſe that were with him through the woods, brought them to a ſwamp not far off the appointed place, out of which thoſe Indians ran all at once and killed ſixteen men and wounded ſeveral others, of which wounds Capt. Hutchinſon afterwards died, whoſe death is the more lamented in that his mother and ſeveral others of his relations died by the hands of the Indians, now above 30 years ſince." *Letter to London, Nov.* 10, 1675.

* Hubbard. Mr. Mather takes no notice of the rain, but ſays Willard came upon the Indians and prevented the execution.

† Mr. Mather ſays, he fell upon the Indians and cauſed them to turn their backs.

it, and went away to the weſtward, without being very cloſely purſued; the reaſon of which, Mr. Hubbard ſays, it is better to ſuſpend than too critically to inquire into. The 5th of Auguſt, Philip, with about forty men, beſides women and children, joined the Nipmuck Indians in a ſwamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield.* The Indians upon Connecticut river, near Hadley, Hatfield and Deerfield, began their hoſtilities about the ſame time; as alſo thoſe at Penicook and other places upon Merrimack river; ſo that before the end of Auguſt the whole Maſſachuſetts colony was in the utmoſt terror. Philip having left Plymouth, and the Narraganſets not having engaged, that colony was leſs affected. There were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes about Hatfield, viz. at Sugarloaf-hill, at Deerfield and Squakeag (Northfield) the latter end of Auguſt and beginning of September, in which the Engliſh, upon the whole, were loſers. September the 1ſt, Hadley was attacked upon a faſt day, while the people were at church, which broke up the ſervice, and obliged them to ſpend the day in a very different exerciſe.† The commanders in that

* "Upon Friday being the 5th of this inſtant (Auguſt) Philip and his company came to us at this ſwamp, ſix miles from the ſwamp where they killed our men. Philip brought with him about forty men, but women and children many more, the number I cannot tell. Philip's men were about 30 of them armed with guns, the reſt had bows and arrows. He obſerved there were about ten of Philip's men wounded. Philip was conducted to the ſwamp by two Indians, one of them Caleb of Tatumaſket, beyond Mendon. The Indians told Philip, at his firſt coming, what they had done to the Engliſh at Quabaog; then he preſented and gave to three ſagamores, viz. John alias Apequinath, Quananſit, and Mawtamps, to each of them about a peck of unſtrung wampom, which they accepted. Philip, as I underſtood, told Quabaog and Nipmuck Indians, that when he firſt came towards the Nipmuck country and left his own, he had in his company about 250 men, beſides women and children, including the ſquaw ſachem and her company, but now they had left him, and ſome of them were killed, and he was reduced to 40 men, beſides women and children. I heard alſo that Philip ſaid, if the Engliſh had charged upon him and his people at the ſwamp in his own country one or two days more, they had been all taken, for their powder was almoſt ſpent; he alſo ſaid, that if the Engliſh had purſued him cloſely, as he travelled up to them, he muſt needs have been taken." *MS narrative of George, a chriſtian Indian, taken priſoner in the ambuſhment of Capt. Hutchinſon, &c.*

"Sept. 23d an alarm was made in the town of Boſton about ten in the morning, 1200 men were in arms before eleven, and all diſmiſſed before twelve. One that was upon guard at Mendon, 30 miles off, got drunk and fired his gun, the noiſe of which alarmed the next neighbours, and ſoon ſpread to Boſton." *Letter to London.*

"October 7th was obſerved as a ſolemn faſt throughout the colony with a very great ſhew of outward penitence, and no queſtion with much inward affection by very many; the governor himſelf beginning the duty of the day with a moſt heavenly prayer." *Letter to London.* † P. 201.

that part of the country, not being able to do much ſervice by ſending out parties, determined to garriſon the towns, and to collect a magazine of proviſions at Hadley. There being about 3000 buſhels of corn at Deerfield in ſtacks, Capt. Lothrop with 80 men was ſent to guard it down in carts, and were ſet upon by ſeven or eight hundred Indians, and all the Engliſh but ſeven or eight were cut off. Capt. Lothrop and his men fought bravely, but in the Indian manner, betaking themſelves to trees; which, in ſo great a diſproportion of numbers, muſt be inevitable deſtruction, for many of the leſſer party muſt be unguarded and expoſed. Capt. Moſely, who was quartered at Deerfield, came out with his company too late to reſcue Lothrop; but, keeping his men together in a body, fought the whole number of Indians for ſeveral hours, with the loſs of two men only, until Major Treat with about 160 Mohegin Indians came to his aid, and put the enemy to flight. This was a heavy ſtroke to the county of Eſſex, to which moſt of Capt. Lothrop's company, being young men, belonged. A body of Indians, who had a fort about a mile from Springfield, had hitherto profeſſed great friendſhip to the Engliſh; but Philip's Indians prevailed with them to join in a plot for the deſtruction of the town, and to receive in the night three hundred of thoſe Indians into the fort. It was diſcovered the night before by Top, a Windſor Indian, which, although it ſaved the lives of many of the inhabitants, yet was no ſecurity for their dwellings, thirty odd houſes, beſides barns, &c. being burnt before forces came from Weſtfield, Hadley, and other parts, to repel the Indians.* The 19th of October, they came with all

* They burned a farm houſe of Mr. Pynchon's, and another of Mr. Purchas's, the latter end of September: their loſs was eſtimated at a thouſand pounds ſterl. each. *Letter to London.*

The Springfield Indians had lived in ſo good correſpondence with the Engliſh for 40 years, that more dependence was placed upon them than upon any other Indians. This inſtance of perfidy ſeems to have increaſed the jealouſies and ſuſpicions which had before began of the Indians round Boſton, viz. Punkapog, Natick, &c. although many of them actually went out with the Engliſh forces againſt the enemy.

At the ſeſſions in October, the general court ordered, "That no perſon ſhall entertain, own or countenance any Indian, under the penalty of being a betrayer of this government." (This I ſuppoſe was capital.)

"That a guard be ſet at the entrance of the town of Boſton, and that no Indian be ſuffered to enter upon any pretence without a guard of two muſketeers, and not to lodge in town. "That

all the force and fury they could raiſe upon Hatfield, but were repulſed, the Connecticut and Maſſachuſetts forces being, by good providence, at hand ſo as to prevent any great loſs. This diſcouraged them from continuing any longer in that part of the country, and they withdrew to the Narraganſets, their general rendezvous. Some ſtragglers remained until the end of November, and a few lurked in the ſwamps all winter, doing now and then ſome miſchief, enough to keep the inhabitants upon conſtant watch and guard. In November a party was ſent out under Capt. Henchman to Haſſanimiſco (Grafton), Mendon, and the towns thereabout. They returned without any remarkable exploit.

The Narraganſets,* contrary to their engagements, had received and comforted Philip's Indians and others, the enemies

"That any perſon may apprehend an Indian, finding him in town or approaching the town; and that none be ſuffered to come in by water."

The Natick Indians, and moſt of the other Indians who had ſubjected themſelves to the Engliſh government (Punkapog excepted) were hurried down to Deer-iſland, where they remained the winter. They complained of their ſufferings there. All of the colour were thought by many of the people worthy of death; and although their rage did not carry them that length, as to murder any of them without the authority of government, as ſome perſons have lately done the Coneſtogoe Indians in Pennſylvania, yet their clamour ſeems to have prevailed on the authority to uſe greater ſeverity than otherwiſe they would have done. "On the 10th of September, at nine o'clock at night, there gathered together about forty men, ſome of note, and came to the houſe of Capt. James Oliver; two or three of them went into his entry to deſire to ſpeak with him, which was to deſire him to be their leader, and they ſhould join together, and go and break open the priſon and take one Indian out thence and hang him. Capt. Oliver, hearing their requeſt, took his cane and cudgelled them ſtoutly, and ſo for that time diſmiſſed the company, which had he but in the leaſt countenanced it might have been accompanied with ill events in the end." (*Letter to London.*) In a ſhort time after, the ſame poor Indian was executed, and died proteſting his innocence; Mr. Eliot the miniſter, and ſome others, who had firmneſs enough to ſtem the popular current, interceding for him to no purpoſe. A circumſtance at the execution of this Indian ſhews the great propriety of diſtinguiſhing them from all the reſt of the human race by the name of ſavages. "Being half alive and half dead, there came an Indian, a friend of his, and with his knife made a hole in his breaſt to his heart, and ſucked out his heart's blood. Being aſked his reaſon therefor, his anſwer was, Umh umh nu, me be ſtronger as I was before, me be ſo ſtrong as he and me too, he be ver ſtrong man before he die." *Let. to Lond.*

* Before the Narraganſet expedition, articles of war were agreed upon by the general court, and were as follows.

"Laws and ordinances of war paſſed by the general court of the Maſſachuſetts for the better regulating their forces, and keeping their ſoldiers to their duty, and to prevent profaneneſs, that iniquity may be kept out of the land.

1ſt. Let no man preſume to blaſpheme the holy and bleſſed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot Iron.

2d. Unlawful oaths and execrations, and ſcandalous acts in derogation of God's honour, ſhall be puniſhed with loſs of pay and other puniſhment at diſcretion.

3d. All

enemies of the Engliſh. It was not doubted that ſome of that nation had mixed with the others in their hoſtilities. If they ſhould all openly engage in the ſpring, there would be no reſiſting them; ſcattered in every part of the country, all the forces the Engliſh could raiſe would not be a match for them. One company of ſoldiers after another had waſted away in the year paſt. There was no great room to hope for better ſucceſs in the year to come. The commiſſioners of the united colonies therefore agreed to raiſe one thouſand men, and to march in the winter into the Narraganſet country. Maſſachuſetts was to raiſe 527, the other

3d. All thoſe, who often and wilfully abſent themſelves from the public worſhip of God, and prayers, ſhall be proceeded againſt at diſcretion.

4th. Whoſoever ſhall be convicted to do his duty negligently, and carelefsly, ſhall be puniſhed at diſcretion.

5th. No perſon ſhall preſume to quarrel with his ſuperior officer upon pain of caſhiering & arbitrary puniſhment; not to ſtrike any ſuch, upon pain of death.

6th. No commander or ſoldier ſhall depart from his charge or captain without licence, upon pain of death.

7th. Every private ſoldier, upon pain of impriſonment, ſhall keep ſilence when the army is to take lodging, or when it is marching, or in battle, ſo as the officers may be heard, and their commands executed.

8th. No man ſhall reſiſt, draw, lift, offer to draw or lift, his weapon againſt his officer, correcting him orderly for his offence, upon pain of death.

9th. No man ſhall reſiſt the provoſt marſhal or any other officer in the executing his office, upon pain of death.

10th. No man ſhall utter any words of ſedition or mutiny, upon pain of death.

11th. They that ſhall hear mutinous ſpeeches and not acquaint their commander with them ſhall be puniſhed with ſome grievous puniſhment.

12th. Drunkenneſs in an officer ſhall be puniſhed with loſs of place, and in a private foot ſoldier with ſuch puniſhment as a court martial ſhall think fit.

13th. Rapes, ravithments, and unnatural abuſes, and adultery, ſhall be puniſhed with death.

14th. Fornication and other diſſolute laſciviouſneſs ſhall be puniſhed with diſcretion, according to the quality of the offence.

15th. Theft or robbery ſhall be puniſhed with reſtitution, and otherwiſe with diſcretion.

16th. Murder ſhall be expiated with the death of the murderer.

17th. All ſoldiers coming to their colours to watch or be exerciſed, or to ſervice, ſhall come completely armed, and them fixed, upon pain of puniſhment.

18th. If any ſhall negligently loſe, or ſinfully play away their arms at dice or cards, or otherwiſe, they ſhall be kept as pioneers or ſcavengers till they furniſh themſelves with as good arms.

19th. None ſhall preſume to ſpoil, ſell, or carry away, any ammunition committed unto him, upon pain of death.

20th. No ſoldier ſhall outſtay his paſs, without a certificate of the occaſion under the hand of a magiſtrate, upon pain of loſing his pay.

By grievous puniſhment is meant diſgracingly caſhiering, the ſtrapado, or riding the wooden horſe to fetch blood.

Arbitrary puniſhment, or puniſhment at diſcretion, is meant not to extend to life or limb."

other two colonies the remainder. Mr. Winslow,* the governor of Plymouth, was pitched upon for the general. The 8th of December, the Massachusetts forces marched from Boston, and were soon after joined by Plymouth men. Connecticut men joined them, the 18th, at Pettyquamscot. The evening and night were stormy, and the men had no covering. At break of day, the 19th, they marched thro' the snow fourteen or fifteen miles, until one o'clock afternoon, when they came to the edge of the swamp where the enemy lay. They had met with an Indian who was disgusted with the rest, and offered himself as a pilot. The Indians knew of the armament coming against them, and had fortified themselves with all the art and strength they were capable of. The English fell in suddenly and unexpectedly upon this seat of the enemy, and neither drew up in any order of battle, nor consulted where or how to assault. Some Indians appearing at the edge of the swamp, they that were in front of the army, in the march, fired upon them. The Indians returned the fire, and fled. The whole army entered the swamp, following the Indians to their fortress, which was upon a piece of upland in the midst of the swamp, palisadoed all round, and within a hedge of near a rod thick. At one corner only, was a gap the length of one log, where the breastwork was not above four or five feet high; but they had placed a blockhouse over against this passage. At this passage, and no where else, the English must enter. As it pleased God to order it, they fell in upon that part of the fort where the passage was. The captains entered at the head of their companies. The two first, Johnson and Davenport, were shot dead at the entrance, as were many of their men. Four other captains (Gardner, Gallop, Siely and Marshall) also lost their lives. As soon as the forces were entered, they attacked the Indians in their places of shelter, who fought desperately, and beat the Indians out of the fort; but after two or three hours,

* Mr. Winslow had always shewn great readiness to expose himself in the service. "Some resolute attempt for Philip's surprisal must be put in execution. Would to God I was with our men, so as I might not in the mean time be missed at home I should hope, by the blessing of God, to give a good account in a short time." *Winslow to Leveret, July* 26, 1675. "My person, I hear, has been much threatened. I have about 20 men at my house; have sent away my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less incumbered; have flankered my house, and resolve to maintain it as long as a man will stand by me." *Id. July* 4.

hours, the advantage of the Engliſh was ſuch that they began to fire the wigwams, which were five or ſix hundred; and in many of them the Indian women and children periſhed: the men which were left alive fled into a cedar ſwamp at ſome ſmall diſtance, without any neceſſaries of life, or any ſhelter from the cold and ſtorms, except the boughs of trees. The day being near ſpent, the Engliſh thought it high time to retire to their quarters, fifteen or ſixteen miles diſtant, carrying dead as well as wounded men with them. Many of the wounded men periſhed, by being expoſed to this long march in a cold night, who might otherwiſe have been ſaved. The number of killed and wounded amounted to 170.* Some of the enemy confeſſed they loſt 700 fighting men that day, beſides 300 more who died of their wounds and the hardſhips to which they were expoſed. The number of old men, women and children, which periſhed by the fire, cold and famine, they could not tell.† The Indians took poſſeſſion of the fort the next day.‡ The Engliſh made no further attack.§ They

* "Happy it was for them that Capt. Andrew Belcher (father of the late Gov. Belcher) arrived that very evening at Mr. Smith's with a veſſel load of proviſions, otherwiſe many muſt have periſhed for want." *Church.*

† This is Mr. Hubbard's account. Mr. Mather ſuppoſes 1000 to have periſhed in the whole; that of the Engliſh 85 were killed, and 145 wounded. When the Narraganſet Indians came to the Quabaog Indians and gave them an account of the fight, they ſaid they had loſt but 40 fighting men; and about 300 old men, women and children, burnt in the wigwams. *MS letter.*

‡ Mather.

§ The following letter, dated Narraganſet, 26th 11th month, 1675, which, though not ſigned, I take to be from Maj. Bradford of the Plymouth forces, has never been publiſhed. It is leſs favourable than the printed accounts.

"After a tedious march in a bitter cold night that followed Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Pomham by break of day, but ſo it came to paſs we were miſled, and ſo miſſed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr. Smith's, and that day took 35 priſoners. Dec. 14th our general went out with horſe and foot, I with my company was left to keep garriſon. I ſent out 30 of my men to ſcout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 priſoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec. 15th came in John, a rogue, with preſence of peace, and was diſmiſſed with this errand, that we might ſpeak with ſachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile of our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a houſe three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Inſtantly, Capt. Moſely, myſelf and Capt. Gardner were ſent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and an half off; and coming, they lay behind a ſtone wall and fired on us in ſight of the garriſon. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's houſe, and killed 17. Dec. 16th

They were ſcant of proviſions, the weather being extreme cold delayed the veſſels which had it on board. Some weeks were ſpent doing nothing, except that ſome propoſals of peace were made on both ſides, which came to nothing. February the 5th the army returned to Boſton. There was a remarkable thaw in January, which melted the ſnow and opened the earth, ſo that the Indians could come at the

16th came that news. Dec. 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petaquamſcot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 priſoners. That day, we ſold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old, for 80l. in money. Dec. 18th we marched to Petaquamſcot with all our forces, only a garriſon left; that night was very ſtormy; we lay, one thouſand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a ſore fight three hours. We loſt, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which are recovered. That long ſnowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came from the ſwamp, beſides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as ſoon as they were brought in, ſo that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none ſince here. Eight died at Rhode-Iſland, 1 at Petaquamſcot, 2 loſt in the woods and killed, Dec. 20, as we heard ſince; ſome ſay two more died. By the beſt intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; priſoners we took, ſay 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houſes, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baſkets, great ſtore. One ſignal mercy that night not to be forgotten, viz. that when we drew off, with ſo many dead and wounded, they did not purſue us, which the young men would have done, but the ſachems would not conſent; they had but 10 pounds of powder left. Our general, with about 40, loſt our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 ſince, and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 laſt Tueſday. We fetch in their corn daily, and that undoes them. This is, as near as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all aſſent to the truth of it. Monhegins and Pequods proved very falſe, fired into the air, and ſent word before they came they would do ſo, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was atteſted by Joſhua Teffe, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He ſhot 20 times at us in the ſwamp, was taken at Providence, Jan. 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A ſad wretch, he never heard a ſermon but once theſe 14 years. His father, going to recall him, loſt his head, and lies unburied."

This being ſo important an expedition, I will add another letter, from Mr. Dudley, afterwards governor, to Gov. Leveret.

"Mr. Smith's, 21. 10. 1675.

"May it pleaſe your honour,

"The coming in of Connecticut force to Petaquamſcot, and ſurpriſal of 6 and ſlaughter of 5 on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamſcot, though in the ſnow, and in conjunction, about midnight or later, we advanced; Capt. Moſely in the van, after him Maſſachuſetts, and Plymouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the ſnow, without intermiſſion, brought us, about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the ſwamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the ſwamp about 20 rods; within the cedar ſwamp we found ſome hundreds of wigwams, forted in with a breaſtwork and flankered, and many ſmall blockhouſes up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thouſand ſhot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly ſcaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouſes. In which action we loſt Capt. Johnſon, Capt.

the ground-nuts, which ſeems to have been all their proviſions, ſome from among themſelves reporting that corn was ſold for two ſhillings the pint. They took this opportunity to leave the Narraganſet country. A general junction of the Indians was thereupon expected, and every part of the Engliſh colonies was in terror. The 10th of February ſeveral hundred of the enemy aſſaulted Lancaſter, burnt the houſes,

Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants diſabled; Capt. Marſhall alſo ſlain; Capt. Seely, Capt. Maſon, diſabled, and many other of our officers, inſomuch that, by a freſh aſſault and recruit of powder from their ſtore, the Indians fell on again, recarried, and beat us out of, the fort; but by the great reſolution and courage of the general and major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead perſons in them; great piles of meal and heaps of corn (the ground not admitting burial of their ſtore) were conſumed; the number of their dead, we generally ſuppoſe the enemy loſt at leaſt two hundred men; Capt. Moſely counted in one corner of the fort 64 men, Capt. Gorham reckoned 150 at leaſt. But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honour an account of our loſt men, but eſpecially our reſolute captains, as by account incloſed; and yet not ſo many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive woman, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thouſand five hundred men engaging us, and about a mile diſtant 1000 in reſerve, to whom, if God had ſo pleaſed, we had been but a morſel, after ſo much diſablement: ſhe informeth, that one of their ſagamores was ſlain and their powder ſpent, cauſing their retreat, and that they are in a diſtreſſed condition for food and houſes; that one Joſhua Tift, an Engliſhman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was ſeen by one, credibly informing us, under a ſtrong guard. After our wounds dreſſed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the ſtorm, and weary; about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the general, miniſters, and ſome other perſons of the guard, going to head a ſmall ſwamp, loſt our way, and returned again to the enemy's quarters; a wonder we were not a prey to them; and, after at leaſt thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning recovered our quarters; and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had periſhed. The whole army, eſpecially Connecticut, is much diſabled, and unwilling to march, with tedious ſtorms, and no lodgings, and frozen and ſwollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return at leaſt to Stonington. Our dead and wounded are about 200, diſabled as many; the want of officers, the conſideration whereof the general commends to your honour, forbids any action at preſent; and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at laſt, to any action. We are endeavouring, by good keeping and billeting our men at ſeveral quarters, and, if poſſible, removal of our wounded to Rhode-Iſland, to recover the ſpirit of our ſoldiers, and ſhall be diligent to find and underſtand the removals or other action of the enemy, if God pleaſe to give us advantage againſt them.

As we complete the account of our dead, now in doing, the council is of the mind, without recruit of men, we ſhall not be able to engage the main body.

I give your honour hearty thanks for your kind lines, of which I am not worthy.

I am Sir, your honour's humble ſervant, Joſeph Dudley.

Since the writing of theſe lines, the general and council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithſtanding the deſire of Connecticut; only entreat that a ſupply of 200 may be ſent us with a ſupply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garriſon our quarters with at leaſt one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of the colonies, will ſerve, and no leſs, to effect the deſign. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbuſſes, and hand granadoes, and armour, if it may be, and at leaſt two armourers to mend arms."

houſes, and killed and captivated forty perſons, the miniſter's wife and children among the reſt, he himſelf (Mr. Rowlandſon) being abſent. Miſchief was done about the ſame time at Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford. The 21ſt they fell upon Medfield, where there were two or three hundred ſoldiers; and yet they burned half the town down, and killed eighteen of the inhabitants. The 25th they burned ſeven or eight houſes at Weymouth. This ſeems to be their neareſt approach to Boſton, between fifteen and twenty miles diſtant; at leaſt they did no miſchief nearer.*

March was a troubleſome month, the Indians attacking Northampton and Springfield upon Connecticut river, Groton, Sudbury and Marlborough in Maſſachuſetts, Warwick and Providence in Rhode-Iſland colony, burning their houſes and barns, and deſtroying the cattle and many of the inhabitants. They killed alſo eleven perſons of one family in Plymouth (Mr. Clark's); and on the 26th of March Capt. Peirce of Scituate in that colony, with 50 Engliſh, and 20 Indians of Cape-Cod, being drawn into an ambuſhment by a ſmall number of the enemy, found themſelves ſurrounded by a great body of Indians, who killed every Engliſhman and great part of the friend Indians.† The 28th of the month, they burned 40 houſes, beſides barns, at Rehoboth. Where Philip ſpent the winter was never certainly known. Some conjectured that he went to the Mohawks; others, that he went to Canada, which his friends ſaid was his intention in the fall. He knew the premium ſet upon his head, diſguiſed and concealed himſelf, ſo that we hear but little of him until he was killed.‡ His affairs were now at the higheſt flow, and thoſe of the Engliſh never at ſo low an ebb. But preſently after, a ſudden turn came on. The beginning of April, the Connecticut men under George Deniſon of Stonington,

* The 23d of February, being a faſt day with the firſt church in Boſton, they were diſturbed by an alarm from a report that the Indians were within ten miles of Boſton.

† The captives afterwards reported that the Engliſh fought ſo valiantly that they ſlew 140 of the enemy. *MS.*

‡ The firſt account of him I have met with, is in a MS letter of Mr. Cotton of Plymouth, upon the return of an Indian ſpy, who reported that Philip was with the Hadley Indians, &c. within half a day's march of Albany.

ington, with ſome friend Indians, killed and took priſoners forty-four of the enemy; and before the end of the month, the ſame commander, with ſixty-ſix volunteers Engliſh, and one hundred and twelve Pequod Indians, took and ſlew ſeventy-ſix more of the enemy, without the loſs of one man in either of theſe exploits. Between theſe two ſucceſsful actions, happened a very unfortunate one for Maſſachuſetts. April 20th, news came to Boſton of the loſs of Capt. Wadſworth and 50 of his men, going to relieve Sudbury, attacked by the enemy. In May and June, the enemy appeared in various parts of the colonies; but their vigour abated; their diſtreſſes, for want of proviſions and ammunition, increaſed; and at the ſame time the Mohawks fell upon them and killed 50 of them. It was commonly ſaid, that Philip fell upon a party of Mohawks and killed them, and reported that they were killed by the Engliſh, expecting by this means to engage that nation in the war; but one that was left for dead revived and eſcaped to his countrymen, and informed that not the Engliſh, but Philip and his Indians, had been the murderers, which brought that revenge upon the guilty, which, without this diſcovery, would have been taken of thoſe who were innocent. The beginning of July the Connecticut forces met with a party of Indians in the Narraganſet country, purſued them into a ſwamp, and killed and took eighty of them, without any loſs, except one or two friend Indians; and in their march back ſixty more of the enemy fell into their hands.* The Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth men, in ſeveral parts of the country, were likewiſe very ſucceſsful from time to time, killing and taking ſmall parties of Indians ſcattered about the country; and no commander was more fortunate than Captain (afterwards Colonel) Church, of Plymouth colony. He has publiſhed an account of his exploits. But Philip was the object: upon his life or death war or peace depended. News was brought, that, after a year's

* The brave actions of the Connecticut volunteers have not been enough applauded. Denton's name ought to be perpetuated. The Narraganſet fight had enraged the Indians, and made them deſperate; and the Engliſh plantations after that, were in greater terror than before; but this ſucceſsful hunting them, and ferreting them out of their boroughs, ſunk and broke their ſpirits, and ſeems to have determined the fate of the Engliſh and Indians, which until then was doubtful and uncertain.

year's abſence, he had returned to Mount Hope, his old quarters; and that great numbers of Indians were flocking to him, with intent to fall upon the neighbouring towns. Maſſachuſetts and Plymouth both ordered their forces after Philip. The former returned to Boſton, having miſſed Philip; but they killed and took 150 of the enemy, who were now ſo reduced that they were continually coming in and ſurrendering themſelves upon promiſe of mercy. Two hundred in one week came in to Plymouth. Philip fled from one ſwamp to another; divers times very narrowly eſcaping; loſing one chief counſellor after another; his uncle and ſiſter, and at laſt his wife and ſon, were taken priſoners. Being reduced to this miſerable condition, he was killed the 12th of Auguſt, as he was flying from a party under Capt. Church, out of a ſwamp near Mount Hope. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deſerted to the Engliſh, ſhot him through the heart. Inſtead of his ſcalp, he cut off his right hand, which had a remarkable ſcar, well known to the Engliſh; and it produced a handſome penny, many having the curioſity to ſee it. This was a finiſhing ſtroke, the parties of Indians that remained being drove from one hole or ſwamp to another, ſo that before winter they were all killed, captivated, or forced to ſurrender themſelves, except ſome few who were ſuppoſed to have fled to the French, and others to nations of foreign Indians. The cruelties which had been exerciſed upon the Engliſh were urged in excuſe for the treatment which the Indians received who were made priſoners or ſurrendered themſelves. In all the promiſes of mercy, thoſe who had been principal actors in any murders of the Engliſh were excepted, and none had any promiſe made of any thing more than their lives. A great many, therefore, of the chiefs were executed at Boſton and Plymouth; and moſt of the reſt were ſold, and ſhipped off for ſlaves to Bermudas and other parts. Every perſon, almoſt, in the two colonies, had loſt a relation or near friend, and the people in general were exaſperated:* but all does not ſufficiently excuſe this great ſeverity. The

* Mr. Increaſe Mather, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, 23d 5 mo. 1677, mentions an inſtance of rage againſt two priſoners of the eaſtern Indians, then at Marblehead, a fiſhing town, which goes beyond any other I have heard of. "Sabbath day

The ſame time that Philip began his hoſtilities in Plymouth colony, the Tarenteens, or Eaſtern Indians, were inſulting the Engliſh ſettled in New-Hampſhire and the province of Main. They began with robbing the Engliſh, as they paſſed in their boats and canoes, and plundering their houſes of liquors, ammunition, and ſuch moveables as they could eaſily carry off. In September (1675) they came to the houſe of one Wakely, an old man, in Caſco-bay, and murdered him, his wife, and four children and grandchildren, and carried four more of his grand-children away captives. They then fell upon Saco, and killed thirteen men, and burned the houſes, killed ſix men and a woman at Black-point (Scarborough) and burned twenty houſes. They next fell upon Kittery, and killed two men.* Mr. Plaiſted, lieutenant of the town, with twenty Engliſh, went out to bury the dead, and was ſet upon by the Indians. He fought bravely, with ſeven of his men (the reſt flying) until he and his ſon, and one more, were killed. The other four eſcaped to the garriſon. They then came towards Piſcataqua, making ſpoil upon the inhabitants on the branches of that river, viz. at Oyſter-river, Salmon-falls, Dover, Exeter, &c. burning their houſes and barns, and a mill belonging to Mr. Hutchinſon, a merchant in Boſton, and killing more or leſs of the people in every place, to the number of about fifty in the whole. The government's hands were full, from the attempts of Philip and his accomplices; and during the ſummer nothing more was done than to commit the care of the eaſtern plantations to the chief officers of the reſpective regiments, to defend them againſt the enemy; but in the fall, forces were drawn from the other counties in order to have marched into the eaſtern country, but were prevented by the ſeverity of the weather, which ſat in ſooner than uſual. The Indians in thoſe parts at the ſame time ſued for peace, and there was a good proſpect of its being ſettled; but the endeavours of Major Waldron to effect it were next year fruſtrated. However,

day was ſe'nnight, the women at Marblehead, as they came out of the meeting-houſe, fell upon two Indians that were brought in as captives, and in a tumultuous way, very barbarouſly murdered them. Doubtleſs, if the Indians hear of it, the captives among them will be ſerved accordingly." The Indians had murdered ſome of the fiſhermen in the eaſtern harbours of the province.

* [This was at Berwick, where Plaiſted lived.]

ever, during the winter, and the next ſpring, and the greateſt part of the ſummer, thoſe plantations were at reſt.

The accounts which were tranſmitted to England of the diſtreſſes of the colony, during the war, although they might excite compaſſion in the breaſts of ſome, yet they were improved, by others, to render the colony more obnoxious. A fine country, it was ſaid, was in danger of being loſt to England, by the penuriouſneſs of thoſe who were at the head of affairs, in not raiſing monies for the defence of it, and by their obſtinacy in refuſing to apply to the King for relief. This appears as well by other letters, as by one from Lord Angleſey to Mr. Leveret,* between whom there was a friendly correſpondence kept up. In Cromwell's court Mr. Leveret had been, perhaps, upon a level with Mr. Annefly.† There ſeems to have been no ground for the charge; neither men nor money were wanting for the ſervice. An application to England, for men, was unneceſſary, and I meet with no papers which intimate that there was any thought of it in any perſons in the colony. Fighting made ſoldiers. As ſoon as the inhabitants had a little experience of the Indian way of fighting, they became a match for them. An addition to their numbers they did not want. Be

* "London, May 16, 1676.

"Sir,

"I received your letter, intimating the troubles of that country, unexpectedly brought upon you by the Indians, and as I thank you for it, ſo I wiſh the continuance of your correſpondence and informations, as often as occaſion offers, having as great a ſympathy as any for your ſufferings, and as warm inclinations, both to adviſe and aſſiſt you, to my power, againſt your barbarous and ungrateful enemies. But when I have ſaid this (as the beſt proof of it) I muſt chide you and that whole people of New-England, that (as if you were independent of our maſter's crown, needed not his protection, or had deſerved ill of him, as ſome have not been wanting to ſuggeſt and urge teſtimony thereof) from the firſt hour of God's ſtretching out his hand againſt you to this time (though we have ſucceſſive and frequent tidings (like Job's meſſengers) of the great devaſtations and ſpoils that are made by fire and ſword upon thoſe plantations, which God hath ſo ſignally bleſſed and made to flouriſh till now) you have not yet (as certainly became you) made your addreſſes to the King's Majeſty, or ſome of his miniſters, for his peruſal, that he might be authentically informed both of your enemies and your condition, by what means you are brought low, and what are the moſt proper and hopeful remedies for your recovery.

"I can write but by gueſs: yet it is not altogether groundleſsly reported, that the French do underhand aſſiſt and ſupply your enemies; that you are divided among yourſelves; that you have not uſed ordinary providence; that you are too tenacious of what is neceſſary for your preſervation, as if you kept your goods for your enemies, and wanted hearts to make uſe of them yourſelves; that you are poor and yet proud. This was not the ſpirit that carried you into that wilderneſs

† Afterwards Earl of Angleſey.

Be that as it may, this is certain, that as the colony was at firſt ſettled, ſo it was now preſerved from ruin, without any charge to the mother country. Nay, as far as I can judge from the materials I have, the collections made in the colony, after the fire of London, for the relief of the ſufferers there, and, upon other occaſions, for the relief of divers of the plantations, with other public donations, from the firſt ſettlement until the charter was vacated, will not fall much, if any thing, ſhort of the whole ſum that was beſtowed upon the colony from abroad, during that time.

In the height of the diſtreſs of the war, and whilſt the authority of the colony was contending with the natives for the poſſeſſion of the ſoil, complaints were making in England, which ſtruck at the powers of government; and an inquiry was ſet on foot, which was continued from time to time, until it finally iſſued in a quo warranto, and judgment thereupon againſt the charter. In the ſummer of 1676,* Edward Randolph was ſent to Maſſachuſetts with his Majeſty's letter of March 10th, 1675-6, and copies of the petitions and complaints of Maſon and Gorges.† The King commanded that agents ſhould be ſent over, to appear

derneſs and led you on there ever ſince, building and planting for yourſelves and God. But theſe calamities may come upon you to bring you to your firſt poſt, and to do your firſt works, though I would not willingly judge you therein.

"It may not be fit for me to adviſe you what to do, till better informed, but I know his Majeſty hath a tender and compaſſionate heart for all his ſubjects that are induſtrious and orderly, and hath power ſufficient, as well as will, to help his colonies in diſtreſs, as others have experienced, and you may, in good time. He knows how to deal with the French, either by the interpoſition of their own King, or by authorizing and aſſiſting you to right yourſelves againſt them. He can ſend ſhips or men to help you, or furniſh you with ammunition, as the caſe requires, or by a general collection open the bowels and purſes of his people here towards you, where there are many that mourn for your diſtreſs, and will not only be interceſſors to the throne of grace, but to God's vicegerent alſo, for your relief, if you are not wanting to yourſelves, and failing in that dutiful application which ſubjects ought to make to their ſovereigns in ſuch caſes.

"If theſe hints may work any thoughts of heart in you that may produce ſpeedy and effectual councils for your re-eſtabliſhment, I ſhall rejoice that I have been your remembrancer, and ſhall promote, in the beſt manner I can, your requeſts to that end, being to you, and the good people of that colony, an affectionate friend and hearty well-wither,

To my moſt eſteemed friend ANGLESEY.
John Leveret, Eſq. governor, &c."

* In the ſpring of the year 1676, the Dutch took the fort at Penobſcot from the French. Some veſſels from New-England went and drove off the Dutch, but kept no poſſeſſion.

† The letter was directed, "To the governor and magiſtrates of the town of Boſton." Randolph was, beſides, directed by the Lords committee for trade, &c. to inquire into the ſtate of the colony. The ſeveral queries and his anſwers may be ſeen in the appendix.

pear before him, in ſix months after the receipt of the letter, fully inſtructed and empowered to anſwer. The governor ſummoned a ſpecial court, to meet the 9th of Auguſt. The elders which were then in town were deſired to attend, and to conſider of this queſtion propoſed to them by the court, viz.

"Whether the moſt expedient manner of making anſ-
"wer to the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Maſon,
"about the extent of our patent line, be, by ſending agents
"or attornies to anſwer the ſame; or, to anſwer by writing
"only?"

They ſoon agreed upon the following anſwer:——"It
"ſeems unto us the moſt expedient way of making anſwer
"unto the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Maſon, about
"the extent of our patent line, to do it by appointment of
"agents, to appear and make anſwer for us, by way of in-
"formation, at this time, and in this caſe, provided they
"be with utmoſt care and caution qualified as to their in-
"ſtructions, by and according to which they may negotiate
"that affair, with ſafety unto the country, and with
"all duty and loyalty unto his Majeſty, in the preſervation
"of our patent liberties."——The reaſons for their opinion were ſubjoined. The court determined according to this advice. William Stoughton* and Peter Bulkley† were choſen for the purpoſe. Soon after their arrival in England, a hearing was had before the Lords of the committee of the council, upon the principal points of their agency, the claims of Gorges and Maſon, in both which they were unſucceſsful. The province of Main was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs, both as to ſoil and government. To put an end to all future diſputes, as well as to gratify many of the inhabitants of that province, John Uſher was employed by Maſſachuſetts to purchaſe the right and intereſt of Gorges's heirs, which he did for twelve hundred pounds ſterling, and aſſigned it over to the governor and company. This,

* Mr. Stoughton was ſecond ſon of Mr Iſrael Stoughton, one of the firſt magiſtrates of the colony. He was educated at Harvard college, ſome years a preacher, but never ſettled in any parith. A ſermon of his at the election is in print. He came early into the magiſtracy (in 1671.)

† Mr. Bulkley was ſpeaker of the houſe of deputies, ſon, I ſuppoſe, of the celebrated miniſter of Concord, of the ſame name. They ſailed Oct. 30, 1676.

This, instead of conciliating matters, gave further offence to the crown.* With respect to Mason's claim, it was determined, that Massachusetts had a right to three miles north of Merrimack river, to follow the course of the river, so far as it extended, and that the expressions in the charter do not warrant the over-reaching those bounds by imaginary lines or bounds.†

The controversy between Massachusetts and Mr. Mason having subsisted so many years, it may not be amiss to set his claim or pretence in its true light. A copy of a grant, made by the council of Plymouth to Capt. John Mason, of all the lands between Naumkeag and Merrimack, dated March 9th, 1621, is the first, in order of time, that has been produced. This grant was said to be only sealed, unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant, and no entry upon any record.

Another copy of a grant, August 10th, 1622, of all the lands from Merrimack to Sagadehoc; which, it was said, did not appear to have been signed, sealed, or witnessed, by any order of the council. Another

* The colony supposed they acquired, by the purchase, a right to the jurisdiction, and considered themselves, in their corporate capacity, lords proprietors of the province of Main, as Lord Baltimore and the Penns do of Maryland and Pennsylvania. It was made a question by some, whether the right of jurisdiction, in the heirs of Gorges, was such an interest as could legally be sold or devised. Since the incorporation, by the new charter, it is of no great consequence which way it be determined.

† Massachusetts thought themselves aggrieved by the determination of his late Majesty in council, settling the boundary less favourably for them than they ever expected. The river Merrimack, which runs upon a western course as far as Dunstable, afterwards turns to the northward. It is not certain, that at the time of the grant to the Massachusetts colony, in 1628, this alteration of the course was known to the grantors, or to any European. It is certain, that a few years after our ancestors came over, evidence was taken and preserved, that this river retained the same name among the natives from the mouth to the crotch, and there seemed to be no intention in 1677, that Massachusetts line should cross the river. However, it was thought an equitable construction of the province charter, in 1738, that so far as the river kept a western course, and no farther, the province line should run the same course, keeping the distance of three miles north of the river, but after that to run due west. There was, besides, a mistake made to the prejudice of the province; for, instead of running as far as the river kept a western course (the real intention of the royal determination) it stops several miles short, at Patucket, where the river inclines to the south. Whereas if the line had been continued to the bend, and then crossed the river, or if the due west line had begun a few miles short of Patucket, in either case, several miles in breadth, the whole length of the line would have belonged to Massachusetts, which now falls to New-Hampshire. This, my Lord Wilmington, who was then president of the council, assured me, in the year 1741, proceeded from a misapprehension of the course of the river. He did not conceive that at Patucket the river inclined to the southward, or that any loss was occasioned to Massachusetts. The New-Hampshire agent was better able to manage the controversy than the agents for Massachusetts.

Another grant, or copy of a grant, of part of the ſame lands, viz. all between the rivers Merrimack and Piſcataqua, to Captain John Maſon alone, dated Nov. 7, 1629.

Another grant, in 1635, April 22d, of all the lands between Naumkeag and Piſcataqua river.*

In all this confuſion of grants, or copies of grants, the greateſt ſtreſs is laid upon that of November 7th, 1629. It is a ſtrange thing, that the council of Plymouth, unleſs all thoſe grants prior to the Maſſacauſetts grant had been either deemed imperfect and invalid from the beginning, or elſe reſigned and thrown up, ſhould grant the ſame lands to Maſſachuſetts, Maſon and Gorges both being members, and the moſt active members, of the council. It is not eaſy to account for a grant of all the lands between Merrimack and Piſcataqua to Maſon in 1629, when three miles between thoſe two rivers had been granted the year before to Maſſachuſetts. The grants which were made, or pretended to be made, in 1635, were the efforts of a number of the members of the council, to ſecure ſome part of the dying intereſt to themſelves and poſterity, in which they all failed.†

Sir William Jones, the attorney general, gave his opinion upon the whole caſe, which was tranſmitted to Maſſachuſetts, and is as follows.

"The

* Douglaſs ſays, v. 2. p. 26. That Maſon in 1635, and Gorges in 1639, obtained royal patents, with powers of juriſdiction; but Douglaſs was under a miſtake as to Maſon. About that time, as has been before obſerved, it was intended a general governor ſhould be ſent over, and Maſon was appointed, and received a commiſſion as governor over that part of the continent from Naumkeag to Piſcataqua, but ſubject to the general governor. The deſign of a general governor was laid aſide, and we hear no more of the commiſſion to Maſon, which he never came to America to publiſh. *Ancient MS.*

† An action was brought in Feb. 1682, at Portſmouth, againſt one Wadley of Exeter, in which this grant of 1635 was principally relied on; and Mr. Chamberlayne, ſecretary of the province, and one Mr. Reynes, made oath that they had compared the copy with the original, which did not appear to have been either ſigned, ſealed or witneſſed. The lands in queſtion had been many years occupied, and the plaintiff failed in his ſuit. It was obſerved, on the trial, that the council of Plymouth was to conſiſt of forty perſons, who had power of granting lands in New-England, provided it was done by the major part of them, or the major part of a lawful aſſembly of the ſaid council, and under their common ſeal. Nothing of this appeared. The original grant could not be found in 1691, when Allen entered a caveat againſt the Maſſachuſetts charter. He pretended it was in New-England. *Hubbard MS.*

" The caſe of the governor and company of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in New-England, in America.

" 3d Nov. 14 Jac. The whole tract of New-England was granted to 40 perſons, Lords and others, by the name of the council of New-England, eſtabliſhed at Plymouth, whereby power is given them to ſet out lands and herreditaments to adventurers and planters, as ſhould, by a commiſſion of ſurvey, and diſtribution executed, be named.

" 19 Mar. 1628. The ſaid council grant the Maſſachuſetts colony to Roſwell and others.

" 4 Mar. 4 Car. I. The grant to Roſwell, &c. was, by letters patents, confirmed to the ſaid proprietors and others, their aſſociates, who were then incorporated, with power of government granted to them, and of making laws, not repugnant to the laws of England.

" The company, in purſuance of this grant of the council of Plymouth and charter from the King, tranſport themſelves, and make a ſettlement upon the ſaid lands; diſtributing the ſame, from time to time, freely to adventurers and planters, without any rent reſerved to the company; yet ſo that, where the ſaid lands were poſſeſſed by the natives, the planters did alſo purchaſe from them.

" May, 1637. It is enacted by the laws of the place, That any perſon, who had, by himſelf, his grantees or aſſigns, before the law about inheritance, 14 Octo. 1652, poſſeſſed and occupied, as his or their proper right in fee ſimple, any houſes or lands there, and ſhould ſo continue without diſturbance, let, ſuits, or denial, legally made by having the claims of any perſon thereto entered with the recorder of the county and ſuch claim proſecuted to effect within 5 years next after the 20th of that preſent May 1657, every ſuch proprietor, their heirs and aſſigns, ſhall forever hereafter enjoy the ſame, without any lawful let, ſuit, diſturbance, or denial, by any other claim of any perſon or perſons whatſoever, any law or cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" No claims made of the lands in queſtion, within the time limited.

" In 1635 the patent of 30 Nov. 14 Jac. ſurrendered.

" Mr.

"Mr. Mason's title.

"2 Mar. 1621. Mr. Mason, by grant from the council at Plymouth, under their common seal, to his ancestor John Mason, claims some ten towns within the Massachusetts bounds of their patent, to be called Mariana, to hold to him and his heirs, in fee and common socage, &c. subject to the exceptions in the grant to the grand council, yielding a fifth part of all ore found to his Majesty, and another fifth part to the council, with a letter of attorney to the chief officer there, for the time being, for delivery of possession and seizin to the grantee Mason, or his attorney.

"Note, the grant only sealed with the council seal, unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant.

"10 Aug. 1622. The said council grant, alienc, sell and confirm to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, their heirs and assigns, all the lands lying between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadehoc.

"Note, as in the grant of 1621.

"7 Nov. 1629. The said council grant part of the premises to Capt. John Mason, single, and his heirs, extending between the rivers of Merrimack and Piscataqua.

"Note as above.

"1631. The same council did again grant a small parcel of the premises granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, unto the said Sir Ferdinando and Capt. Mason, with about six or seven others, their associates, lying on both sides the river Piscataqua, upon which lands some settlements were made, and some part thereof divided between the said grantees and adventurers after 1631.*

"April, 1635. Capt. John Mason obtains a new grant, from the said great council, of all the lands from Naumkeag river to Piscataqua river, by the name of New-Hampshire, at which time all that part of the lands, so granted, which are now contained within the bounds of the Massachusetts, were actually distributed to and planted by the inhabitants of that colony, by virtue of their grant from the said council.

"The

* If Mason supposed any of the preceding grants to be in any force, why should he take a grant of part of the lands only contained in those former grants, and take in associates, and come to a division with them?

"The whole matter in difference was referred to the two Lord Chief Juſtices, by his Majeſty in council.

"They, after a ſolemn hearing of council on both ſides, reported unto his Majeſty:

"That as to the right of the ſoil of the province of New-Hampſhire and Main, they could give no opinion, not having proper parties before them, it appearing, that not the Maſſachuſetts, but the ter-tenants, had the right of ſoil and whole benefit thereof, and yet were not ſummoned to defend their titles.

"As to Mr. Maſon's right of government within the ſoil he claimed, their Lordſhips, and indeed his own counſel, agreed he had none,* the great council of Plymouth, under whom he claimed, having no power to transfer government to any.

"As to the bounds of the Maſſachuſetts colony, their Lordſhips have, by their ſaid report, excluded thereout the four towns of Dover, Portſmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, parcel of Mr. Maſon's claim, 'but determined the remainder of his claim to be within their bounds.' Which report was confirmed by his Majeſty in council.

"1ſt Query. Whether Mr. Maſon's grants, being only under the council of Plymouth's ſeal, unwitneſſed, and without any entry or record of them any where, without ſeizin endorſed, and no poſſeſſion having ever gone along with them, be valid in law to ouſt about 50 years poſſeſſion, a title under the government of the Maſſachuſetts, and a purchaſe from the natives?

"I think it not good according to the law of England; and New-England having no particular law of their own (to my knowledge) which differs from the law of England, as to the manner of paſſing lands, I do not ſee how any of theſe grants can be good.

"Or, admitting they be good in law,

"2d Quer. Whether Mr. Maſon be not ſtopped by the law of the place, as above, having not made his claim thereto within the time preſcribed? "If

* Although Douglaſs, as has been obſerved, goes further, and ſays, that "Aug. 19, 1635, King Charles, by patent, confirms the grant called New-Hampſhire, with power of government and juriſdiction (as in the palatinate or biſhoprick of Durham) with power of conferring honours," yet this is not probable. His heirs were certainly unacquainted with it, or they would have made mention of it before the King and council in 1691.

"If Mr. Maſon's eſtate do lie within the juriſdiction of the aſſembly which made this law, and that this aſſembly were rightly conſtituted according to the powers given by charter, I think Mr. Maſon was bound by this law, which I look upon to be a reaſonable law, and agreeing in reaſon with the law of England.

"And, if Mr. Maſon have right thereto,

"3d Quer. Whether ought not that right to be tried on the place, ten of the towns claimed by him remaining within the Maſſachuſetts by the chief juſtice's report?

"I think his right ought to be tried upon the place, for ſo much thereof as lies within the Maſſachuſetts juriſdiction, liable to ſuch appeal as the charter allows, if it allows any.

"4th Quer. Or, if triable here, by what court can it properly be ſo; whether in one of the four courts at Weſtminſter, or upon a ſpecial commiſſion; and how, in your judgment, whether by jury or otherwiſe?

"It cannot properly be tried here by any of the four courts, but according to the law of the place, if it lie within any juriſdiction; and if within none, the King may erect courts, to proceed according to the law of England, unleſs altered by the legiſlative power of the place.*

"18 Sept. 1679. W. JONES."

A commiſſion was iſſued by the crown for the government of New-Hampſhire. Maſſachuſetts thereupon forbore any further exerciſe of juriſdiction. The towns of Saliſbury, Ameſbury and Haverhill, by their original grants from the Maſſachuſetts colony, extending more than three miles from Merrimack, Maſſachuſetts continued to exerciſe juriſdiction over the whole of thoſe towns, although,

* Before 1691, Maſon's heirs had ſold their title to Samuel Allen, and nothing more was heard of it until 1637, after the determination of the controverſy between Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire. A large tract of country, which always before was ſuppoſed to be within the Maſſachuſetts province, being left out of it, John Tufton, now a lieutenant colonel in the army, a deſcendant from Maſon, and who then took the name of Tufton Maſon, agreeable to the laſt will of his anceſtor, laid claim to it, as heir in tail to the firſt grantee, and having ſuffered a recovery, ſold his intereſt to divers perſons, who now call themſelves proprietors, &c. Capt. Maſon was a generous adventurer in a noble deſign, the peopling a new country, which has a tendency to multiply the human race. Many of the firſt adventurers failed. Thoſe who came after ſaw their errors, avoided them, and ſucceeded. This has often been the caſe with other great undertakings. The firſt undertakers ought not to be forgotten.

though, according to the determination, part of them lay without the patent.

Beſides this controverſy about bounds, the agents had other complaints to anſwer. Randolph, who, the people of New-England ſaid, "went up and down ſeeking to devour them," returned to England, and repreſented the colony as refuſing any obedience to the acts for regulating the trade of the plantations. A ſhip, belonging to Mr. Uſher, put the owner aſhore at ſome Engliſh port, and went over to Holland. Mr. Stoughton writes (1ſt Dec. 1677) "Randolph upon this news was full of buſineſs, "being employed, as he ſaid, by my Lord Treaſurer, to "make inquiry about it, in order to further proceedings; "but now we have intelligence as if that veſſel were again "put into Plymouth, and had not been in Holland. If ſhe "either make her market here, or pay her duties before "ſhe go elſewhere, it may help to allay matters. The "country's not taking notice of theſe acts of navigation to "obſerve them, hath been the moſt unhappy neglect that "we could have fallen into; for, more and more every day, "we find it moſt certain, that without a fair compliance "in that matter there can be nothing expected but a total "breach, and all the ſtorms of diſpleaſure that may be."

The Quakers alſo renewed their complaints againſt the colony. In the diſtreſs of the colony by the Indian war, among other ſins, which were the cauſe of it, the toleration ſhewn to quakers was thought to be one: the court therefore made a law, "That every perſon found at a quakers' "meeting ſhould be apprehended, ex officio, by the con- "ſtable, and, by warrant from a magiſtrate or commiſſion- "er, ſhall be committed to the houſe of correction, and "there have the diſcipline of the houſe applied to them, "and be kept to work, with bread and water, for three "days, and then releaſed, or elſe ſhall pay five pounds in "money, as a fine to the country, for ſuch offence; and "all conſtables neglecting their duty, in not faithfully "executing this order, ſhall incur the penalty of five "pounds, upon conviction, one third whereof to the in- "former." I know of nothing which can be urged, in any wiſe tending to excuſe the ſeverity of this law, unleſs it

it be human infirmity, and the many inſtances in hiſtory of perſons of every religion being fully perſuaded that the indulgence of any other was a toleration of impiety, and brought down the judgments of heaven, and therefore juſtified perſecution.* This law loſt the colony many friends.

Several addreſſes were made to the King, from the general court, whilſt the agents were in England; and the court made ſeveral laws to remove ſome of the exceptions which were taken in England, particularly an act to puniſh high treaſon with death; another requiring all perſons above 16 years of age to take the oaths of allegiance, on pain of fine and impriſonment; "the governor, deputy governor and magiſtrates having firſt taken the ſame, without any reſervation,

* At the ſame time that this puniſhment was provided for quakers, other provoking evils were enumerated in the order following, viz.

1. Neglect of care of the children of church members. A reformation recommended to the elders and brethren.

2. Pride, in men's wearing long hair, like women's hair; others wearing borders of hair, and cutting, curling and immodeſt laying out their hair, principally in the younger ſort. Grand-jurors to preſent, and the court to puniſh, all offenders, by admonition, fine or correction, at diſcretion.

3. Exceſs in apparel, ſtrange new faſhions, naked breaſts and arms, and pinioned, ſuperfluous ribbands on hair and apparel. The court to fine offenders at diſcretion.

4. Quaker meetings.

5. Profaneneſs, in perſons turning their backs upon the public worſhip before the bleſſing is pronounced. Officers of churches and ſelectmen to appoint perſons to ſhut the meeting houſe doors, or to take any other meet way to attain the end.

6. Profane curſing and ſwearing. If any perſon heard another curſe or ſwear, and did not inform, he was made liable to the ſame penalty with the profane perſon.

7. Tippling houſes. Inſpectors to be appointed, and if they did not do their duty, they were to incur the penalty of the law againſt tippling houſes.

8. Breach of the fifth commandment. All inferiors in families, abſent at night, in corrupt company, without leave, admoniſhed, and fined not exceeding 10/ for the firſt offence, whipped not exceeding five ſtripes for all after offences.

9. Idleneſs. All idle perſons to be taken notice of by the conſtable; their names to be returned to the ſelectmen, who had power, in caſe of obſtinacy, to ſend them to the houſe of correction.

10. Oppreſſion in ſhopkeepers and merchants, by taking too much for their goods; and in mechanics, who required too much for their labour. Every perſon, who had been oppreſſed in this way, might apply to the grand-jury, or to the county court, who had power to cauſe the offender to make twofold reſtitution, and to fine at diſcretion.

11. A looſe and ſinful cuſtom of riding from town to town, men and women together, under pretence of going to lectures, but really to drink and revel in taverns, tending to debauchery and unchaſtity. All ſingle perſons, being offenders, to be bound to their good behaviour, with ſureties in 20/. fine, or ſuffer fine and impriſonment.

For moſt of theſe offences I have not ſeen any inſtances of proſecution. Exceſſive penalties, or penalties not adapted to the nature of the offence, prevent proſecutions. The multiplying laws, with ſuch penalties, in any government, tends to leſſen the weight and authority of the penal laws in general.

ation, in the words ſent to them by his Majeſty's order."* The King's arms were ordered to be carved and put up in the court-houſe. But it was a more difficult thing to conform to the acts of trade. They acknowledge in their letter to the agents they had not done it. They "apprehended them to be an invaſion of the rights, liberties and "properties of the ſubjects of his Majeſty in the colony, "they not being repreſented in parliament, and according to the uſual ſayings of the learned in the law; the "laws of England were bounded within the four ſeas, and "did not reach America; however, as his Majeſty had "ſignified his pleaſure that thoſe acts ſhould be obſerved "in the Maſſachuſetts, they had made proviſion, by a law "of the colony, that they ſhould be ſtrictly attended from "time to time, although it greatly diſcouraged trade, and "was a great damage to his Majeſty's plantation." *The paſſing this law plainly ſhews the wrong ſenſe they had of the relation they ſtood in to England.*† The people of Ireland, about the ſame time, were under the ſame miſtake. Perhaps they had not greater colour for an exemption from Engliſh acts of parliament than a colony of natural born ſubjects, departing the kingdom with the leave of their prince. Particular perſons in Ireland did penance for advancing and adhering to theſe principles. The whole colony of Maſſachuſetts ſuffered the loſs of their charter, this being one great article of charge againſt it. I am glad I have this inſtance of Ireland, and that ſo ſenſible a gentleman as Mr. Molineux, the friend of Mr. Locke, engaged in the cauſe; for it may ſerve as ſome excuſe for our anceſtors, that they were not alone in their *miſtaken apprehenſions*

* Maſſ. Records.

† "This court being informed, by letters received this day from our meſſen-"gers, of his majeſty's expectation that the acts of trade and navigation be exact-"ly and punctually obſerved by this his Majeſty's colony, his pleaſure therein "not having been before now ſignified unto us, either by expreſs from his Majeſty, "or any of his miniſters of ſtate: it is therefore hereby ordered, and by the "authority of this court enacted, that henceforth, all maſters of ſhips, ketches, or "other veſſels of greater or leſſer burthen, arriving in, or failing from any of the ports "in this juriſdiction, do, without coven or fraud, yield faithful and conſtant obe-"dience unto, and obſervation of, all the ſaid acts of navigation and trade, on "penalty of ſuffering ſuch forfeitures, loſs and damage as in the ſaid acts are par-"ticularly expreſſed; and the governor and council, and all officers commiſſionat-"ed and authorized by them, are hereby ordered and required to ſee to the ſtrict "obſervation of the ſaid acts."

prehenſions of the nature of their ſubjection. No prejudice can be cauſed, by this miſtake, againſt *their poſterity. They have indeed as high notions of Engliſh liberties as their anceſtors had; and, as a Britiſh colony, they humbly hope for all that tenderneſs and indulgence from a Britiſh parliament, which the Roman ſenate, while Rome remained free, ſhewed to Roman colonies: but they are ſenſible that they are coloniſts, and therefore ſubject to the controul of the parent ſtate.*

Mr. Leveret continued governor, by annual election, from his being firſt choſen in 1673, until his death, March 16th, 1678. The weighty affairs of the war, and the agency, during his adminiſtration, conducted with prudence and ſteadineſs, cauſed him to be greatly reſpected.* He was ſucceeded by Simon Bradſtreet (May 1679) who was one of the firſt aſſiſtants, and had continued to be annually choſen an aſſiſtant fifty years together, being about ſeventy-ſix years of age when he firſt entered upon the office of governor. A few months before, upon the death of Mr. Symonds, Mr. Bradſtreet ſucceeded him as deputy governor. Upon Mr. Bradſtreet's being choſen governor, Thomas Danforth came into the deputy governor's place, and they were continued in their reſpective places, from year to year, until the diſſolution of the government.

Whilſt the agents were in England, days of faſting and prayer, ſome by the court, ſome by the whole people, were repeatedly appointed by authority, to implore the divine bleſſing upon their endeavours for obtaining favour with the King, and the continuance of charter privileges; and November 21ſt, 1678, was obſerved as a faſt by all the churches in the three colonies. A council or ſynod of the churches in the colony of Maſſachuſetts being convened by order of court in May 1679, theſe two queſtions were referred for their conſideration and anſwer:

Queſt. 1ſt. What are the reaſons that have provoked the Lord

* He died of the ſtone. His only ſon maintained but an indifferent character. His grandſon, John Leveret, after ſuſtaining, in the civil order, ſeveral honourable poſts, ſpeaker of the aſſembly, juſtice of the ſuperior court, member of the council, one of the three commiſſioners with power of controuling the army ſent againſt Port-Royal, was, in 1707, choſen preſident of Harvard college, in which poſt he continued until his death, having the character of a gentleman and ſcholar, and alſo of a man of virtue and religion.

Lord to bring his judgments upon New-England?

Queſt. 2d. What is to be done, that ſo thoſe evils may be removed?

I do not cenſure the authority of the colony for their great anxiety on this occaſion, or for uſing every proper meaſure to obtain the ſmiles of Heaven, as well as the favour of their earthly ſovereign; and only remark, that we have no evidence of any extraordinary degeneracy.* At this time, Great-Britain, Scotland eſpecially, was ſuffering under a prince inimical to civil and religious liberty: New-England, therefore, without a miraculous interpoſition, muſt have expected to ſhare the ſame judgments, and perhaps had not greater reaſon to make the two inquiries than either of the two kingdoms.

The complaint of Gorges and Maſon, and the uncertainty of the event, reſtrained the general court from any attempt to hold poſſeſſion of the country eaſtward of Main. Upon the exchange of Surinam for New-York, that country, and the iſlands and countries contained in the former grant to the Duke of York, were granted anew; and Major Andros, governor under the Duke, erected a fort, and eſtabliſhed a cuſtom-houſe, at Pemaquid, part of the territory between Kennebeck and St. Croix. Whilſt the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of New-York, this territory had been neglected; and the inhabitants being without any powers of government, Maſſachuſetts, in 1672, had ſent their commiſſioners, who appointed and held courts, and eſtabliſhed civil and military officers, from Pemaquid to Georges, the ſeacoaſt being well inhabited, and the fiſhery in a flouriſhing ſtate; but upon the Duke's taking poſſeſſion, by his governor, they laid aſide their pretences to juriſdiction.

The agents were detained in England until the fall of 1679. They thought themſelves not at liberty to return without the King's expreſs leave. The popiſh plot prevented an attention to plantation affairs, and it was thought too

* Mr. Neale ſays, "the people began to grow intolerably licentious in their "morals; that devout people obſerved the judgments of God ſeemed to follow "them; blaſting, epidemical diſeaſes, uncommon loſſes by ſea, &c." The ſmall-pox, which is always travelling about the world, then prevailed. There had been wars with French and Dutch, and captures by the enemy might well have been expected.

too great a hardſhip to detain them any longer. Upon their repeated application they were diſmiſſed, and arrived at Boſton December 23d. They had obtained nothing but time, a further opportunity for the colony to comply with the requiſitions made by the crown. Aſſurances ſeem to have been given by the agents, that other perſons ſhould be ſent over to ſupply their places; and although, upon their return, no mark of diſapprobation of their conduct was ſhewn by the general court, but a vote paſſed thanking them for their pains, yet many were diſſatisfied, eſpecially with Mr. Stoughton, whom they thought to have been too compliant.* They brought with them the King's letter of July 24, 1679, containing the following requiſitions.

1. That agents be ſent over in ſix months, fully inſtructed to anſwer and tranſact what was undetermined at that time.

2. That freedom and liberty of conſcience be given to ſuch perſons as deſire to ſerve God in the way of the church of England, ſo as not to be thereby made obnoxious, or diſcountenanced from their ſharing in the government; much leſs that they, or any other his Majeſty's ſubjects (not being papiſts) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law ſubjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities.

3. That no other diſtinction be obſerved in making of freemen, than that they be men of competent eſtates, rateable at 10ſ. according to the rules of the place, and that ſuch, in their turns, be capable of the magiſtracy, and all laws made void that obſtruct the ſame.

4. That the ancient number of eighteen aſſiſtants be henceforth obſerved, as by charter.†

5. That

* Mr. Stoughton, perhaps, ever had the intereſt of his country at heart, but in the purſuit of it governed himſelf by the rules which Cicero, in one of his epiſtles, preſcribes for a wiſe magiſtrate. "Nunquam enim preſtantibus in republica gubernanda viris laudata eſt in una ſententia perpetua permanſio; ſed ut in navigando tempeſtati obſequi artis eſt, etiamſi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id poſſis mutata velificatione aſſequi, ſtultum eſt eum tenere, cum periculo, curſum, quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire." *Ad Lentul.*

† They continued to limit themſelves to eight or ten aſſiſtants. At firſt, as has been obſerved, it was done to leave room for perſons of quality expected from England. Thoſe expectations had long ceaſed. In a popular government, and where the magiſtrates were annually choſen, increaſing the number would give a better

5. That all perſons coming to any privilege, truſt or office, take the oath of allegiance.

6. That all military commiſſions, as well as the proceedings of juſtice, run in his Majeſty's name.

7. That all laws repugnant to, and inconſiſtent with, the laws of England for trade, be aboliſhed.

8. While Mr. Gorges's complaint was before the council, the agents, without his Majeſty's permiſſion, who was ſome time in treaty for the ſame, bought Mr. Gorges's intereſt in the province of Main, for 1200l. His Majeſty had heard of ſome effects of a ſevere hand upon his ſubjects there, and therefore required an aſſignment of the ſaid province, on repayment of the ſaid 1200l.

9. That, as for that part of New-Hampſhire province three miles north of Merrimack river, granted to Mr. Maſon, the government whereof remained veſted in his Majeſty, deſigning to ſettle the ſame to the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects there, the Maſſachuſetts recall all commiſſions granted by them for governing there.

A compliance with the firſt of theſe inſtructions was delayed. The reaſons aſſigned were, the danger of the ſeas (Connecticut agent having been taken by the Algerines) and the heavy debt of the colony,* which made it almoſt incapable of the expenſe.

As to the ſecond and third, they had no laws to reſtrain the inhabitants from chooſing church of England men into the magiſtracy, or other office, that law, confining the privilege to church members, being long ſince repealed, and all proteſtants of 10*ſ.* rateable eſtate were capable of being made freemen.

The fourth, they complied with at the next election, in 1680.

And alſo with the fifth, ſixth and ſeventh, in manner as has been mentioned.

They juſtified their purchaſe of the province of Main, at the deſire of the inhabitants, and in favour to them; and

better chance to aſpiring men. On the other hand, the greater the number of aſſiſtants, the leſs the weight of the houſe of deputies, the election of all officers depending upon the major vote of the whole court. This laſt reaſon might cauſe the deputies to refuſe their conſent to an increaſe.

* Cauſed by the late war.

and denied their having ever uſed any acts of ſeverity, and were ſilent as to the re-conveying it.

The 9th and laſt they had complied with, as we have juſt mentioned.

The firſt commiſſion for the government of New-Hampſhire, was to Mr. Cutt, as preſident of the province. The following letter was voted, by the new aſſembly, at their firſt meeting, and ſent to the governor of Maſſachuſetts, to be communicated to the aſſembly there.

" Portſmouth, in the province of New-Hampſhire,
" March 25th, 1680.

" Much honoured——

" The late turn of providence made amongſt us by the " all-ordering hand, hath given occaſion for this preſent " application, wherein we crave leave, as we are in duty " bound, firſt thankfully to acknowledge your great care " of us, and kindneſs towards us, while we dwelt under " your ſhadow; owning ourſelves deeply obliged, that you " were pleaſed, upon our earneſt requeſt and ſupplication, " to take us under your government, and ruled us well, " while we ſo remained, ſo that we cannot give the leaſt " countenance to thoſe reflections that have been caſt upon " you, as if you had dealt injuriouſly with us. Secondly, " that no diſſatisfaction with your government, but merely " our ſubmiſſion to Divine Providence, to his Majeſty's " commands, to whom we owe allegiance, without any " ſeeking of our own, or deſires of change, was the only " cauſe of our complying with that preſent ſeparation from " you that we are now under; but ſhould have heartily " rejoiced, if it had ſeemed good to the Lord and his " Majeſty to have ſettled us in the ſame capacity as " formerly. Thirdly, and withal we hold ourſelves bound " to ſignify, that it is our moſt unfeigned deſire, that ſuch " a mutual correſpondence betwixt us may be ſettled, as " may tend to the glory of God, the honour of his Maj- " eſty, whoſe ſubjects we all are, and the promoting the " common intereſt, and defence againſt the common ene- " my, that thereby our hands may be ſtrengthened, being " of ourſelves weak, and few in number, and that if there " be opportunity to be any ways ſerviceable unto you, we

" may

"may ſhew how ready we are thankfully to embrace the "ſame. Thus wiſhing the preſence of God to be with "you in all adminiſtrations, and craving the benefit of "your prayers and endeavours for a bleſſing upon the "heads and hearts of us who are ſeparated from our bre-"thren, we ſubſcribe JOHN CUTT, Preſident, at the conſent of the council and general aſſembly."

Directed to the honorable governor and council of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, to be communicated to the general court in Boſton.

This letter was read in general court, May 22d, 1680, and ordered to be recorded.

The province of Main continued to be protected by Maſſachuſetts. After the purchaſe from Gorges the major part of the court were of opinion that it ſhould be ſold again to the higheſt bidder towards reimburſing the expenſe of defending it, which they computed at eight thouſand pounds; and a committee was appointed for this purpoſe; but this vote was reconſidered. However, there was a neceſſity of a different adminiſtration from what there had been formerly. Whilſt the province was ſuppoſed to be included in the bounds of the Maſſachuſetts charter, the towns were repreſented in the general court, and it was to all intents and purpoſes conſidered as a county; but the determination of 1677 had confined Maſſachuſetts to three miles north or north-eaſt of Merrimack river. The colony muſt conſider itſelf therefore in the place of Gorges, inveſted with the powers granted to him by charter or patent. Accordingly, they appointed their deputy governor Thomas Danforth, preſident of the province of Main, to govern under Maſſachuſetts, the lords proprietaries, and to be accountable to them; and thither he repaired towards the end of 1679, together with Mr. Nowell, &c. and there appointed officers, held courts and made proviſion for adminiſtering government in the form preſcribed by the patent to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.*

Randolph

* The people of the province of Main were well contented, whilſt they enjoyed the privileges of the Maſſachuſetts colony. To become a province of that colony was diſagreeable, and they never cordially ſubmitted. Although Maſſachuſetts accounted

Randolph kept a continual watch upon the colony, and went divers times to England with complaints, and returned with freſh orders and powers.* In 1676 he brought over the complaint of Maſon and Gorges. In 1678 he came over, with power from the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, as an inſpector, and to make ſeizures and bring informations for breaches of the acts of trade; but he was generally if not always condemned in coſts; and it appears, by a repreſentation he afterwards made to the commiſſioners, that he had been a great ſufferer. He brought with him alſo a commiſſion to divers perſons, himſelf at the head of them, to adminiſter an oath to the governor faithfully to execute the duty required by the act of trade.† The governor, Mr. Leveret, did not take the oath in conſequence of that commiſſion. Randolph was in England again in 1679,‡ and returned the latter part of the ſame year.

The governor, at the firſt ſeſſion after the receipt of new orders from the King, took the oath, which was adminiſtered by the deputy governor in open court, not as one of the commiſſioners. Randolph went home again the next winter to renew his complaints; and, upon his return to Boſton, in 1681, brought with him a commiſſion from the crown for collector and ſurveyor and ſearcher of the cuſtoms in New-England.‖ He laid his commiſſion before the

accounted themſelves a free ſtate, yet this was no ſecurity to the others that they ſhould be leſs arbitrarily governed than when a ſingle perſon was the proprietor. "In Auguſt 1680, the deputy governor, Mr. Saltonſtall, Nowell, &c. ſailed from Boſton, with 60 ſoldiers, in a ſhip and ſloop, to ſtill the people at Caſco-bay, and prevent governor Andros's uſurpation." *MS. Letter.*

* In a repreſentation of his ſervices to the committee of council, he ſays, he had made eight voyages to New-England in nine years.

† Edward Randolph, Thomas Savage, William Taylor, George Curwin the elder, Thomas Brattle, Thomas Deane, James Whetcomb, Richard Wharton, John Richards, Humphrey Warren, Thomas Kellond, John Hubbard, Humphrey Davy, and Samuel Moſeley, together with the members of the council for the time being, were the commiſſioners.

‡ "Mr. Randolph yet waits to get the country better qualified for his reception. By a letter which he wrote to one of Boſton, in the weſt, who was ſo ingenuous as to ſend the very original to us, we perceive great things are upon the wheel, relating to us, in his airy fancy. They were ſuch as not to be committed to paper, but to be communicated in the ſafer way of private diſcourſe." *Bulkley's letter to Bradford*, 1679.

‖ William Dyre, at the ſame time, called himſelf ſurveyor and ſearcher general. I ſuppoſe this was the beginning of the office of ſurveyor general, his commiſſion

the general court, and desired he might be aided in the execution of his office with their countenance and authority; but no notice being taken of his application, he set up an advertisement in the town house, to acquaint all persons concerned that an office was erected, &c. This, he said, was taken down by the marshal, by order of the general court or some of the members; he therefore in a letter to the governor demands the final resolution of the court, whether they will admit the said patent to be in force or not, that he might know how to govern himself. There is no record of any resolution of the court herein. During these distresses of the colony there were two parties subsisting in the government, both of them agreed in the importance of the charter privileges, but differing in opinion upon the extent of them, and upon the proper measures to preserve them. The governor (Mr. Bradstreet) was at the head of the moderate party. Randolph in all his letters takes notice of it. The governor's son in a letter from New-London, April 1681, writes, "As to what you say "about the change some people expect this election, so "far as it concerns yourself it may be an advantage. Bet-"ter the ruin, if it must be so, under other hands than yours. "Time will make it appear who have been the faithful "and wise conservators of New-England's liberties; and "that the adored saviours of our interests, many of them, "have consulted very ill the interest espoused by them." Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Dudley, and William Brown of Salem, these fell in with the governor. The deputy governor (Mr. Danforth) was at the head of the other party: the principal members of the court with him were Major Gookins of Cambridge, Peter Tilton of Hadley, Elisha Cooke and Elisha Hutchinson of Boston. This party opposed the sending over agents, the submitting to acts of trade, &c. and were for adhering to their charter according to their construction of it, and leaving the event. Gookins, being aged, desired a paper he drew up as his dying testimony might be lodged with the court, containing the reasons of his opinion. He was a very zealous, but an upright,

mission extending to New-York; but the powers and duties of these offices were not then fully settled. Randolph did not choose to acknowledge himself Dyre's inferior, or subject to his controul.

right, man, and acted from principle. He seems to have been the only magistrate who a few years before opposed the people in their rage against the Indians, friends and enemies without distinction; and exposed himself to the reproaches of his brethren in the magistracy upon the bench, as well as to hootings and offensive language from the populace as he passed the streets. Tilton was one of the most rigid, and was concerned in a paper, published about that time, representing the great apostacy both of magistrates and ministers.

In 1680* a letter had been received, under the King's sign manual, charging the colony with neglecting to send over other agents in the room of those who had obtained leave to return, and requiring that they be sent in three months after the receipt of the letter, and that they come prepared to answer the claim which Mason had made to the lands between Naumkeag and Merrimack. Immediately upon the receipt of this letter, the court chose two agents, Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Nowell; and instructions were

* Lord Culpeper, governor of Virginia, came to Boston the 24th of August this year, in his return to England.

It appears by the records, that the hon. George Russell (I suppose a younger brother to the celebrated Lord Russell) was in New-England in 1680, and presented with the freedom of the colony. Mr. Richard Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, returned this year, after many years absence, and was again chosen first assistant, and so the two succeeding years. He went back to England before 1683, and died at Hulme, April 29th, 1694. *MS. letter.* He left an estate in Yorkshire. Mr. Saltonstall was related to Mr. Hamden, who, like his ancestors, was a true friend to New-England. In a letter from Mr. Saltonstall's daughter, dated May, 1694, I find this little piece of English history: "The court is altered as well as other places; Mr. H———n was to wait on master, and all looked very smooth. He asked him concerning the report he heard (this was a second time, not that mentioned in my other letter); he said, no, no, there was nothing in it, he did not intend to remove him. He kissed hands, and that night a new commission was granted to a young person under 30 years of age, who they say must go before all the grave judges. His virtues may be wrote in a little room, but not his vices. A few days after, the archbishop was sent to tell him how well he was esteemed; but he growing into years might like his ease. If he would be Lord or Earl he should be either, or have any pension. To the first he answered, that he would die a country gentleman of an ancient family, as his was, and honour enough for him. For the second, he said, he should not take the King's money, and the King's servants want bread; he always spake against giving pensions to others, and at such a time as this it was a great oppression. While he had a roll and can of beer, he would not take the King's money. It is wondered at by many, considering how useful he was in the year 88 and following—but enough of this."

I hope the friendship shewn by the family of Hamden to New-England will excuse my inserting this anecdote, although it has no relation to the affairs of the colony.

were drawn up, but both of them peremptorily refuſed to engage in the affair; Mr. Stoughton, notwithſtanding the exceptions ſome had taken to his former conduct, being ſtrongly urged to it. As for Maſon's claim, it was looked upon as groundleſs and extravagant, and the court gave themſelves but little concern about it, further than to obſerve, that if he had any pretence to the lands, his title would be fairly tried upon the ſpot, where by law and according to the opinion of the attorney and ſolicitor general, in 1677, it ought to be tried. After this, Randolph* brought to Boſton the King's letter of October the 21ſt, 1681,† complaining, "that the collector had not been able to execute his office to any effect; that attachments had been brought againſt him and his officers for doing their duty; that he had been obliged to depoſit money before he could bring an action againſt offenders; that appeals, in matters relating to the revenue, had been refuſed; and that they had ſeized into their hands the moiety of forfeitures belonging to his Majeſty by law." It was therefore required, "that fit perſons be ſent over, without delay, to anſwer theſe complaints, with powers to ſubmit to ſuch regulations of government as his Majeſty ſhould think fit; that reſtitution be made of all monies levied from the officers; that they be encouraged in putting the acts of trade in execution, without charge, as in England; that an account be given of forfeitures received; and that appeals be allowed." The court denied the charge, and ſaid, in their anſwer, "that Mr. Randolph was acknowledged collector, and his commiſſion enrolled; that no ſuits had been countenanced againſt any officers, except where the ſubject had been unjuſtly vexed; that they knew of no forfeitures, except

* In April, 1681, Randolph ſet up a proteſt, on the exchange in Boſton, againſt the acts of the court.

† "As for the large and particular account you are pleaſed to give me of the "concerns of the country in general, yours was ſent hither to me to my houſe "here, by Mr. Randolph, where I have been for ſome weeks, and do intend to "ſtay ſome weeks longer, ſo that I doubt Mr. Randolph, by whom I ſend this, "will be gone ere I come to London; but, when I ſhall be there, I ſhall endeav"our to inform myſelf the beſt I can, how matters do ſtand as to your colony, "and ſhall do them the beſt ſervice and friendly offices I can; and it will be ve"ry well and adviſable, that, upon Mr. Randolph's arrival, matters relating to "trade be ſo ſettled, as that there be no further juſt complaints upon that "account." *Sir George Downing's letter to Governor Bradſtreet, Eaſt-Hadley, Sept.* 28, 1681.

cept a fine upon a maſter of a ſhip for abuſing the government; that they would encourage his officers, and require no depoſit for the future; but as to admitting appeals, they hoped it would be further conſidered." However, the ſending over agents could be no longer delayed. At a court called in Feb. 1681, when his majeſty's letter by Mr. Randolph was read, they determined to come to the choice of agents. Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Dudley were choſen, the court being much divided. Mr. Stoughton again utterly refuſed, and Mr. Richards* was choſen in his ſtead. The deſign of taking away the charter became every day more and more evident. Agents empowered to ſubmit to regulations of government, were, in other words, agents empowered to ſurrender their charter. However, the general court would have been glad to put a more favourable conſtruction upon it, it being inconſiſtent with his Majeſty's repeated declarations; and therefore they directed their agents not to do, or conſent to, any thing that ſhould violate or infringe the liberties and privileges granted by charter, or the government eſtabliſhed thereby. A new matter of charge had been brought againſt them in England, viz. the coining money. This they excuſed, "it having began in the times of the late confuſions, to prevent frauds in the pieces of eight, current among them; and if they had treſpaſſed upon his Majeſty's prerogative, it was through ignorance, and they humbly begged his pardon." The other points of exception were anſwered as before mentioned. The agents ſailed May 31ſt. A public faſt was appointed to be obſerved June 22d, through the colony, to pray for the preſervation of their charter, and ſucceſs to the agency. Randolph was in England not long after them, ready to diſcloſe every thing the agents deſired to conceal. The governor had deſired him to do nothing to the prejudice of the colony. He promiſed, in his anſwer, that if they would make a full ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty, he would endeavour to procure his Majeſty's royal pardon, and the continuance of their privileges, ſo far as that they ſhould have liberty of conſcience and the free exerciſe

* Mr. Richards was a wealthy merchant, of a fair character, and one of the aſſiſtants.

exercise of their religion; and that no money should be raised without the consent of the people: for other matters, their agents were most proper to solicit.* The agents, in their first letters to the general court, acquainted them, "that his Majesty was greatly provoked by their so long neglecting to send agents, and they desired the court to consider whether it was best to hazard all, rather than satisfy his Majesty as to the mode of submission to the laws for regulating trade, since they seriously intended to submit to the substance." They had not then been heard before the council; but soon after, upon presenting the court's address, they were commanded to shew their powers and all their instructions, not publicly, but to Sir Lionel Jenkins, secretary of state; and it appearing, upon perusal, that they did not contain such powers as had been required, they were informed by Lord Radnor, that the council, nem. con. had agreed to report to his Majesty, that unless the agents speedily obtained such powers as might make them capable to satisfy in all points, a quo warranto should proceed. The agents represented the case of the colony as desperate, and left it to the court to determine whether it was most advisable to submit to his Majesty's pleasure, or to suffer a quo warranto to issue. Many cities had submitted. Bermudas† in the plantations, and the city of London, had refused; and quo warrantos had gone out, the determination of which might enable Massachusetts

* In Feb. 1681, Randolph exhibited to the Lords of the council articles of high misdemeanor against a faction of the general court sitting in Boston, viz. Thomas Danforth, Daniel Gookins, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Samuel Nowell, Richards, Davy, Gedney, and Appleton, magistrates, and Fisher, Cooke, Brattle, Stoddard, Bathurst, Hathorne, Wait, Johnson, Hutchinson, Sprague, Oakes, Holbrook, Cushing, Hammond, and Pike, deputies.

† Bermudas was the second colony, for many years scarce deserving the name, Virginia being the first. The charter bears date the "29th June, in the 13th year of King James, 1614, by the name of the governor and company of the city of London for the plantation of the Somer Islands." This charter never was removed to the colony, as that of Massachusetts had been. The company continued to meet as a propriety in London. A governor, deputed by the company, with a council and assembly, exercised some degree of legislative power in the islands; but the governor and company in London had the power of making laws, not repugnant, &c. In 1663 a law was made by the company, that every vessel above five tons, built in the island without express leave of the company first had and obtained, should be forfeited and sold for the use of the company. The inhabitants made complaint of great oppression, and prayed for a dissolution of their charter; that a governor might be appointed by the crown, and the subjects governed as they were in Virginia and Barbados. *True relation of the illegal proceedings of the Somer islands company*, &c. 1678.

Maſſachuſetts to judge what would be prudent for them to do.*

Upon receipt of theſe advices, it was made a queſtion, not in the general court only, but amongſt all the inhabitants, whether to ſurrender or not. The opinions of many of the miniſters, and their arguments in ſupport of them, were given in writing; and, in general, it was thought better to die by the hands of others, than by their own.† An addreſs was agreed upon by the general court; another was prepared and ſent through the colony, to be ſigned by the ſeveral inhabitants, which the agents were to preſent or not, as they thought proper; and they were inſtructed to deliver up the deeds for the province of Main, if required, and it would tend to preſerve their charter, otherwiſe not; and they were to make no conceſſions of any privileges conferred upon the colony by the charter.

Cranfield, governor of New-Hampſhire, being on a viſit at Boſton, adviſed to the agents waiting upon Lord Hide, and tendering him an acknowledgment of two thouſand guineas for his Majeſty's private ſervice; and, at the ſame time, promiſed to repreſent the colony in a favourable light. The court agreed to the propoſal, and ſhewed him the letter they wrote to the agents thereupon; but he, infamouſly, repreſented the colony as rogues and rebels, and made his game of them for making ſuch an offer; and the agents complained of their being ridiculed for the ſham put upon the country.‡ Upon the agents receiving this final reſolution of the court, their buſineſs was at an end. It was immediately determined a quo warranto ſhould go againſt the

* Randolph was inceſſant. June 14th, 1682, he writes to the Earl of Clarendon: "His Majeſty's quo warranto againſt their charter, and ſending for Thomas Danforth, and for Samuel Nowell, a late fanatic preacher and now a magiſtrate, and Daniel Fiſher, Elitha Cooke, deputies, to attend and anſwer the articles of high miſdemeanors, I have now exhibited againſt them in my papers ſent Mr. Blaithwait, will make the whole faction tremble. If the party were conſiderable enough to revolt upon his Majeſty's reſolution to ſettle the plantation, their firſt work would be to call me to account for endeavouring openly the alteration of their conſtitution, which by their law is death."

† The clergy turned the ſcale for the laſt time. The balance which they had held from the beginning they were allowed to retain no longer.

‡ "Truly, ſir, if you was here to ſee how we are ridiculed by our beſt friends at court for the ſham Cranfield hath put upon you, it would grieve you. I will aſſure you, whatever letters he hath ſhewn you, his Majeſty laſt night told my friend that he had repreſented us as diſloyal rogues." *Dudley to Bradſtreet, Feb.* 1682.

the charter, and that Randolph ſhould be the meſſenger of death. The agents arrived at Boſton the 23d of October, 1683; and the ſame week Randolph arrived * with the quo warranto, and a declaration from the King, that if the colony, before proſecution, would make full ſubmiſſion and entire reſignation to his pleaſure, he would regulate their charter for his ſervice and their good, and with no further alterations than ſhould be neceſſary for the ſupport of his government there. Two hundred copies of the proceedings againſt the charter of London were ſent at the ſame time, by advice of the privy council, to be diſperſed through the province. The governor, and major part of the aſſiſtants, deſpairing of any ſucceſs from a defence, paſſed the following vote: "The magiſtrates have voted, that "an humble addreſs be ſent to his Majeſty by this ſhip, "declaring that, upon a ſerious conſideration of his Majeſty's gracious intimations in his former letters, and more "particularly in his late declaration that his pleaſure and "purpoſe is only to regulate our charter in ſuch a manner as "ſhall be for his ſervice and the good of this his colony, and "without any other alteration than what is neceſſary for the "ſupport of his government here, we will not preſume to "contend with his Majeſty in a courſe of law, but humbly "lay ourſelves at his Majeſty's feet, in a ſubmiſſion to his "pleaſure ſo declared; and that we have reſolved, by the "next opportunity, to ſend our agents, empowered to re"ceive his Majeſty's commands accordingly. And, for "ſaving a default for non-appearance upon the return of "the writ of quo warranto, that ſome meet perſon or per"ſons be appointed and empowered, by letter of attorney, "to appear and make defence, until our agents may make "their appearance and ſubmiſſion, as above. The ma"giſtrates have paſſed this with reference to the conſent of "their brethren the deputies hereto.

"15th Nov. 1683. EDWARD RAWSON, ſec'ry."

This lay in the houſe, under conſideration, a fortnight, and was then paſſed upon as follows: "Nov.

* The next day after Randolph arrived, a terrible fire happened in Boſton, in the richeſt part of the town. Some of the people in their rage and jealouſy ſuppoſed the town to be ſet on fire by his procurement. I find this inſinuated in an interleaved almanack, and other manuſcripts.

"Nov. 30, 1683. The deputies conſent not, but adhere "to their former bills. WM. TORREY, Cler."

Had this been made an act of the general court, it is doubtful whether the conſequent adminiſtration of government would have been leſs arbitrary than it was upon the judgment againſt the charter; but, upon the revolution, they might have reaſſumed their charter, as Rhode-Iſland* and Connecticut did their reſpective charters, there having been no judgment againſt them.†

A letter of attorney was ſent to Mr. Humphrys, to appear and anſwer for the province. Addreſſes were ſent, one after another, but to no purpoſe. In September, a ſcire facias was received by Mr. Dudley, and communicated to the governor, who called a ſpecial court. The time for their appearance at Weſtminſter was paſt before it was received in Boſton.‡ No other anſwer, than another humble

* Rhode-Iſland made a full ſurrender of their charter, as appears by the following advertiſement in the London gazette, Windſor, Sept. 13, 1674: "His "Majeſty has graciouſly received the addreſs of the colony of Rhode-Iſland and "Providence Plantations in New-England, humbly repreſenting, that upon the "ſignification of a writ of quo warranto againſt their charter, they had reſolved "in a general aſſembly not to ſtand ſuit with his Majeſty, but wholly to ſubmit "to his royal pleaſure themſelves and their charter, whereof his Majeſty has "thought fit to accept the ſurrender." The order in council to the attorney general to bring writs of quo warranto againſt Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland was dated July 15, 1685.

Connecticut had the offer of being annexed to Maſſachuſetts or New-York. They prayed the continuance of their privileges; but if they muſt loſe their charter, they choſe to be annexed to Maſſachuſetts. This was contrued a ſurrender.

† However agreeable to law this diſtinction might be, yet equity does not ſeem to favour it. The charter of London was adjudged forfeited, upon a long argument of the greateſt lawyers in the nation. The Maſſachuſetts was decreed forfeited, upon default of appearance. Not only the charter of London, but all the charters in the King's dominions I ſuppoſe (unleſs Bermudas is an exception) whether ſurrendered or whether there had been judgment againſt them, were reaſſumed, except that of Maſſachuſetts.

‡ The proceedings were in this form and order.

The firſt ſcire facias directed to the ſheriff of Middleſex bore teſt 16th Ap. 36 Car. 2d. whereon a nichil returned.

Trin. 36 Car. 2d. an al. ſcir. fac. directed to the ſame ſheriff, returned 2d June, 1683, whereon another nichil returned.

12th June, 36 Car. 2d. the agent for the company moved by his counſel for time to ſend to New-England for a letter of attorney under the corporation ſeal, to appear and plead to thoſe ſcire facias's until Michaelmas term then next, when the court ordered Mr. Attorney ſhould be attended therein to ſhew cauſe the laſt day of that term why the defendants ſhould not have time to appear.

Mr. Attorney moved againſt that order, and had it in ſome part ſet aſide, but waved it, and on hearing counſel of both ſides it was ordered,

18th June 84, That judgment be entered up for his Majeſty as of this term; but if defendants appear firſt day of next term, and plead to iſſue, ſo as to take notice

humble addreſs, was attempted. The caſe was deſperate, and judgment was entered up; copy of which was received by Mr. Rawſon, July 2d, 1685.

Before any new government was ſettled, King Charles died. Mr. Blaithwait wrote to the governor,* and recommended the proclaiming King James, without delay. This was done, with great ceremony, in the high ſtreet in Boſton (April 20th.)

There were all the ſymptoms, notwithſtanding, of an expiring conſtitution. Several of the towns neglected to ſend their deputies in the year 1684. Little buſineſs was done at the court. The people, indeed, ſhewed ſome reſentment againſt the magiſtrates, who had been forward for ſurrendering. Mr. Dudley, Richards and Brown were dropped; Cooke, Johnſon and Hutchinſon choſe in their ſtead. Mr. Bradſtreet, the governor,† Mr. Stoughton, Bulkley, Saltonſtall and Gidney had fewer votes than uſual. There ſeems to have been as much indifference in the legiſlature about public affairs in 1685, expecting every day to be ſuperſeded.

The election for 1686 was the 12th of May. Mr. Dudley being left out, Mr. Stoughton, from complaiſance to him, refuſed to ſerve.‡

The 15th, the Roſe trigate arrived from England, with a commiſſion to Mr. Dudley, || as preſident, and divers others,

notice of a trial to be had the ſame term, then the ſaid judgment by Mr. Attorney's conſent to be ſet aſide, otherwiſe the ſame to ſtand recorded.

On the firſt day of Michaelmas term following, the company's agent retained counſel to move, and brought ſeveral merchants to teſtify in the court of chancery, that in the time given it was impoſſible to have a letter of attorney returned from New-England; ſo, as they had not given time long enough to perform a matter, it was in effect giving no time at all, for a time not ſufficient was equally fatal to no time given.

To which the then Lord Keeper replied, that no time ought at all to have been given, in regard that all corporations ought to have attornies in court at all times to appear for them upon all occaſions. And ſo ſet aſide the order for time to appear and plead, and judgment was entered as in the copy.

* He ſaid he did not write as to a government, the charter being vacated.

† The governor had 690 votes, Danforth had 631, for governor. *MS.*

‡ One Joſeph Redknap died at Boſton at the age of 110. He came over at 60, had been a wine cooper in London.

|| Mr. Dudley, when he found he could do his country no ſervice in his agency, that he might not wholly loſe his labour, took meaſures to ſerve himſelf, and had recommended himſelf to the court when he was in London. After his return, he kept up a friendly correſpondence with Randolph, who warmly eſpouſed his intereſt, and writes, July 18th, 84, to Col. Shrimpton—"No better news

others, gentlemen of the council, to take upon them the adminiſtration of government. A copy of the commiſſion was preſented, and the following anſwer reſolved upon by the court, nemine contradicente.

" GENTLEMEN,

" We have peruſed what you left with us, as a true copy " of his Majeſty's commiſſion, ſhewed to us the 17th inſt. " empowering you for the governing of his Majeſty's ſub- " jects inhabiting this colony, and other places therein " mentioned. You then applied to us, not as a governor " and company, but (as you were pleaſed to term us) ſome " of the principal gentlemen and chief inhabitants of the " ſeveral towns of the Maſſachuſetts, amongſt other diſ- " courſe ſaying, it concerned us to conſider what therein " might be thought hard and uneaſy; upon peruſal where- " of, we find, as we conceive, Firſt, That there is no cer- " tain determinate rule for your adminiſtration of juſtice; " and that which is, ſeems to be too arbitrary. Secondly, " That the ſubjects are abridged of their liberty, as Eng- " liſhmen, both in the matters of legiſlation and in laying " of taxes; and indeed the whole unqueſtioned privilege " of the ſubject transferred upon yourſelves, there not being " the leaſt mention of an aſſembly in the commiſſion, and " therefore we think it highly concerns you to conſider " whether ſuch a commiſſion be ſafe for you or us; but if " you are ſo ſatisfied therein, as that you hold yourſelves " obliged thereby, and do take upon you the government " of this people, although we cannot give our aſſent thereto, " yet

news could have come to me, than to hear Mr. Dudley, principally, was left out of the election; the fitter man to ſerve his King and country in an honourable ſtation, for they have declared him ſo."—And again the 26th. " I am extremely ſolicitous that Mr. Dudley might have the ſole government of New-England, for no man better underſtands the conſtitution of your country, and hath more loyalty and reſpect to his Majeſty's affairs; but I dare not openly appear in it, leſt it be thought there is ſome private deſign in it; but I am, upon all occaſions, hinting his merit to his friends."—But, however obnoxious Mr. Dudley had rendered himſelf, yet he was, with leſs reluctance, received as their chief ruler, at this time, from a general expectation, which had obtained, of Kirk's being ſent over to take the government. Their agent (Humphries) had adviſed them of the danger of it, and they expected ſomething of the ſame tragedy he had been acting in the weſt of England. Mr. Rawſon, in a letter to Hinkley, July 1685, writes, that " Col. Kirke, whom his late Majeſty appointed and deſigned to be our governor, is confirmed by his preſent Majeſty, and is preparing to ſail with two frigates, and may be expected in four or five weeks." This was before his and Jeffries's campaign, as King James called it, in the weſt; but after the news of the tragedies there, Rawſon writes—" Our condition is awful."

" yet we hope we ſhall demean ourſelves as true and loyal " ſubjects to his Majeſty, and humbly make our addreſſes " unto God, and in due time to our gracious prince, for " our relief. May 20th, 1686.

" By order, EDW. RAWSON, Sec'ry.

" Theſe for Joſeph Dudley, Eſq. and the reſt of the " gentlemen named in his Majeſty's commiſſion."

The court appointed a committee to take into their cuſtody ſuch papers as referred to the charter, and titles of land, by purchaſe from the Indians or otherwiſe, and ordered the ſecretary to deliver the ſame, and adjourned to the ſecond Wedneſday in October.

The 25th of May the preſident and council met, and his Majeſty's commiſſion was publiſhed.

New-Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode-Iſland, who were leſs obnoxious, and had been more pliant than Maſſachuſetts, were all to be in like degree ſufferers; although not included in Mr. Dudley's commiſſion,* the execution was only reſpited a few months.

We have taken no notice of the affairs of New-Plymouth ſince the year 1676. Having conquered Philip's country of Mount-Hope, now Briſtol, it was confirmed to that colony by King Charles. Maſſachuſetts had applied for it. Mr. Winſlow, the governor of Plymouth, died in 1680, Dec. 18th, and was ſucceeded by Thomas Hinkley, who continued until that colony was included in the ſame commiſſion with Maſſachuſetts, &c. It was agreed, that the grand council of Plymouth could confer no powers of government. They had nothing therefore to ſupport them at New-Plymouth, but the King's approbation, from time to time, of their proceedings. It might then well be expected that they ſhould act with great caution, to avoid giving offence. They had been amuſed from year to year, with aſſurances that the King would grant them a charter. Such an one as Connecticut had received they prayed for. The name of Maſſachuſetts was odious. The governor kept upon good terms with Randolph,

* I find the following paſſage in a letter from Ireland, March 26th, 1684. " Our laſt packet from England brings us news of two very loyal addreſſes to his Majeſty, one from New-Plymouth and the other from Connecticut, which were both very graciouſly received; by which I ſuſpect you, of the Maſſachuſetts, are more whiggiſh, and your neighbours more toryiſh, to expreſs it in the language of late in uſe."

dolph, who engaged to do every thing in his power to obtain the charter.* They had orders to send over a copy of their patent, in order to form a new one, in which the Narraganset country was to be included; but, upon the quo warranto coming over to Massachusetts, Mr. Blaithwait wrote to the governor, Sept. 27th, 1683—"I must "deal plainly with you. It is not probable any thing will "be determined, in that behalf, until his Majesty do see "an issue of proceedings in relation to the Massachusetts "colony, and that upon regulating their charter, that colony be brought under such an actual dependence upon "the crown as becomes his Majesty's subjects. From "hence it will be, that your patent will receive its model; "and although you may be assured of all you desire, yet "it will be expected that, in acknowledgment of so great "favours, such provisions may be inserted as are necessary "for the maintenance of his Majesty's authority." After this, they could have no great reason to hope for success. However, they continued their pursuit, and in November, 1683, they forwarded another address, wherein they congratulated his Majesty upon his deliverance, in answer to their prayers they hoped, from the late horrid conspiracy;† and they had appointed the 15th instant for a day of solemn thanksgiving, for the salvation of his Majesty's royal person from that and other hellish conspiracies. They go on to pray his Majesty's favour in granting them a charter, having sent over a true copy of their patent from the council of Plymouth. Randolph writes to the governor of Plymouth, the fourth of March following, that he had presented the address, with the necessary amendments, to his Majesty in council; that it would be printed, was graciously received, and that they would find the benefit of it, in dispatch and settlement of their colony. Upon the death of King Charles they were distinguished by King James from the other colonies, by a letter under his sign manual,‡ acquainting them with his accession to the throne, the great things the parliament had done, the defeat of Argyle, and the landing at Monmouth, and the care taken to prevent

* They sent over Mr. James Cudworth, as their agent, in 1681, to solicit their patent; but he died soon after his arrival.

† This must be the protestant plot. ‡ June 26th, 1685.

vent his ſucceſs, all to prevent any falſe and malicious rumours that might be ſpread among his Majeſty's ſubjects at that diſtance. An addreſs was ſent to the King, upon his acceſſion, taking notice of the aſſurances they had received from his royal brother, and praying that his Majeſty would fulfil them. This was the laſt effort. * Connecticut kept more ſilent, inactive and reſerved, ſubmitting when compelled to it, and reaſſuming their rights as ſoon as they had an opportunity for it.†

To avoid any interruption in relating the ſeveral ſteps taken for vacating the charter, we have paſſed over ſome events, the remembrance of which ſhould be preſerved.

The Indians at the eaſtward continued their hoſtilities after

* King Charles's grant, under his ſign manual, of Philip's country, is in theſe words: "We have taken into our royal conſideration, how that, by your loyalty and good conduct in that war, you have been the happy inſtruments to enlarge our dominions, and to bring that new territory of Mount-Hope into a more immediate dependence upon us: We are therefore graciouſly pleaſed to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant, unto you, the full and entire property of the ſaid territory, or ſcope of land, commonly called Mount-Hope, containing, by common eſtimation, ſeven thouſand acres, be the ſame more or leſs, for the ſole and proper uſe and behoof of yourſelves and the reſt of our ſaid colony of New-Plymouth, to be holden of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, as of our caſtle of Windſor in the county of Berks, yielding and paying, &c. ſeven beaver ſkins each and every year, &c."

This country of Mount-Hope, with ſeveral townſhips and parts of townſhips, always reputed part of the colony of New-Plymouth, by a new line, never until then conceived by any perſon whatſoever, was, in the year 1741, by commiſſioners from New-York, &c. determined to be within the bounds of Rhode-Iſland charter; and this determination, perhaps, for want of proper evidence, which might have been produced on the part of Maſſachuſetts, was afterwards confirmed by his late Majeſty in council.

In this and other controverſies about boundaries, it has been the misfortune of the Maſſachuſetts province to have been repreſented as too great and powerful a province; that his Majeſty's ſmall province of New-Hampſhire, the ſmall colony of Rhode-Iſland, were oppreſſed and borne down, &c.

† The condition of the diſſenters in England, in the latter part of the reign of King Charles the ſecond, had cauſed many of them to turn their thoughts again towards New-England. "Divers perſons in England and Ireland, gentlemen, citizens and others, being inclined to remove themſelves into foreign parts, where they may enjoy, without interruption, the public exerciſe of chriſtian religion, according to what they apprehend of divine inſtitution, have prevailed with Mr. Blackwell to make your country a viſit, and inquire whether they may be there welcome, and whether they may reaſonably expect that liberty they promiſe themſelves, and others, who will attend their motion." *Letter from Dan. Coxe to Gov. Bradſtreet, London, Oct.* 10, 1684. The alteration which happened preſently after, in the public affairs of the colony, was alone ſufficient to diſcourage this emigration. At the ſame time, ſome of the proteſtants in France, after a relation of their miſerable ſtate in France, conclude a letter from Rochel, 1ſt October, 1684—"New-England, the country where you live, is in great eſteem: I, and a great many other proteſtants, intend to go there. Tell us, if you pleaſe, what advantage we can have, and particularly the peaſants, who are uſed to the plough. If ſomebody at your country would ſend a ſhip here to fetch over French proteſtants, he would make great gain."

after thoſe at the weſtward were ſubdued and diſperſed. In Auguſt, 1676, they ſurpriſed the houſe of Mr. Hammond, an ancient trader at Kennebeck, and from thence croſſed over to Arowſick iſland, where there was a large houſe, with, what was there eſteemed, a ſtrong fort built round it, belonging to Major Clark and Capt. Lake,* two merchants of Boſton, who owned the iſland and great part of the main land near to it. The Indians hid themſelves in the night under the walls of the fort. When the centinel left his ſtation at day-light, ſome of the Indians followed him in at the fort gate, whilſt the reſt ran to the port holes, and ſhot down every perſon they ſaw. Captain Lake, finding the Indians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort, eſcaped, with Capt. Davis † and two others, at a back door, to the water ſide, intending to paſs to another iſland near to Arowſick. Capt. Lake was killed juſt as he landed. His bones were, after ſome time, found and brought to Boſton. Davis was wounded, but made his eſcape, as did the other two. At theſe two houſes, fifty-three Engliſh were killed and taken. The news of this ſtroke broke up all the plantations at and near Kennebeck, the inhabitants tranſporting themſelves to Piſcataqua and Boſton, or ſome other place of ſecurity. This brought the Indians further weſtward, to Caſco, Spurwinck, Black-point, Wells, and Cape Nidduck, within the bounds of York; at all which places they did more or leſs miſchief. Mugg, a noted Indian, well known to the Engliſh,‡ was at the head of the enemy. The priſoners, by his means, were treated with more humanity and courteſy than had been known; and he ſent one or two of them to Piſcataqua, in order to ranſom their friends; but the goods ſent for their ranſom were ſeized by other Indians. Mugg himſelf came to Piſcataqua, and afterwards to Boſton; where, in behalf of Madockawando and Cheberrina, ſachems of Penobſcot, he entered into treaty with the governor and council, Nov. 13th, 1676. This was the firſt treaty with any of the Tarrateens, or eaſtern Indians. "They promiſed to ceaſe all acts of hoſtility; to return the captives; to do their utmoſt

* Capt. Lake was the anceſtor of the late Sir Bibie Lake.
† Davis was afterwards of the council for Maſſachuſetts province.
‡ He had lived, from a child, in Engliſh families.

utmoſt to repair the damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh; to buy no powder or ammunition of any other than perſons deputed by the governor, provided they could have a ſupply in that way; and to account all other eaſtern Indians in the number of their enemies, who did not aſſent to the ſame covenant and agreement." No mention is made of any ſubjection to the government of the colony, or to the King of England; but they are conſidered as a free, independent people. The treaty is at large in Mr. Hubbard's hiſtory of the war. The Indians continued, notwithſtanding, to do miſchief on the eaſtern frontier in 1677; when Major Andros, by virtue of his commiſſion from the Duke of York, having placed forces at Pemaquid, the Indians made overtures of peace and friendſhip; and, as a proof of their ſincerity, brought in 15 Engliſh captives, and they continued for ſome time quiet. An attack was made upon the weſtern frontiers, by 40 or 50 Indians, ſaid to be river Indians,* but whether Connecticut or Hudſon's river is not mentioned. This was the 19th of September, 1677. They ſurpriſed many of Hatfield, as they were raiſing a houſe, and unarmed, and killed and carried away about twenty, and the next day took three or four more from Deerfield.

By the advice of the governor of New-York, commiſſioners were ſent, about this time, from Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut, to the Maquas, to ſecure their friendſhip to the Engliſh intereſt in general, and to engage them againſt the Tarrateens, or eaſtern Indians, who had been their ancient enemies. I ſuppoſe this was the firſt treaty† between the Mohawks, or Five Nations, and the Maſſachuſetts colony.‡

In

* The Indians which originally belonged to Connecticut river, after Philip's war, removed to a place called Scatacook, and were known by the name of Scatacook Indians; and when there have been treaties with the Six Nations, more or leſs of theſe Indians have generally been preſent. They proved a heavy ſcourge to the county of Hampſhire, joining with the French and Canada Indians, and ſufficiently revenged themſelves of the Engliſh. Being well acquainted with moſt of the houſes upon Connecticut river for 40 years before their removal, they ſerved as pilots in the frequent invaſions during King William's and Queen Ann's wars.

† Pynchon and Richards were ſent to Albany in 1677, in order to demand the delivery of ſome eaſtern Indians among the Mohawks; but governor Andros perſuaded them to deſiſt.

‡ In 1680, the people were greatly ſurpriſed with the appearance of a comet firſt diſcovered the 18th of November, and viſible the 10th of February; after which, for

a

In the year 1685, Mr. Hinkley, governor of Plymouth, ſent to the corporation in England an account of the praying Indians then in that colony. They amounted to 1439, beſides boys and girls under 12 years old, which were ſuppoſed to be more than three times that number.*

a few days it could be diſcerned by teleſcopes. "Dec. 16th, its appearance is very terrible; for, though the head be ſmall, yet the tail is near 30 deg. in length, and aſcends almoſt to our zenith, growing continually broader, and is brighteſt on the ſides, eſpecially the ſouth, the middle being conſiderably darker than the ſides." *Interleaved Almanack.*

Aug. 17th, 1682, another comet appeared, and continued until the 15th of September: "The head or ſtar much bigger than that of 1680, and of a dim colour, though the coma, or blaze, was much ſmaller, not even above 15 deg. in length." *Idem.* It was the general opinion, that any unuſual appearances in the heavens were preſages of calamities coming upon the world.

Nov. 27, 1676, A fire broke out in Boſton about 5 in the morning, at one Wakefield's houſe, by the Red Lion, by a candle careleſsly ſet, which ſo prevailed, that it burnt down about 45 dwelling houſes, the north meeting-houſe, and ſeveral warehouſes; the wind was at ſouth-eaſt when it began, and blew hard; ſoon after, it veered ſouth, and brought ſo much rain as much prevented further miſchief, without which, all that end of the town had probably been laid in aſhes, and Charleſtown alſo endangered, by the flakes of fire which were carried over the river." *Id.*

"Aug. 8, 1679, about midnight, a terrible fire began at one Groſs's houſe, the ſign of the three mariners, near the dock, in Boſton. All the warehouſes, and a great number of dwelling houſes, with veſſels then in the dock, were conſumed. It continued till near noon the next day; the moſt woful deſolation that Boſton ever ſaw; eighty odd dwelling-houſes and ſeventy odd warehouſes, with ſeveral veſſels and their lading, conſumed to aſhes. The whole loſs computed to be two hundred thouſand pounds." *Id.*

* The particular places where theſe Indians then lived, were,

At Pawmet, Billingſgate and Eaſtham or Nauſet	264
At Manamoyet	115
At Sackatucket and Nobſcuſſet	121
At Matakeeſee	70
At Skarnton or Scanton	51
At Maſhpee	141
At Sucaneſſet	72
At Monamet	110
At Saltwater pond	90
At Namaſket and Titicut	70
At Namatakeeſet	40
At Moxiſſet	85
At Cooxit	120
At Seconet	90
	1439

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

From the Diſſolution of the Charter of the Colony, in 1686, until the Arrival of the Province Charter in 1692.

MR. Dudley's ſhort adminiſtration was not very grievous.* The houſe of deputies, indeed, was entirely laid aſide; but the people, the time being ſhort, felt little or no effect from the change.

Mr. Dudley, having made Randolph trumpeter of his attachment to the prerogative, and anſwered his ends, ſoon after

* "I have forbore writing to your grace, until I have been ſome time in the place, to ſee how the people here would demean themſelves under this new government. At my firſt arrival, I met with outward expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, and many ſeemed well pleaſed at the change, having been ſtruck with a panic fear, upon the apprehenſions of Col. Kirk's coming hither to be their governor; but finding a commiſſion directed to a gentleman among themſelves, the then governor and company, growing hardy, began, by their miniſters, to tempt Mr. Dudley not to accept of his Majeſty's commiſſion to be preſident, hoping thereby to continue the government amongſt themſelves; but that failing them, they adjourned the meeting of their general aſſembly to the 2d of October next, and broke up with hopes, that, either by ſome unhappy accidents in the affairs of ſtate at home, or ſome diſſention raiſed by their artifices among the members in this new government, they might prevail ſo far as to diſſolve this conſtitution, and reaſſume the government, which to accompliſh, they are very ſolicitous.—Of a preſident and 18 members of the council, there is only myſelf, ſince Mr. Maſon's departure for England, that is of the church of England. It was never intended that the charge ſhould be ſupported by myſelf and ſome few others of our communion. I humbly repreſent to your Grace, that the three meeting-houſes in Boſton might pay twenty ſhillings a week each out of their contributions, towards defraying of our church charges, that ſum being leſs per annum than each of their miniſters receive. Thus much relating to the affairs of our church. That of our ſtate little differs. Moſt part of our chief officers, as juſtices of peace, &c. are congregational men; not above three church of England men are officers in the militia; ſo that, in the main, I can only aſſure your grace, that the perſons only, and not the government, is changed." *Rand. letter to Abp. of Cant.*

Mr. Dudley's commiſſion made him preſident of the council for Maſſachuſetts-Bay, New-Hampſhire and Main, and the Narraganſet country, or King's province; William Stoughton was named deputy preſident; Simon Bradſtreet, Robert Maſon, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pynchon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Winthrop, Richard Wharton, John Uſher, Nathaniel Saltonſtall, Bartholomew Gidney, Jonathan Tyng, Dudley Bradſtret, John Hinks and Edward Tyng, were named of the council, not by ſeparate warrants or by mandamus, but all in one commiſſion.

Beſides the preſident, Stoughton, Bulkley, Pynchon, Gidney and Tyng had been of the aſſiſtants before. N. Saltonſtall, who was alſo in the commiſſion, appeared once to excuſe himſelf, having a few days before taken the oath of aſſiſtant. The governor, Mr. Bradſtreet, was alſo named; and the preſident, with the council, waited upon him at his houſe, the 14th of May, immediately upon opening the commiſſion; but he made ſeveral excuſes, and did not accept. His ſon, Dudley Bradſtreet, alſo refuſed.

after grew cool towards him. Randolph in return vilified Dudley, in a great number of letters he wrote to London about a month after his arrival, which letters, or the copies, are preſerved.* Mr. Stoughton was Mr. Dudley's chief confidant. He was not ſuſpected by the body of the people of being unfriendly, or of want of ſtrong attachment to the religious principles and to the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the country; and his compliance, in taking a ſhare in the adminiſtration, was charitably ſuppoſed to be, at leaſt in part, for the ſake of keeping out oppreſſors and tyrants. Mr. Dudley profeſſed as great an attachment to the intereſt of the colony as Mr. Stoughton, and was very deſirous of retaining their favour. A letter, the day he demanded the government, to Mr. Mather, then the miniſter of the greateſt influence in the colony, is a proof of it.† The people were not ſo charitable as to believe him ſincere. However, there was no moleſtation to the churches of the colony, but they continued both worſhip and diſcipline as before. The affairs of the towns were likewiſe managed in the ſame manner as formerly.

Their courts of juſtice were continued upon the former plan, Mr. Stoughton being at the head of them. Trials were by juries, as uſual. Even in the court of admiralty, the trials were by juries; but, as the jurors were returned by

* Randolph writes to one of the nobility, by Mr. Dudley, when he went to England agent for the colony, "Major Dudley is a great oppoſer of the faction "againſt which I have now articled to his Majeſty." October 27, 1686, he writes to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, "I have taken care to inform myſelf "how the money ſent over here for evangelizing the Indians is diſpoſed of. Here "are ſeven perſons, called commiſſioners, or truſtees, who have the ſole manage-"ment of it; the chief of which are, Mr. Dudley, our preſident, a man of a "baſe, ſervile, and antimonarchical principle; Mr. Stoughton, of the old leaven; "Mr. Richards, a man not to be truſted in public buſineſs; Mr. Hinkley, a rig-"id independant; and others like to theſe," &c.

† "Reverend and dear Sir,

"I roſe this morning with full intention to wait on you by eight of the clock, "before I had your letter to put me forward, and am ſorry to find you from "home. I am very ſolicitous, whatſoever be the iſſue of the preſent hurry, for "my dear mother at Cambridge, and cannot be happy if it do not flouriſh. I "never wanted your favour and advice ſo much as now, and would pray an oppor-"tunity with you this evening if poſſible. Sir, for the things of my ſoul I have "theſe many years hung upon your lips, and ever ſhall, and in civil things am de-"ſirous you may know with all plainneſs my reaſons of proceeding, and that they "may be ſatisfactory to you.. I am,

"From your own houſe, Sir, your ſervant,

"May 12th, 86. DUDLEY.

by the marſhal, very different verdicts were given from what would have been given under the former adminiſtration. The preſident, as ordinary, took all matters of wills and adminiſtrations into his own hand. In general, the former laws and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, ſo far as related to judicial proceedings, ſeem to have been their rule, although the government which framed them was diſſolved. Mr. Dudley conſidered himſelf as appointed to preſerve the affairs of the colony from confuſion until a governor arrived, and a rule of adminiſtration ſhould be more fully ſettled. The neceſſity of the thing juſtified the former magiſtrates in continuing, ſo long as they did, to exerciſe authority, although the judgment againſt the charter had been declared in form; otherwiſe, under the ſame adminiſtration in England, which had cauſed their charter to be vacated, they would undoubtedly have been called to anſwer. But their authority was weak. Mr. Dudley writes to his friend Randolph, Sept. 1685, "I ſuppoſe it cannot be thought "expedient or ſafe to let the government here be at ſuch "ſtrange uncertainties, as it muſt needs be, until his Ma"jeſty's pleaſure be known."

Connecticut, Plymouth and Rhode-Iſland continued their former adminiſtration. Mr. Dudley had ſome diſpute with Plymouth governor concerning the admiralty juriſdiction, which he claimed as vice-admiral of New-England, but it remained undetermined.

December 19, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Nantaſket, in the Kingfiſher, a fifty gun ſhip, with commiſſions from King James for the government of New-England. He was leſs dreaded than Kirk, but he was known to be of an arbitrary diſpoſition. He kept a correſpondence with the colony, whilſt he was governor of New-York. His letters, then, diſcovered much of the dictator. The depreſſed ſtate of the colony prevented a proper return. He landed at Boſton the 20th, and his commiſſion was publiſhed the ſame day.

The beginning of his adminiſtration gave great encouragement. He made high profeſſions of regard to the public good and the welfare of the people, both of merchants and planters; directed the judges to adminiſter juſtice according

cording to the cuſtom of the place; ordered the former eſtabliſhed rules to be obſerved as to rates and taxes, and that all the colony laws not inconſiſtent with his commiſſion ſhould be in force.

The major part of his council were men, who, although they had been of the moderate party, yet they wiſhed the public intereſt, and would have been glad to have continued under the old form of government. With a good ſhare of firmneſs of mind they might have been ſerviceable ſo long as they were permitted to hold their places in council. But their behaviour under the old charter diſcovered they had more of the willow than of the oak in their conſtitutions. Perhaps if they had been leſs pliable they would have ſoon been diſplaced, and others more inclined to oppreſſion appointed in their ſtead.* Sir Edmund had no affection for them. Palmer, Brockholt, Maſon, Uſher, and Randolph, of the council, together with Weſt, Bullivant, Graham † and others, who were not of the council, were his confidants and adviſers. Soon after his arrival, there appears, by ſome looſe minutes, to have been a pretty full meeting of the council. Many of them returned home, and a few only who lived at or near Boſton attended conſtantly, and ſome of thoſe complained that the governor had always three or four of his creatures to ſay yes to every thing he propoſed, after which no oppoſition was allowed.

* There are no public records from the diſſolution of the old charter government in 1686, until the reſtoration of it in 1689. If there was any book of records, it was ſecreted or deſtroyed. I cannot find, upon any of the files, a liſt of Sir Edmund's council. By accident, I met with a liſt of their names upon a defenſive leaf of an old colony law book, which liſt I ſuppoſe to be genuine, viz.

Maſ. Joſeph Dudley	M. Richard Wharton	P. Nath. Clark
M. Will. Stoughton	N.Y. Henry Courtland	John Cothill
N. Ham. Robert Maſon	M. John Uſher	R. Walter Newberry
N. Y. Anth. Brockholt	M. Barth. Gidney	R. John Greene
Plym. Tho. Hinkley	M. Jor. Tyng	R. Richard Arnold
R. I. Walter Clark	N. H. John Hinks	R. John Alborow
Con. Robert Treat	M. Edward Tyng	M. Sam. Shrimpton
C. John Fitz Winthrop	P. Barnabas Lothrop	N. Y. John Young
N. Y. Francis Nicholſon	P. Wm. Bradford	N. Y. Nich. Bayard
N. Y. Frederick Philipſe	P. Daniel Smith	N. Y. John Palmer
N. Y. Anthony Baxter	Edwd. Randolph	M. Wm. Brown
M. John Pinchon	P. John Sprague	R. Richd. Smith
C. Wait Winthrop	P. John Walley	C. John Allin.

† Jacob Leiſler writes to Mr. Bradſtreet, after the revolution, that "Col. Dongan, in his time, had erected a Jeſuit's college at New-York, under colour of a grammar ſchool, and that Palmer and Graham ſent their ſons thither for education." Douglaſs ſays that "Sir Edmund Andros was a bigotted papiſt." I have met with no evidence of it.

allowed.* Nero concealed his tyrannical diſpoſition more years than Sir Edmund and his creatures did months. It was not long before the caſe of ſome who apprehended themſelves oppreſſed came under conſideration; one of the council [Dudley] told them that they muſt not think the privileges of Engliſhmen would follow them to the end of the world. This gave an alarm through the government, and it was never forgotten.

One of the firſt acts of power, after the change of government, was the reſtraint of the preſs. Randolph was the licenſer. There was not ſo much room to complain of this proceeding as if the preſs had been at liberty before. It only changed its keeper, having been long under reſtraint during the former adminiſtration. A reſtraint upon marriages was more grievous. None were allowed to marry except they entered into bonds with ſureties to the governor, to be forfeited in caſe there ſhould afterwards appear to have been any lawful impediment. Magiſtrates ſtill continued to join people in matrimony. Other proviſion could not immediately be made. There was but one epiſcopal miniſter in the country; his name was Ratcliffe. Sir Edmund conſidered the congregational miniſters as mere laymen. Randolph wrote to the biſhop of London, "I preſs for able and ſober miniſters, and we "will contribute largely to their maintenance; but one "thing will mainly help, when no marriages ſhall hereafter "be allowed lawful but ſuch as are made by the miniſters "of the church of England."

There had been very few inſtances of even occaſional aſſemblies for religious worſhip according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England for more than fifty years. When the commiſſioners from King Charles were at Boſton, in 1665, they had a chaplain with them, but there was no houſe for public worſhip. Moſt of the inhabitants who were upon the ſtage in 1686 had never ſeen a church of England aſſembly. About that time, a ſmall number of perſons formed themſelves into a ſociety, which had

* Randolph to Blaithwait, May 21, 1687. "His Excellency has to do with a "perverſe people. Here is none of the council at hand, except Mr Maſon and "myſelf, Mr. Brockholt and Mr. Uſher, who appear lively for his Majeſty's in-"tereſt."

had increaſed, if we may give credit to Randolph, in 1686, to near 400 perſons.* The agents in England, and the general court, in their anſwers to the complaints againſt them in 1677, had declared that no perſons ſhould be hindered from performing divine ſervice according to the church of England.† This was enough to prevent any open diſcouragement, even whilſt the charter government continued. When the governor and many of the council were members of the church of England, it might well be expected that they would countenance and encourage the eſtabliſhment and growth of that church. They did not ſtop there. The people were menaced that their meeting-houſes ſhould be taken from them, and that public worſhip in the congregational way ſhould not be tolerated.‡ Randolph had the inſolence to reprove and threaten the governor of Plymouth for exacting taxes from the quakers for the ſupport of the miniſtry in that colony before the authority was ſuperſeded.‖ But it was not long before the people

* "I have ſome time ſince humbly repreſented unto your Grace a neceſſity of "having a church built in Boſton, to receive thoſe of the church of England. "We have at preſent near 400 perſons who are daily frequenters of our church, "and as many more would come over to us, but ſome being tradeſmen, and "others of mechanic profeſſions, are threatened by the congregational men to be "arreſted by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they offer to "come to our church." *Rand. letter to Abp. of Cant. Oct.* 27, 1686.

† "A diſpute happened at the grave of one Lilly. He left the ordering of his funeral to his executors. They forbad Mr. Ratcliffe, the epiſcopal miniſter, performing the ſervice for burial. Nevertheleſs he began. Deacon Frairey interrupted him, and a ſtop was put to his proceeding. Frairey was complained of, and beſides being bound to his good behaviour for twelve months, it was thought the proceſs would coſt him 100 marks." *J. Moodey's letter to Mather. 8. Feb.* 88.

‡ Among other complaints againſt Sir Edmund, this was one, "That the ſervice of the church of England had been forced into their meeting-houſes." This was an equivocal expreſſion. Sir Edmund had made uſe of a meeting-houſe for the church ſervice, againſt the wills of the proprietors, but after their ſervice was over, and compelled no congregationaliſt to join with him. Indeed, he threatened to ſhut up the doors if he was refuſed, and to puniſh any man who gave two pence towards the ſupport of a nonconformiſt miniſter. *Narrative, &c.*

‖ "Perhaps it will be as reaſonable to move that your colony ſhould be rated "to pay our miniſter of the church of England, who now preaches in Boſton, "and you hear him not, as to make the quakers pay in your colony." *Rand. letter to Hinkley, June 22d*, 1686. The late governor of Plymouth, Mr. Hinkley, complained of this, as one great grievance, that not being allowed to make rates for the ſupport of the miniſtry, the people would ſink into barbariſm. Sir Edmund writes to him, March 5, 1687: "I am very much ſurpriſed you ſhould iſſue "forth ſo extraordinary a warrant as is now brought to me, under your hand and "ſeal, dated the 12th of December paſt, ſo much miſtaken and aſſuming (for "payment of your miniſter) extrajudicially to command diſtreſs to be made on "the goods of his Majeſty's ſubjects. Out of regard to you, I have put a ſtop "to the execution thereof, that neither the conſtable nor you may be expoſed. "Hoping

people were freed from their fears of perfecution, by King James's proclamation for a general toleration. The deſign was ſeen by ſome, but the greater part ſwallowed the bait. Several churches had agreed to ſet apart days of thankſgiving for his Majeſty's gracious declaration for liberty of conſcience. The governor forbad them. The reaſon is not mentioned. It muſt be ſuppoſed to have been this, that he looked upon it to be the royal prerogative to appoint ſuch days. He told them they ſhould meet at their peril, and that he would ſend ſoldiers to guard their meeting-houſes. Many congregations agreed to addreſs the King. Some perſons, who ſuppoſed popery to be at the bottom, ſtrongly oppoſed the addreſſes. The late deputy governor was at the head of them.*

Swearing by the book, which had never been practiſed, was now introduced; and ſuch as ſcrupled it were fined and impriſoned.

The fees to all officers under the charter had been very low. They are generally ſo where they are eſtabliſhed by the people. Under the new adminiſtration they were exorbitant. Fifty ſhillings was the common fee for probate of a will. The governor was ſupreme ordinary, and acted by himſelf,† except a few months whilſt he was at New-York and in the eaſtern country, when Mr. Dudley was his

"Hoping you will be mindful of the ſtation you are in, for his Majeſty's ſervice "and the quiet of his ſubjects, that they be not amuſed or troubled by miſtaken "notions, or clandeſtine illegal practices," &c. Mr. Willard writes to Mr. Mather, July 10, 1688, "Diſcouragements upon the hearts of the miniſters in"creaſe, by reaſon that a licentious people take the advantage of a liberty to "withhold maintenance from them."

* "Referring to an addreſs to his Majeſty, I do humbly propound and deſire, that no mention be made of the proclamation for a general toleration. There will be no need of touching upon it in the leaſt, and I am aſſured many dangerous rocks will be ſhunned thereby. For my own part, I do more dread the conſequences thereof than the execution of thoſe penal laws, the only wall againſt popery. We may, without breach of charity, conclude the popiſh counſels are laid deep. Time will ſhew more. God Almighty bring them to nought." *Danforth to Mather*, 8. *Nov.* 87.

Douglaſs ſays, "They were not politicians ſufficient to penetrate into the wicked and pernicious contrivance of that toleration." V. I. p. 440.

† He introduced the forms uſed in the ſpiritual courts, in proving wills, granting adminiſtrations, &c. which forms have been retained in the ſeveral counties ever ſince. Before his time, both probates of wills and granting adminiſtrations, in point of form, were very looſe and uncertain.

his deputy.* It was a great burthen upon widows and children, who lived remote, to be obliged to come to Boston for every part of buſineſs relative to the ſettlements of eſtates. The fees of all other officers were complained of as oppreſſive. The harpies themſelves quarrelled about their ſhare of the prey. Randolph, who, from his commiſſion of ſecretary, expected all the clerkſhips in the country, complains that Weſt, who ſeems at firſt to have been a deputy only, ran away with a thouſand a year of his dues.†

But the greateſt profit aroſe from patents for lands. The charter being vacated, the people were told that their titles to their eſtates were of no value. The expreſſion in vogue was, that "the calf died in the cow's belly." Beſides, the general court had not made their grants under the ſeal of the colony. This was repreſented as a notable defect, which poſſeſſion and improvement could not heal. However, it was made public, that all who would acknowledge the inſufficiency of their title derived from the former government, by petitioning for new patents ſhould be quieted upon reaſonable terms. The fees for the patents varied according to circumſtances both of perſons and eſtates. In the complaint to King James it is alledged, that the fees of ſome amounted to fifty pounds. Prudence was uſed. Men's titles were not queſtioned all at once. Had this been the caſe, according to the computation then made,

* There was a commiſſion or deputation to Mr. Hinkley, to be judge of the prerogative court for Plymouth colony, and I ſuppoſe others to Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland and New-Hampſhire; but wills were ſent to Boſton for final probate, and in like manner adminiſtrations, if the eſtate exceeded 50l. *Hinkley to Blaithwait.*

† Randolph farmed his office to Weſt, which cauſed the laſt mentioned to exact much greater fees than the former had done. *Hinkley's letter to Blaithwait, June 28, 1687.*

Randolph's own letters ſhew this to have been the caſe. "Weſt extorts what fees he pleaſes, to the great oppreſſion of the people, and renders the preſent government grievous. I have wrote you the want we have of two or three honeſt attornies, if any ſuch thing in nature. We have but two, one is Mr. Weſt's creature, came with him from New-York, and drives all before him; he alſo takes extravagant fees, and for want of more the country cannot avoid coming to him. I have wrote Mr. Blaithwait the great neceſſity of judges from England. I know there are ſome loyal gentlemen and able lawyers who have not practice. The judges with us, being now three, have three hundred and ninety pounds a year between them all, beſides their fees, which they make very conſiderable to them. Now two will ſerve our occaſions. They ought to be of the council, and their ſalaries made up four hundred pounds a year apiece; they well deſerve it." *Randolph to Povey, Jan. 24, 1687.*

made, all the perſonal eſtate in the colony would not have paid the charge of the new patents. Some that had been moſt attached to the old adminiſtration were among the firſt who were threatened. I find a petition of Samuel Sewall, who had been a magiſtrate (afterwards chief juſtice) for confirmation of his title to a valuable iſland in Boſton harbour (Hog-iſland.) In a letter to a friend, a ſhort time after, he laments his compliance. There are many hundred petitions of the ſame kind upon the files. Some favourites looked with an envious eye upon ſome of the beſt eſtates, eſpecially where the property was in a town or company. A petition of Capt. Hutchinſon and others laboured, although their title was originally derived from the Indian ſachems and proprietors, and the lands had been long poſſeſſed and improved. One of the beſt iſlands in New-England, in Plymouth harbour, called Clark's iſland, from the name of the perſon who firſt landed there, had been appropriated for the benefit of the poor of the town. This was granted to Nathaniel Clark, who had been ſecretary of that colony, and was afterwards of Sir Edmund's council, and one of his greateſt tools.* Randolph petitioned for half an acre of land, to be taken out of the common in Boſton, for a houſe lot. The anſwer given to it does not appear. In the latter part of the adminiſtration petitions multiplied greatly, and property became every day more and more precarious.† This was not the only invaſion

* "Awful and conſiderable changes have attended poor Plymouth ſince your "departure from the Gurnet, by reaſon of the motions about Clark's iſland. The "committee choſen about that affair, were at ſo much charge as neceſſitated our "people to engage, by free and voluntary ſubſcriptions, to reimburſe them, and "to vote the ſecuring ſome lands till the money was paid to them. For this, "Lorkin fetches the committee with a writ, charging that they had reſolved and "raiſed money upon his Majeſty's ſubjects, contrary to law; and the town "clerk, godly deacon Fance, for calling for the vote, and Mr. Wiſwall, for writing "the paper, paid three pounds ſeven ſhillings each, beſides expenſes, and all "nine are bound over to the ſuperior court at Boſton, where they are like to be "conſiderably fined, beſides all coſts of court, &c." *J. Cotton's letter to Mather, Plymouth, July* 9, 1688.

† I find the following letter on this ſubject, from the late governor to a perſon of note.

"Honoured Sir,

"I have been ſo interrupted ſince you was here, that I have not begun any matter of argument to prove our right and title to our lands, nor can it well be done, until all their objections be known, nor do I think I can add any thing which is not in your own thoughts. The brief heads that are in my preſent thoughts are as followeth. 1ſt. The grant of the council of Plymouth to the ſix gentlemen

invaſion of their property. The governor, with four or five of his council, laid what taxes they thought proper. This the people complained of as their greateſt grievance. They thought themſelves entitled to the liberties and immunities of free and natural born Engliſh ſubjects, and that conſequently no monies ought to be raiſed from them but by their repreſentatives. They had no hopes of a reſtitution of their charter privileges in general, but they hoped that even under ſo arbitrary a Prince they ſhould be allowed a houſe of repreſentatives.* This was among the firſt things they applied for. King James aſſured their agent, he would take as much care of New as of Old England; and no doubt he intended to bring his ſubjects in both under the ſame regulation. The charges of government, over and above the fees of the ſeveral officers, were not exceſſive.

gentlemen and their aſſociates. 2dly. The King's confirmation to them and twenty more, and their aſſigns, empowering them in general court, to diſpoſe of the lands to the beſt advantage of the people and plantation; which we have done, and know not how to do it better if it was to be done again. A ſecond right and title is our purchaſe from the Indians of their right, which certainly was ſomething. 3dly. Our poſſeſſion and improvement for almoſt ſixty years. If this will not give right to land in a wilderneſs where neither the King nor any chriſtian had ever any property, I know not what will. The only objection inſiſted upon that I hear of, is, that our lands were not granted under the ſeal of the company. Anſ. Nor was it neceſſary that ſo it ſhould be. 1ſt. Our patent doth not require it, but leaves the manner of diſpoſing to our liberty; nor is there any law of England that requires us here, in this caſe, to grant lands under the ſeal of the company, nor is it neceſſary for proprietors of lands in England ſo to do. It is true, where land is conveyed by deed, a ſeal is eſſential; but it may be done as well by livery and ſeizure, without the deed or other writing, as the law book tells us: And copyholders in England have no other evidence for their lands but the court roll, or a copy of it. When William the conqueror made himſelf maſter of the land, he gave a great part of it to his nobles and followers, but without any ſeal, for there was none uſed in England many ſcores if not hundreds of years after, which ſhews it is no ſtrange thing to convey land without ſeal. And if there ſhould have been an error or omiſſion, yet ſeeing the grantor and grantees judged it good and reſted ſatisfied therein, who ſhall queſtion it, or hath any thing to do with it? I am,

Sir, your willing ſervant in what may, S. B."

"In point of equity—Our great ſufferings, firſt and laſt, and loſs of ſo many lives to maintain our own right and the King's intereſt, and the vaſt charge we have been at in private and public buildings and improvements, ought to have a juſt conſideration. Would it not ſeem a ſtrange thing, that a piece of ground in the wilderneſs, not worth five ſhillings, but by buildings, &c. worth five hundred pounds, ſhould become the King's, I know not how? We may be ſure ſo juſt a prince will never allow it."

* "Let me adviſe not to repreſent any thing by way of complaint to his Majeſty, for that, I fear, will do us more hurt than good. My letter by Belcher may be of uſe, to ſhew our friends why we ſupplicate his Majeſty to confirm us in our poſſeſſions, and to grant us the ſame privileges which other of his plantations are not denied, viz. a general aſſembly, without which our condition is little inferior to abſolute ſlavery." *Danforth to Nowell*, 22*d Oct.* 88.

ſive. Under the charter the ſalaries were below the dignity of the offices, the higheſt allowance to the governor not exceeding one hundred pounds per annum. What ſalary Sir Edmund received does not appear. The ſecond year of his adminiſtration the public charge was greatly increaſed by a war with the Indians. There was a general ſubmiſſion to the taxes, and the aſſeſſments were proportioned upon the inhabitants of the towns by officers choſen by themſelves. It is probable this was the reaſon of continuing to the towns ſome of their privileges. Every town was ſuffered to meet once a year to chooſe their officers, but all meetings at other times or for other purpoſes were ſtrictly forbidden. An entire new model of government was intended, but there was not time to perfect it. There are minutes of a great number of bills paſſed the council and approved by the governor, but the bills themſelves are loſt. The old laws of the colony ſeem to have continued the rule for the adminiſtration of juſtice, except where they were ſuperſeded by any new edicts. Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton were two of the judges of the ſuperior court, and neither of them diſpoſed to go to the extremes which ſome others of the council wiſhed for.* The law proceedings were more formal than they had been.

The monies applied for the propagation of the goſpel among the Indians amounted to ſix or ſeven hundred pounds ſterling per annum, which continued to be entruſted with ſome of the old magiſtrates and miniſters. Mr. Boyle,† who had been long governor of the corporation in England, was a very moderate churchman; and moſt of the members were diſſenters or favourers of the cauſe. The archbiſhop of Canterbury promiſed Randolph‡ that a

* "His excellency tries all ways to bring the people to quit rents. ——— A little time will try what our new judges, Dudley and Stoughton, will ſay, when either Indian purchaſes or grants from the general court are queſtioned before them." *Randolph's letter to Povey, May 21, 1687.*

† Mr. Boyle died in 1692, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Thompſon.

‡ "The poor Indians (thoſe who are called miniſters) come and complain to Mr. Ratcliffe, our miniſter, that they have nothing allowed them. We have ſpoken to the commiſſioners to have ſome allowance for them. All we can get is the promiſe of a coarſe coat againſt winter; and they would not ſuffer Aaron, an Indian preacher, who can read Engliſh very well, to have a bible with the common prayer in it, but took it away from him. I humbly preſume to remind your

a commiſſion ſhould be directed to ſome perſons to audit and report the accounts of that money. The legality of ſuch a commiſſion, it being contrary to the charter of the corporation, might have been queſtioned perhaps with as good reaſon as the legality of the royal order, which his grace and the ſix biſhops ſoon after very juſtly refuſed to obey. One would think that merely a difference of place ſhould not make the ſame meaſure towards Engliſh ſubjects appear reaſonable in the one caſe, and arbitrary and oppreſſive in the other. The archbiſhop either altered his ſentiments, or was diverted by greater affairs from purſuing his deſign.

The Indians upon the frontiers, in the ſummer of 1688, renewed their hoſtilities. A garriſon had been kept at Pemaquid, but it was no ſecurity to the ſcattered ſettlements upon the frontiers. The governor, from a prejudice againſt the late adminiſtration, by whom, without ſufficient grounds for it, he ſuppoſed the Indians had been treated with too great ſeverity, if not injuſtice, reſolved to try mild meaſures, and endeavour to win them by good words and ſmall courteſies. Randolph writes to William Penn, Nov. 9, 1688, "This barbarous people, the In-"dians, were never civilly treated by the late government, "who made it their buſineſs to encroach upon their lands, "and by degrees to drive them out of all. That was the "grounds and the beginning of the laſt war. His excel-"lency has all along taken other meaſures with them. I "hope the proclamation, and the Indians' confidence in "the governor's favour to ſuch as ſhall ſubmit, may put "a ſtop to their preſent rage." Caſtine, a Frenchman who lived among the Indians at Penobſcot, made profeſſion of friendſhip to the Engliſh; but was ſuſpected to be a falſe friend, and to ſtir up the Indians againſt them. His trading houſe was plundered this year whilſt he was abſent from it, which he rightly charged upon the Engliſh. The Indians

your Grace of your promiſe to me, when in England, that a commiſſion ſhould be directed to ſome perſons here, unconcerned, to audit and report their accounts of that money. We want good ſchoolmaſters, none here being allowed of but of ill principles. The money now converted unto private, or worſe uſes, will be ſufficient to ſet up good and public ſchools, and provide a maintenance for our miniſter, who now lives upon a ſmall contribution. We are yet forced to meet in his own houſe." *Randolph, Oct. 28, 1686, to Abp. of Canterbury.*

Indians informed ſome of their captives, that Caſtine furniſhed every Indian who engaged againſt the Engliſh with a pound of powder, two pounds of lead, and a quantity of tobacco. Some cattle belonging to the inhabitants of North-Yarmouth having been killed by the Indians, a juſtice of peace, —— Blackman, ſeized a party of 18 or 20 Indians at or near Saco. Repriſals were made the 5th Sept. and one Henry Smith and his family taken at New-Dartmouth; and the next day Edward Taylor and his family were taken from the ſame place, and all carried to Taconnett, up Kennebeck river, where they found nine captives taken from the lower parts of the river. The Indians killed divers of theſe captives in their frolics, as appears by Smith's examination, who made his eſcape from them.* Sir Edmund was then at New-York.† Upon his return to Boſton he ordered the Indians which Blackman had ſeized to be releaſed. The Indians returned ſeveral Engliſh captives in exchange. The 20th October, he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding the Indians to ſet at liberty his Majeſty's ſubjects lately taken by them; and that ſuch Indians, as had been actually concerned in the murder of any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, ſhould ſurrender themſelves by the 11th of November, to anſwer for their crimes, or otherwiſe be purſued and proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity; and all that were innocent were allowed to live near the Engliſh towns if they deſired it, and all perſons were to take notice and conform themſelves accordingly. The Indians treated the proclamation with contempt. The Engliſh, being laid under reſtraint, were more unſafe than if war had been publicly declared.

The people in general, as has been obſerved, were patient under the new government. There are a few inſtances of proſecution for contempt of, or oppoſition to, the authority. One John Gold of Topsfield was tried, and convicted, by verdict of a jury, of treaſonable words (what they were is not mentioned) and fined fifty pounds, &c. Mr. Appleton of Ipſwich, who had been an aſſiſtant, and Mr.

* Mr. Neale ſuppoſes the firſt blood to be ſhed afterwards at North-Yarmouth.

† Maſon, one of his council, died in the journey to York with Sir Edmund at Eſopus.

Mr. Wiſe, the miniſter of that town, were imprisoned.* Mr. Wiſe, after the revolution, brought an action againſt Mr. Dudley, chief judge, for denying him the benefit of the habeas corpus act. Mr. Mather, one of the miniſters of Boſton, had been a very active perſon in diſſuading from the ſurrender of the charter, and publiſhed reaſons againſt it. Randolph frequently mentions him in his letters, as a factious perſon. He behaved with ſo much prudence as to give no room to take hold of any part of his conduct. A forged letter was therefore forwarded, in his name, by way of Barbados, directed to a perſon in Amſterdam, but intercepted and ſhewn by Randolph to Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was reflected upon in the letter. There were many paſſages in favour of Ferguſon, Lord Shaftſbury, Oates, &c. all which muſt have made the writer obnoxious to the King and his miniſters, and raiſed a prejudice againſt the country. Sir Lionel either ſuſpected the forgery, or treated the thing with contempt, aſking whether it was the ſtargazer † wrote it; ſo that Randolph miſſed his aim. Mr. Mather, two or three years after, being informed of the danger he had been in, exculpated himſelf in a letter to a friend, and charged the forgery upon Randolph or his brother. This letter coming to Randolph's knowledge, he brought an action of defamation againſt Mr. Mather, and laid his damage at five hundred pounds. The jury gave the defendant coſts. But Randolph, I know not how, was bringing a new action for the ſame defamation. Mr. Mather's friends adviſing him of it, he kept concealed to avoid the ſervice of the writ. About this time ſome of the principal men of the colony flattered themſelves that they might obtain a partial relief by a repreſentation of their grievances to the King, and Mr. Mather was thought a proper perſon to be their agent or meſſenger, and he embarked

* This was the puniſhment for remonſtrating in an addreſs againſt the taxes as a heavy grievance, ſuch an addreſs being preferred about this time. The ſelectmen of Ipſwich voted, "That inaſmuch as it is againſt the privilege of Engliſh ſubjects to have money raiſed without their own conſent in an aſſembly or parliament, therefore they will petition the King for liberty of an aſſembly before they make any rates." Sir Edmund cauſed them to be impriſoned and fined, ſome 20, ſome 30, and ſome 50l. as the judges by him inſtructed ſhould ſee meet to determine. *Narrative of New-England miſeries, &c.*

† Mr. Mather had juſt before publiſhed a diſcourſe upon comets.

embarked in the night and in disguise. The service of Randolph's writ would have prevented his voyage.*

There seems to have been but little room to hope for success. King James was making daily advances towards despotism in England. It was not likely that he should consent to any degree of liberty in the colonies. Sir Edmund knew too well the disposition of his master to give himself any concern about the complaints preferred against him. There were two persons in London at that time who had been assistants under the charter, Samuel Nowell and Elisha Hutchinson. They joined with Mr Mather in a remonstrance to the King. One of the new council, Richard Wharton, sensible of the distresses of the country, concurred with the others also, as appears by his letters; but all was to no purpose. At first, indeed, a report was agreed upon by the committee for foreign plantations, in which an assembly was mentioned; but Lord Sunderland struck out that clause with his own hand, before the report was presented.† The inhabitants of Cambridge made a particular application;‡ and Mr. Hinkley, the late governor

* Mr. Mather failed in April, 1688. Some of his church carried him aboard in the night in disguise. † Narrative of miseries, &c.

‡ Cambridge address was in the following words:

"To the King's most excellent Majesty,

"The petition and address of John Gibson, aged about 87, and George Willow, aged 86 years, as also on behalf of their neighbours the inhabitants of "Cambridge in New-England, in most humble wise sheweth,

"That your Majesty's good subjects with much hard labour and great disbursements have subdued a wilderness, built our houses, and planted orchards; "being encouraged by our indubitable right to the soil, by the royal charter "granted unto the first planters, together with our first purchase of the natives, "as also by sundry letters and declarations sent to the late governor and company from his late Majesty your royal brother, assuring us of the full enjoyment "of our properties and possessions, as is more especially contained in the declaration sent, when the quo warranto was issued out against our charter. But we "are necessitated to make this our moan and complaint to your excellent Majesty, "for that our title is now questioned to our lands by us quietly possessed for near "60 years, and without which we cannot subsist. Our humble address to our "governor, Sir Edmund Andros, shewing our just title, long and peaceable possession, together with our claim of the benefit of your Majesty's letters and declarations, assuring all your good subjects that they shall not be molested in "their properties and possessions, not availing.

"Royal Sir, We are a poor people, and have no way to procure money to defend our cause in the law, nor know we of friends at court; and therefore unto your royal Majesty, as the public father of all your subjects, do we make this "our humble address for relief; beseeching your Majesty graciously to pass your royal act for the confirmation of your Majesty's subjects here in our possessions "to us, derived from our late governor and company of this your Majesty's colony. We now humbly cast ourselves and the distressed condition of our wives "and children at your Majesty's feet, and conclude with that saying of Queen "Esther, If we perish, we perish." *Narrative of N. E. Miseries.*

governor of Plymouth, petitioned in behalf of that colony. The ſum of the application made by the agents was contained in the following heads, viz.

"That his Majeſty's ſubjects in New-England may "be quieted in the poſſeſſion of all property, both in "houſes and lands, as they enjoyed them before the gov- "ernment was changed on the 24th May, 1686; and "that the ancient records there ſettled for title of lands "may be confirmed.

"That there be liberty of conſcience in matters of re- "ligion; that their former methods of ſwearing in giving "evidence may be allowed; and that all their meeting- "houſes may be left free to them, according to the inten- "tion of the builders thereof.

"That no laws may be made nor monies raiſed there, "without the conſent of a general aſſembly, as it is in the "other plantations.

"That all townſhips may have liberty to aſſemble and "manage the buſineſs of their ſeveral precincts as under "the former government, and have power to receive and "diſpoſe of all voluntary contributions.

"That the college at Cambridge in New-England, the "revenues thereunto belonging, be confirmed in the "hands of a preſident and fellows as formerly."

This application meeting with no ſucceſs, the agents preferred the following petition.

"To the right honourable the Lords Committee for "trade and plantations.

"The humble petition of Increaſe Mather, Samuel "Nowell, and Eliſha Hutchinſon, ſheweth,

"That ſince your Lordſhips ſeem to be of opinion that "his Majeſty will not at preſent grant an aſſembly to be "held within his dominion of New-England for the mak- "ing of laws or raiſing of money, the petitioners humbly "conceive that it will be much for his Majeſty's ſervice "and the peaceable government of his ſubjects there, that, "until his Majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to grant an "aſſembly, the council ſhould conſiſt of ſuch perſons as ſhall "be conſiderable proprietors of lands within his Majeſty's "dominions; and that, the counties being continued as

" at preſent, each county may have one at leaſt of ſuch " of the inhabitants of the ſame to be members thereof. " And that no acts may paſs for law but ſuch as have or " ſhall be voted by the manifeſt conſent of the major part " of the council. And that all laws ſo made may, by " printing, be publiſhed for the general inſtruction of all " the inhabitants.

" Your petitioners therefore moſt humbly pray, that " your Lordſhips would be pleaſed favourably to report " the ſame to his Majeſty for his gracious direction and " order therein; and your petitioners as in duty bound " ſhall pray, &c."

However modeſt theſe deſires may appear to us at this day, who are in the poſſeſſion of ſuch ample privileges, yet they could not prevail in the reign of King James. The ſolicitations in England had not the leaſt influence upon meaſures in New-England.*

Writs of intruſion were brought againſt ſome of the principal perſons in the colony, who refuſed to petition for patents. Col. Shrimpton hired Deer-iſland of the town of Boſton; the rent was appropriated to the ſupport of a ſchool. An action was commenced for recovering poſſeſſion.† Beſides the real oppreſſions from this arbitrary adminiſtration, many groundleſs jealouſies were raiſed, which increaſed the terror of the people. Caſtine, it was intimated, was robbed with the privity of the authority, in order to incenſe the French and Indians.‡ Upon the firſt inſurrection of the Indians, the inhabitants began to fortify and garriſon their houſes. Sir Edmund ordered them to deſiſt. An

* June 21, 1688. Randolph writes, with an air of triumph, that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk. [This is not a fair repreſentation. The words were ſpoken of Dongan's agents at Pemaquid, and by way of *diſapprobation* of their proceedings. See Hutchinſon's collection of papers, p. 565.]

† Beſides the general exception to all titles, that they were derived from a grantor which had no title, in the caſe of towns there was this further, that they were not capable of taking any eſtate.

‡ Sir Edmund had given orders to Pipon, commander of the fort at Pemaquid, to range the coaſt as far as St. Croix. This appears by a letter from Pipon to the governor, and the whole was included in Sir Edmund's commiſſion. But Dr. Mather gives this reaſon for doing it at this time: "A parcel of French wines had been ſeized at the eaſtward; and, at the inſtance of the French ambaſſador, an order had been obtained to reſtore them. A new line was ſuppoſed to be then made for the province, to evade the order. This line took in Caſtine's country. He thereupon fled, and his arms and goods were brought to Pemaquid. And this brought on the war."

An Indian who came in to Sudbury affirmed to the people there, that the Indians underſtood from the governor that the French and Iriſh would take poſſeſſion of Boſton in the ſpring. A Penicook Indian affirmed, that the Maquas or Mohawks had ſent a meſſenger to inform the Penicook tribe that Sir Edmund had hired them to fight againſt the Engliſh. Theſe idle ſtories were ſpread about the country. The Mohawks, it is true, made peace with the French, under the influence of Sir Edmund. The cloſe connection between the courts of England and France at this time well accounts for it.

The Indians neglected to comply with the governor's order to deliver up the murderers. They continued their hoſtilities. He thereupon raiſed a ſmall army of ſeven or eight hundred men,* and, in the beginning of November, marched at the head of them, through froſt and ſnow, into the eaſtern country. This meaſure was univerſally condemned: the men being expoſed to extreme hardſhips, without any proſpect of ſervice; the Indians taking care to keep out of their reach. Some of his enemies charged him with a deſign to ſtarve or freeze the men; but other perſons, who were more candid, acknowledged that he readily took to himſelf his full ſhare of the hardſhips of the campaign, and that he was a kind and good general to the men under his command. Notwithſtanding his care, many died with hardſhips; more, it was thought, than the whole number of Indians at that time in hoſtility. Not one Indian was killed. They all fled into their more remote dens, where they remained the whole winter. Beſides the fort at Pemaquid, Sir Edmund built a fort at Pejypſcot falls, and another at Sheepſcote, and placed garriſons in them, and, upon his return to Boſton, left the command of the country with Anthony Brockholt, one of his council and favourites.

In the ſummer of 1688,† the governor received a new commiſſion,

* Theſe men were impreſſed into the ſervice. Under the charter, this had been the uſual way of raiſing men. This is the reaſon we do not meet with it among the grievances.

† Several letters mention the arrival from England, about this time, of John Palmer, who had been of Sir Edmund's council, both in New-England and New-York, with a commiſſion or appointment for chief judge of the ſupreme court.

commiſſion, which was publiſhed, with great parade, from the balcony of the town-houſe.* And ſoon after, he received the joyful news of the birth of a prince, and ordered a general thankſgiving through his government. The ſuſpicions concerning this birth were tranſmitted with the news, and very eaſily received by the people in general.†

During the winter of 88, there was no account received in New-England of the landing of the Prince of Orange. Something tranſpired by way of Virginia as the ſpring opened. The rumour brought the governor from Pemaquid to Boſton. Soon after his arrival, viz. April 16th, he writes to Brockholt, "There's a general buzzing among "the people, great with expectation of their old charter, "or

* New-York was included in this commiſſion. He went thither ſoon after. Mr. Smith ſuppoſes Dongan to have continued until the revolution. His commiſſion was undoubtedly ſuperſeded by this new commiſſion to Andros; who took the adminiſtration upon him in the ſummer of 1688. Mr. Blaithwait writes to Randolph, March 11, 1687-8: "Sir, I am to thank you for yours of the 23d of November, and would not fail to anſwer the chief particulars. If the union of all New-England under one governor be acceptable on your ſide the water, what will the joining and annexing to the ſame government be of all the Engliſh territories in America, from Delaware bay to Nova-Scotia? This is already determined by his Majeſty; and a commiſſion is in hand, conſtituting Sir Edmund Andros governor alſo of New-York, as united to New-England. And for the two Jerſeys, ſcire facias's are expediting towards their union. This, beſides other advantages, will be terrible to the French, and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done."

† There was ſpecial command given to the miniſters. The proclamation and order were as follows.

"By his Excellency,

"A proclamation for a general thankſgiving for her Majeſty's being ſafely delivered of a Prince.

"Whereas I have received certain information of her Majeſty's being ſafely delivered of a prince, which being a great bleſſing beſtowed on their Majeſties and all his Majeſty's dominions, I have therefore thought fit, and do, with the advice of the council, order, that there be a general thankſgiving for the ſame, to be obſerved within the city of New-York and dependencies, on Sunday the ſecond day of September next coming, and fourteen days after in all other parts of this dominion. Of which all miniſters, officers and perſons are to take notice and conform themſelves accordingly. Given at New-York, the four and twentieth day of Auguſt, in the fourth year of his Majeſty's reign, annoq; Dom. 1688.

"By his Excellency's command, E. ANDROS.
John Weſt, D. ſecr'y. God ſave the King.
"Vera copia, Benj. Bullivant."

"Suffolk, ſs. } To Mr. Cotton Mather, miniſter in Boſton.
N. England. }

"In his Majeſty's name you are hereby required to cauſe the above-written proclamation to be publicly read in the congregation, on the next Lord's day after you ſhall receive it, and that you do then and there publicly ſtir up your hearers to the ſolemn work of the day, as is required by the ſame, and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and ſeal at Boſton, the firſt day of September, in the fourth year of his Majeſty's reign, King James the ſecond, of England, &c. and in the year of our Lord 1688. BENJA. BULLIVANT."

" or they know not what ; hope, that all magiſtrates and " officers will be careful not to be wanting in their duty; " and particularly truſt, that the ſoldiers be in good order, " and diligent to avoid ſurpriſe, and ſee they have provi- " ſions fitting duly ſerved out, and, if occaſion, more than " the ordinary allowance," &c.——A few days before, one Mr. Winſlow came from Virginia, and brought a printed copy of the Prince of Orange's declaration. Upon his arrival, he was impriſoned by juſtice Foxcroft and others, for bringing a traitorous and treaſonable libel into the country, as the mittimus expreſſed it. Winſlow offered two thouſand pounds bail, but it could not be accepted. A proclamation was iſſued, charging all officers and people to be in readineſs to hinder the landing of any forces which the Prince of Orange might ſend into thoſe parts of the world. The old magiſtrates and heads of the people ſilently wiſhed, and ſecretly prayed, for ſucceſs to the glorious undertaking, and determined quietly to wait the event. The body of the people were more impatient. The flame, which had been long ſmothered in their breaſts, burſt forth with violence, Thurſday the 18th of April; when the governor, and ſuch of the council as had been moſt active, and other obnoxious perſons, about fifty in the whole, were ſeized and confined, and the old magiſtrates were reinſtated. This was certainly a raſh, precipitate proceeding. Little or no inconvenience could ariſe from a few days delay. The revolution in England could not, at any time, have been effected without riſk to all perſons there who moved in it. Their lives depended on the ſucceſs of the attempt. But the fate of New-England depended upon that of Old. If the Prince ſucceeded, they might have aſſumed the government without any hazard. If he failed, had they remained quiet, they would have been in no worſe ſtate than before ; but the conſequence of an inſurrection would have been death to the principal actors, and a ſtill harder ſlavery than before to all the reſt of the inhabitants. An anonymous letter, directed to the governor of Plymouth, gives a more circumſtantial account of this revolution than any that has yet been printed.

" Boſton,

" Boſton, April 22d, 89.

" Hon'd Sir,

" The conſideration of my ſending you a blank, wherein " only the declaration was encloſed, ſeems to deſerve a " check, and conſtrains me to an apology, not having ſo " much as liberty granted me by the meſſenger to write " two or three lines, whereby you might have underſtood " the preſent ſtate of things, which by this time you are " doubtleſs acquainted with; but leſt it ſhould prove " otherwiſe, I have taken the pains to give a brief account. " —I knew not any thing of what was intended, until it " was began; yet being at the north end of the town, " where I ſaw boys running along the ſtreets, with clubs " in their hands, encouraging one another to fight, I be- " gan to miſtruſt what was intended, and, haſtening to- " wards the town-dock, I ſoon ſaw men running for their " arms; but before I got to the red lion, I was told that " Capt. George and the maſter of the frigate* were ſeized " and ſecured in Mr. Colman's houſe, at the north end; " and when I came to the town-dock, I underſtood that " Bullivant and ſome others of them were laid hold of; " and then, immediately, the drums began to beat, and " the people haſtened and ran, ſome with and ſome for " arms. Young Dudley† and Colonel Lidget with ſome " difficulty attained to the fort. The governor immedi- " ately ſent Dudley on an errand, to requeſt the four min- " iſters,‡ Mr. Joyliffe,‖ and one or two more, to come to " him at the fort, pretending that, by them, he might " ſtill the people, not thinking it ſafe for him to go to " them. They returned for anſwer, that they did not " think it ſafe for them to go to him. Now, by this time, " all the perſons whom they concluded not to be for their " ſide, were ſeized and ſecured, except ſome few who had " hid themſelves, who afterwards were found, and dealt by " as the reſt. The governor, with Palmer, Randolph, " Lidget,

* The Roſe.

† Mr. Dudley, his father, was abſent, holding court in the Narraganſet country. Some of Providence went out and ſeized him. He was brought to Roxbury, and a guard placed round his houſe, to ſecure him, as the order expreſſes it, againſt violence. He was afterwards committed to priſon.

‡ Mr. Allen, Moodey, Willard, and Cotton Mather.

‖ A perſon who had been many years a leading man in town affairs in Boſton.

" Lidget, Weſt, and one or two more, were in the fort. " All the companies were ſoon rallied together at the town-" houſe ; where aſſembled Capt. Winthrop,* Shrimpton,* " Page,† and many other ſubſtantial men, to conſult mat-" ters ; in which time the old governor‡ came among them, " at whoſe appearance there was a great ſhout by the ſol-" diers. Soon after, the jack was ſet up at the fort, and " a pair of colours at beacon-hill, which gave notice to " ſome thouſand ſoldiers on Charleſtown ſide that the " controverſy was now to be ended ; and multitudes would " have been there, but that there was no need. The frig-" ate, upon the news, put out all her flags and pendants, " and opened all her ports, and with all ſpeed made ready " for fight, under the command of the lieutenant, he " ſwearing that he would die before ſhe ſhould be taken ; " although the captain ſent to him, that if he fired one " ſhot, or did any hurt, they would kill him, whom they " had ſeized already ; but the lieutenant, not regarding, " kept thoſe reſolutions all that day. Now, about four " of the clock in the afternoon, orders were given to go " and demand the fort ; which hour the ſoldiers longed " for ; and had it not been juſt at the nick, the governor " and all the crew had made their eſcape on board the " frigate, a barge being ſent for them ; but the ſoldiers, " being ſo near, got the barge. The army divided, and " part came up on the back ſide of the fort, part went un-" derneath the hill to the lower battery or ſconce, where " the red coats were, who immediately upon their approach " retired up to the fort to their maſter, who rebuked them " for not firing on our ſoldiers, and, as I am informed, " beat ſome of them. When the ſoldiers came to the batte-" ry or ſconce, they preſently turned the great guns about, " and pointed them againſt the fort, which did much " daunt thoſe within ; and the ſoldiers were ſo void of " fear, that, I preſume, had thoſe within the fort been reſ-" olute to have loſt their lives in fight, they might have " killed an hundred of us at once, being ſo thick together " before

* * They were both of them of Sir Edmund's council.

† He married preſident Dudley's ſiſter.

‡ Other accounts ſay, that he and the old magiſtrates were guarded by the militia with great formality.

" before the mouths of the cannon of the fort, all loaden " with ſmall ſhot; but God prevented it. Then they de- " manded a ſurrender, which was denied, until Mr. Weſt " and another ſhould firſt go to the council, and after " their return, we ſhould have an anſwer, whether to fight " or no. Upon their return, they came forth from the fort,* " and went diſarmed to the town-houſe, and from thence, " ſome to the cloſe jail, and the governor, under a guard, " to Mr. Uſher's houſe. The next day, they ſent the two " colonels to demand of him the ſurrender of the caſtle, " which he reſolved not to give; but they told him, if he " would not give it preſently, under his hand and ſeal, he " would be expoſed to the rage of the people, and ſo left " him; but he ſent and told them that he would, and did " ſo; and they went down, and it was ſurrendered to them " with curſings; and they brought the men away, and " made Captain Fairweather commander in it. Now, by " the time that the men came back from the caſtle, all the " guns, both in ſhips and batteries, were brought to bear " againſt the frigate, which were enough to have ſhattered " her in pieces at once, reſolving to have her. It is inci- " dent to corrupt nature to lay the blame of our evil deeds " any where rather than on ourſelves; ſo Captain George " caſt all the blame now upon that devil Randolph; for " had it not been for him he had never troubled this good " people, earneſtly ſoliciting that he might not be con- " ſtrained to ſurrender the ſhip, for by ſo doing both him- " ſelf and all his men would loſe their wages, which other- " wiſe would be recovered in England, giving leave to go " on board and ſtrike the topmaſts and bring the ſails on " ſhore; and ſo he did. The country people came armed " into the town, in the afternoon, in ſuch rage and heat, " that it made us all tremble to think what would follow; " for nothing would ſatisfy them, but that the governor " muſt be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more " ſecure place, and that they would ſee done before they " went away; and, to ſatisfy them, he was guarded by " them to the fort."——

The

* Mr. John Nelſon, a young gentleman of Boſton, at the head of the ſoldiers, demanded the fort the ſecond time; and then the governor came down, and ſurrendered himſelf and the fort. *Neale.*

The former governor, Mr. Bradſtreet,* with ſeveral of the magiſtrates choſen in 1686, and ſome of the principal merchants and other principal inhabitants, being convened at the town-houſe, ſigned the following meſſage to Sir Edmund Andros, which was the firſt public act done by them.

" At the town-houſe in Boſton, April 18, 1689.

" Sir, Ourſelves and many others, the inhabitants of this town and places adjacent, being ſurpriſed with the people's ſudden taking arms, in the firſt motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven to it by the preſent accident, are neceſſitated to acquaint your excellency, that, for the quieting and ſecuring the people inhabiting this country from the imminent danger they many ways lie open and expoſed to, and tendering your own ſafety, we judge it neceſſary that you forthwith deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preſerved and diſpoſed according to order and direction of the crown of England, which ſuddenly is expected may arrive ;† promiſing all ſecurity from violence to yourſelf, or any of your gentlemen or ſoldiers, in perſon and eſtate: otherwiſe, we are aſſured, they will endeavour the taking of the fortifications by ſtorm, if any oppoſition be made.

To Sir Edmund Andros, Knight.

William Stoughton	S. Bradſtreet	Wait Winthrop
Thomas Danforth	John Richards	Sam. Shrimpton
	Eliſha Cooke	Wm. Browne
	If. Addington	Barth. Gedney
	John Foſter	
	Peter Sergeant	
	David Waterhouſe	
	Adam Winthrop	
	‡ J. Nelſon."	

However

* Mr. Bradſtreet was eighty-ſeven years of age, had been ſixty years a magiſtrate. His venerable preſence was neceſſary, but his time for buſineſs was over. Mr. Foſter, a wealthy merchant, who had not been many years from London, was among the moſt active, and there are more original papers of his handwriting than of any other perſon's.

† A circular letter was drawn up, to have been ſent, in the name of the Prince of Orange, to confirm all governors in their places. That to New-England was ſtopped by a repreſentation from Mr. Mather, the agent, to Mr. Jephſon, ſecretary to the Prince.

‡ Mr. Nelſon was a gentleman of good family, and a near relation to Sir Thomas Temple, an enemy to the tyrannical government of Andros, but an epiſcopalian

However exceptionable the firſt riſing of the people might be, yet this meaſure of the magiſtrates and other gentlemen ſeems to have been neceſſary. It is difficult to conceive in what other way the people could have been quieted. Had they been left to themſelves, the conſequences muſt have been terrible. Some who had been the moſt firm in ſupport

epiſcopalian in principle, and of a gay, free temper, which prevented his being allowed any ſhare in the adminiſtration after it was ſettled, although he was at the head of the party that demanded the ſurrender of the fort. He went, not long after, upon a trading voyage to Nova-Scotia, where he was taken by a party of French or Indians, and carried to Quebec. Notwithſtanding the ſlight put upon him, yet ſuch was his regard for his country, that he ran very great riſk of his life in an attempt to give intelligence of the deſigns of the French. The following letter, remaining upon the Maſſachuſetts files, ought to be made public to do honour to his memory.

"Auguſt 26, 1692.

"About 14 days ago arrived two men of war and ſix merchant ſhips from France, which came furniſhed with recruits of proviſion, ammunition, 30 more great guns, 24 pateraroes, one mortar and 30 ſhells. A little before the arrival of theſe ſhips, Madockawando, the Penobſcot ſachem, came here; who made and received divers compliments, preſented the governor with five Engliſh captives, and received from him preſents encouraging him and the reſt to continue the war; but all gave but little ſatisfaction to the Indians, who expected greater recompence. They would often diſcourſe their diſcontent to ſome of us who underſtand their language. I was in hopes to make ſome improvement of their diſcontent, by propoſing the ſettlement of a trading houſe up Penobſcot river at Negas. They were glad of the propoſal, and it is the only means of recovering our intereſt with theſe eaſtern Indians. I promiſed to ſend my thoughts thereon to yourſelves, of which I would have you to conſider, &c.——Madockawando gave daily advice of all their reſults, he is certainly well affected towards us. Two days ago he was diſpatched from hence, with orders to get together all the Indians he can; they make account of two or three hundred; they are to remain at Penobſcot until the two men of war join them, who are preparing themſelves as well as they can, adding to their number 200 Canadians, ſo that, in all, they will have above 400, who, with the Indians, are to aſſault Wells, Iſles of Shoals and Piſcataqua. The deſign is dangerous, if you ſhould be unprovided; I have therefore improved my utmoſt endeavours to give you this intelligence. By money, and a promiſe of good reward from yourſelves, I have corrupted two Frenchmen, viz. Arnaud Du Vignon and Francis Albert, to be bearers of this letter, and alſo to be guides to two Dutchmen and two Engliſhmen, who promiſe to be with you in 22 days. I pray that they may be contented. I have furniſhed them with 13 French crowns, which it is juſt ſhould be allowed to my wife. My charge is otherwiſe great here, there being ſo many of my poor countrymen to relieve, &c. The two men of war, which come from hence, are the one a great Dutch ſquare ſtern ſhip of about 500 tons, takes in ſix guns from hence, ſo that ſhe will have in all 38 guns, &c. the other is a French frigate of 34 guns, who is the admiral. They take at Port-Royal and along the coaſt all the ſmall veſſels, ſhallops, boats, &c. to land their men. You will do well to prepare for their reception a good fire ſhip, and other means neceſſary, according as your prudence ſhall direct.——I recommend myſelf unto your prayers, and remain, gentlemen, your humble ſervant,

J. NELSON.

"Auguſt 27th. The ſhips of war go from hence in 12 or 15 days; their voyage probably to St. John's and Penobſcot will coſt them a month's time more, ſo that you may expect them in about 6 or 7 weeks hence. After their attempt upon your coaſt, they are to cruiſe for about a month, &c. ſo that all concerned in ſhipping muſt take care to their affairs. Let no public talk be made of this letter, for by the eſcape of ſome priſoners the report will come hither greatly to my

ſupport of the charter were afraid, however, of being called to account for their concern in this action.*

A long declaration was read from the balcony or gallery of the town-houſe. This is printed at large in Neale and other writers. There would be room to doubt, whether this declaration was not a work of time, and prepared beforehand, if it did not appear, by the ſtyle and language, to have been the performance of one of the miniſters of the town of Boſton, † who had a remarkable talent for very quick and ſudden compoſures; beſides, it was not printed until

my damage —Excuſe my broken manner of writing. I am forced to do it as I can get opportunity, and that is in my bed, becauſe of the often coming in and out of the man that attends me, who once ſurpriſed me and took from me my inkhorn, but in all things elſe I am well treated: ſo are all the reſt, according as the country affords, &c."

The letters came to Springfield the 23d of September, and a day or two after to Boſton. The Frenchmen, not long after, by ſome means or other were retaken and carried to Canada, where they were puniſhed as deſerters. Before their execution they confeſſed the whole. Mr. Nelſon was carried out with them, in expectation of the ſame fate. They were ſhot before his eyes. He was ſent back to priſon, and ſoon after to France, but on his paſſage prevailed with a fellow paſſenger to convey intelligence of a ſecond deſign of 12 men of war and 2000 troops, which were every day expected at Canada to make a deſcent upon the Engliſh colonies from Piſcataqua to Carolina. He was confined in France in a ſmall hole for two years, without opportunity of ſeeing any perſon but a ſervant who brought his victuals to a grate. A gentleman, who had taken notice of the perſon who carried the victuals from day to day, had the curioſity to inquire what priſoner was there, and to ſpeak to him at the grate, and to aſk if he could do him any ſervice. Mr. Nelſon deſired no other favour than to have a letter ſent to England, to inform Sir Purbeck Temple of his condition; which was done, and ſoon after a demand was made of his releaſe or exchange. He was then looked upon as a perſon of ſome importance. He was ſent to the Baſtile, and juſt before the peace of Ryſwick was allowed to go to England upon his parole, and ſecurity given by a French gentleman for his return. The peace being concluded, and he intending to return, was forbad to do it by King William; but to prevent any trouble to his friend, he went contrary to order, and ſurrendered himſelf. Being diſcharged, upon his return to England he was brought into trouble there for going back to France contrary to the King's order, but at length returned to his family after ten or eleven years abſence.

* Mr. Danforth, the deputy governor, writes to Plymouth, Ap. 20th, "Their enterpriſe herein was without the privity of thoſe who when begun judged themſelves obliged to endeavour the prevention of bloodſhed, and thereupon did give their ſenſe and advice to the governor, Sir Edmund, as they apprehended very neceſſary.——I yet fear what the conſequences will be, and heartily pray that no bitter fruit may ſpring forth from this root. We have need of God's pity and pardon; and ſome do apprehend it will be wiſdom to haſten our addreſs, to thoſe that are now ſupreme in England, for pardon of ſo great an irruption, and for a favourable ſettlement under the ſanction of royal authority:" and in a letter to Increaſe Mather, July 30th, "The ancient magiſtrates and elders, although they had ſtrenuouſly adviſed to further waiting for orders from England, and diſcouraged any attempts of that nature, ſo far as they had opportunity, yet were they now compelled to aſſiſt with their preſence and counſels for the preventing of bloodſhed, which had moſt certainly been the iſſue if prudent counſels had not been given to both parties."

† Mr. Mather.

until ſeveral days after, and perhaps was corrected and enlarged. Indeed, it fully appears from many private letters, ſtill preſerved, one of the beſt ſorts of evidence of the truth of hiſtorical facts of this nature, that none of the magiſtrates were privy to the riſing of the people; and, in the people themſelves, it ſeems to have been ſudden, and without any previouſly concerted plan.

The next day, April 19th, an order was ſigned by moſt of the perſons who ſubſcribed the advice to Sir Edmund, and alſo by Wm. Johnſon of Woburn, and James Ruſſell of Charleſtown, directed to John Pipon, commander of the caſtle, and accompanied with an order from the late governor, to deliver the fort and ſtores to Capt. Fairweather; which was complied with. The 20th, the tumult being abated, the new council began to conſider what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh in the room of that which was diſſolved. They firſt invited divers other perſons to join with them, who were required to ſign an approbation of the advice given to Sir Edmund; and, being thus ſtrengthened, they took the title of "A council for the ſafety of the people and conſervation of the peace." Thoſe who thus aſſociated with the firſt mentioned, were James Ruſſell, John Phillips, Penn Townſend, Joſeph Lynde, John Joyliffe, Eliakim Hutchinſon, Nath. Oliver, John Eyre, Jeremiah Dummer, Wm. Johnſon, John Hawthorne, Andrew Belcher, Richard Sprague, James Parker, Dudley Bradſtreet, Nath. Saltonſtall, Richard Dummer, Robert Pike, John Smith, Edmund Quincy, William Bond, and Daniel Pierce. They choſe Mr. Bradſtreet their preſident, Iſaac Addington clerk of the council, and Wait Winthrop commander in chief of the militia, and appointed officers in the ſeveral ports for entering and clearing veſſels, and John Foſter and Adam Winthrop, two of their number, ſtewards or treaſurers.

They continued to paſs orders, from time to time, for the regulation of the inhabitants, but the authority was weak, and there was a neceſſity of a further ſettlement. They were careful to avoid reaſſuming their charter. Beſides the exceptions that might be taken whilſt the decree againſt it ſtood in full force, there were many who were deſirous

desirous of a settlement from England, sensible of the defects in the charter; and when the governor and assembly afterwards addressed for the restitution of it, they desired such further privileges as were necessary. They had, no doubt, received advice of the convention called by the Prince of Orange; and, in imitation of it, on the second of May, they recommended to the several towns in the colony to meet, and depute persons, not exceeding two for each town, except Boston four, to form an assembly, to sit the ninth of the same month. Sixty-six persons met, and presented a declaration to the president and former magistrates in particular,* taking no notice of such as had associated with them; but upon receiving an answer in writing, they desired the whole council to continue in their station until the 22d instant; at which time it was agreed there should be a meeting of the representatives of all the towns in the colony, at Boston, who were to be specially instructed by their towns. Letters had been sent to Plymouth and to Connecticut,† to acquaint the principal gentlemen there with what had been done at Boston. Both those colonies were content the governor should be confined at Boston, and

* They declare the governor, deputy governor and assistants, chosen and sworn in 1686, according to charter rights, and the deputies then sent by the freemen of the several towns, to be the government now settled in the colony. *Records.*

† Plymouth imitated Massachusetts in securing one of the council who was within that colony, as appears by the following declaration.

A declaration of sundry of the inhabitants of Plymouth, Ap. 22, 1689. "Whereas we have not only just ground to suspect, but are well assured, that Nath. Clark hath been a real enemy to the peace and prosperity of this people, and hath, by lying and false information to the late governor, caused much trouble and damage to this place, endeavouring to deprive us of our lands and exposing us to the unjust severity of persons ill affected to us, whereby a considerable part of our estates is unrighteously extorted from us, to the great prejudice of our families and the loss of many necessary comforts, and he persisting from time to time in his malicious forging complaints against one or other of us, whereby we are in continual hazard of many further great inconveniences and mischiefs: We do therefore seize upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice to deal with him according to his demerit." *MS.*

Mr. Treat, the governor of Connecticut, gives this account of their proceedings, in his letter to their agent, Jan. 6, 1689. "In the beginning of May last, upon the amazing reports and tidings of the revolution of the government in the Massachusetts, and seizing of the governor and so many of his council, and that part of the country up in arms before we knew any thing of it, but the news did soon fly like lightning, and soon after our men in most places gave out that they would no longer obey us or submit to Sir Edmund's government; at the same time the eastern Indians went on in their barbarous cruelties in murdering our countrymen at the eastward, and we had by letters from New-York and Long-Island caution given us of several picaroons that were on the coast to alarm us on the sea board; the true and real grounds of the procedure of the colony in assuming the government was, salus populi est suprema lex."

and both reaſſumed their old form of government. Nothing paſſed relative to New-Hampſhire or Rhode-Iſland. As ſoon as the news reached New-York, Nicholſon, the lieutenant-governor, diſpatched the following letter, directed to Simon Bradſtreet and Wait Winthrop, Eſq'rs. and others.

" New-York, 1689, 1ſt May.

" Gentlemen,

" It was an extraordinary ſurpriſe to us to hear of the " confuſions the inhabitants at Boſton have occaſioned, by " taking that part of the government to themſelves, and " that they have ſeized upon the perſon of his excellency " and ſeveral of the officers. We cannot imagine that any " ſuch actions can proceed from any perſon of quality " amongſt them, but rather promoted by the rabble, " and that for the ſafety of his excellency's perſon thoſe " meaſures have been taken, but hope and doubt not, be- " fore this time, the fury of thoſe perſons may be allayed, " and that his excellency and the reſt of the officers may " be reſtored to their former ſtations, or at leaſt have lib- " erty to come hither. For this part of the government, " we find the people in generâl inclined to peace and quiet- " neſs,* and doubt not the people will remain in their du- " ties.

* The inhabitants of New-York, having never experienced any great degree of liberty, there would have been no grounds of fears of a revolt, if it had not been for the example of New-England. From their firſt ſubjection to England, the government had been the ſame; and the Dutch governors who preceded were not leſs abſolute than the Engliſh. Upon the news from Boſton, Capt. Nicholſon, the lieut. governor, propoſed to admit part of the trained bands to watch and ward by turns within the fort, under their own officers; and offered to apply the money ariſing from the cuſtoms to the fortifying the city, and making it defenſible againſt a foreign enemy. Jacob Leiſler, a captain of the trained bands, happened to have a ſhip juſt arrived with wines, the duties whereof would have amounted to one hundred pounds, which he refuſed to pay, "the collector being a papiſt, and there being no legal authority to receive it." Soon after, he excited the people upon the eaſt end of Long-Iſland to march to New-York, in order to take poſſeſſion of the fort, to prevent its being delivered up to foreigners. When they came within 12 miles of the city, being about 80 in number, they ſent three of their leaders to the lieut. governor, who, having convened his council, gave them ſuch anſwers as induced them and the reſt of the company to return home. A rumour was ſoon after ſpread of a deſign to maſſacre the inhabitants during the public worſhip in the Dutch church upon a Sunday. The Friday before the day for the ſuppoſed execution, the people roſe, and ſeemingly compelled Leiſler to head them. One Hall went as their leader to the fort. The guard, conſiſting of the trained bands, readily admitted them. Leiſler followed, and took the command of the men. This was the 31ſt May. The ſame evening they ſent for the keys from the lieut. governor, who was obliged to deliver them. The trained band conſiſting of ſix companies, the captain of each company was to

" ties. We do not queſtion but you will ſend us a ſpeedy " anſwer, the matter being of ſo great conſequence, tend- " ing to the peace and quietneſs of us all ; which if you " do, we remain your friends and ſervants,

Fra. Nicholſon
Frederick Flypſe
N. Bayard
S. Courtland."

The following anſwer was returned.

" Boſton, 11th May, 1689.

" Gentlemen,

" In anſwer to yours of the firſt of May inſtant, giving " an account of your having received the general intelli- " gence of the revolution occurring here, expreſſing your " hopes that before this time the fury of the people may " be allayed, and that Sir Edmund Andros and the reſt of " the officers may be reſtored to their former ſtations, or " at leaſt may have liberty to come to you. We perceive " you have not a particular account how things are at pre- " ſent circumſtanced with us, there being no other form " of government than a committee for ſafety of the people " and conſervation of the peace, the ſoldiers ſtill continu- " ing in arms. And the people are ſo well ſatisfied in the " juſtifiableneſs of their late action, that they continue " their ſpirit and reſolution to purſue what they have put " forth in their public declaration printed, which is here " incloſed, as alſo a printed copy of the advice given by " ourſelves and others unto Sir Edmund, which will ſhew " the neceſſity of our then interpoſing. And we have no " other ſtation than to intend the common ſafety and con- " ſervation

to command his day according to their order. When it came to Leiſler's turn, the 3d of June, he cauſed an alarm ; and the people being all brought together, a declaration was prepared in writing, ready to be ſigned, " that with their lives and fortunes they would defend the proteſtant religion, and keep the fort for King William and Queen Mary, until their Majeſties' further order." The people then choſe a committee, who aſſumed the name of a " committee of ſafety." They appointed Leiſler captain of the fort. The lieut. governor withdrew. In his abſence Leiſler takes upon him the adminiſtration, and after ſome time calls himſelf lieut. governor, and chooſes a council. The province contiued in great confuſion, until the arrival of governor Slaughter with a commiſſion from King William and Queen Mary. Leiſler held the poſſeſſion of the fort againſt the governor, longer than he could juſtify himſelf in ſo doing. His enemies took the advantage of it ; and he was tried, condemned and executed, as a traitor. The party rage, which was raiſed on this occaſion, was kept up many years after in New-York, and deſcended to the poſterity of each ſide.

"ſervation of the peace, and it is not in our power to "ſet any perſons at liberty who are confined and kept by "the ſoldiers. This being all the preſent anſwer we can "make to you, if accepted, we remain,

"Gentlemen, your friends and ſervants,

"To Capt. Fran. Nicholſon, S. Bradſtreet
"Fred. Phillips, Nich. Bayard, Wait Winthrop.
"and Steph. Cortland, Eſq'rs."

The repreſentatives of fifty-four towns met at Boſton, on the 22d of May.* They ſoon diſcovered a deſire to reaſſume the charter. The major part of the council were againſt it. Two days were ſpent in diſputes. The people without doors were alſo much divided in ſentiments. On the 24th, the governor and magiſtrates, choſen in 1686, ſigned a paper, declaring their acceptance of the care and government of the people, according to the rules of the charter, for the conſervation of the peace and ſafety of the people, until, by direction from England, there be an orderly ſettlement of government, provided an addition ſhould be made of fit perſons to aſſiſt them, as was deſired, and that what had been before done be allowed, and the ſtewards be reimburſed. This they did for the ſatisfaction of the people, and from the preſent neceſſity; but they did not intend, nor would be underſtood to intend, an aſſumption of the charter government. Their declaration was accepted by the repreſentatives, notwithſtanding its being qualified in the concluſion of it.† The next day, Mr. Winthrop, and moſt of the other gentlemen who had acted as members of the council, and who had a ſtrong party in favour of their continuing ſo to act, generouſly quitted all claim to it, in confidence, as they expreſs it, that the people will be inviolably preſerved in their obedience to the directions expected from England, and that the perſons of all the gentlemen confined ſhould be well treated; and promiſed to endeavour to pacify the people, who were diſſatisfied on their account, and to promote the public tranquillity, as far as ſhould be in their power.

The

* Each town gave inſtructions to their members, whether to reaſſume or not. Forty of the fifty-four were for reaſſumption of the charter.

† By this declaration all the gentlemen who had joined the governor and aſſiſtants choſen in 1686 were excluded from the new council.

The 26th (being Sunday) a ſhip arrived from England, with advice of the proclaiming King William and Queen Mary. This was the moſt joyful news ever received in New-England. The fears of the people, of any very bad conſequences from their late actions, were now over. On the 29th the proclamation was publiſhed in Boſton, with greater ceremony than had been known; the governor and council, civil and military officers, merchants of the town, and principal gentlemen of the town and country, being on horſeback; the regiment of the town, and many companies of horſe and foot from the country, appearing in arms; a grand entertainment was prepared in the town-houſe, and wine was ſerved out to the ſoldiers.

The 5th of June, the repreſentatives of the ſeveral towns, upon a new choice, aſſembled at Boſton. The council immediately propoſed to them to exhibit articles againſt the gentlemen ſeized by the people, or elſe to conſent to their enlargement, upon ſecurity given; but this was not agreed to.* The next day, the repreſentatives urged to the council, to take upon them the part they ought to bear in the government, according to the charter, until orders ſhould be received from England; and declared "they "could not proceed to act in any thing of public con-"cerns, until this was conceded." An acceptance was voted, this declaration being given as the reaſon of the vote. By theſe ſteps the change was made from the unlimited power of Sir Edmund and four of his council, to the old government, which had continued above fifty years; but the weight and authority did not return with the form. They were ſcrupulous of their power themſelves; and made an apology, in an addreſs to the crown, for cauſing certain pirates to be executed. They found it very difficult to raiſe men, and continue them in ſervice, for the defence of the province. Several contemptuous pamphlets againſt them were publiſhed with impunity. Thirty years before, the

* Some days after, Sir Edmund, by letter, demanded an immediate releaſe of himſelf and the other perſons concerned in government, or under his charge, then in cuſtody or under reſtraint. The 27th June, the repreſentatives reſolved, that Mr. Joſeph Dudley, Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Edward Randolph, Mr. John Palmer, Mr. John Weſt, Mr. James Graham, Mr. George Farwell, and Mr. James Sherlock, were not bailable, and ſent up ſeveral heads of charges againſt them.

the authors of the like would have been guilty of a capital offence. And although the firſt advices, received afterwards from England, gave them ſome grounds to expect a re-eſtabliſhment of government in the old form, yet theſe advices were ſoon ſucceeded by others, which cauſed them to deſpair of it.* Mr. Mather, the agent in England, waited the event of the Prince of Orange his expedition. Soon after the withdraw of King James, Mr. Mather was introduced to the Prince of Orange, by Lord Wharton, and prevented the circular letter before mentioned, for confirming governors, being ſent to New-England. The 14th of March, Lord Wharton introduced him again to the King,† when, after humbly congratulating his Majeſty's acceſſion, Mr. Mather implored his Majeſty's favour to New-England. The King promiſed all the favour in his power, but hinted what had been irregular in their former government. Whereupon Mr. Mather undertook, that, upon the firſt word, they ſhould reform any irregularities they ſhould be adviſed of; and Lord Wharton offered to be their guarantee. The King then ſaid, that he would give orders that Sir Edmund Andros ſhould be removed, and called to account for his mal-adminiſtration; and that the King and Queen ſhould be proclaimed by the former magiſtrates. Mr. Mather was a faithful agent, and was unwearied in ſecuring friends for his country. Beſides ſeveral of the nobility and principal commoners, he had engaged the whole body of the diſſenting miniſters, whoſe weight, at that time, was far from inconſiderable.

The family of Aſhurſt had always been friendly to New-England. The firſt addreſſes after the reſtoration were ſent

* "We are far from willingly doing any thing arbitrary, but the long want of directions from England for ſettlement of government doth weaken our hands." *Gov. Bradſtreet's letter to Sir H. Aſhurſt, Oct.* 26, 89.

"The long delay of orders from England referring to the perſons confined upon the revolution, and want of confirmation of the government, hath given occaſion to divers ill deſigning men, who were taken off from their employment and ways of unjuſt gain, ſtudiouſly to employ themſelves in oppoſing and undervaluing authority, which hath emboldened others to thoſe practices which hath rendered them criminals of the higheſt nature, by committing felonies, piracies and murders, and thereby common enemies to mankind, and neceſſitated us to draw the ſword of juſtice againſt them and bring them to trial and condemnation, and to execute ſome to deter others, &c. which we truſt will not be offenſive to his Majeſty. *Bradſtreet's lett. to Aſhurſt, Jan.* 29, 1689-90.

† King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed 13th Feb.

ſent to Mr. Aſhurſt, Mr. Leveret and Mr. Richard Hutchinſon, to be delivered to the King. Sir Henry Aſhurſt, a member of parliament, was more particularly engaged at this time by Mr. Mather, who deſired that he might be empowered by the colony to appear as their agent. Mr. Hampden, another member, alſo ſhewed great friendſhip. The houſe of commons voted the taking away the charters of the plantations to be a grievance ;* and a bill paſſed the houſe for reſtoring charters, and the New-England charters were expreſsly mentioned ; but whilſt the bill lay in the houſe of Lords, the parliament, ſooner than expected, was prorogued, the King going to Ireland. The King, from the beginning, diſcovered a deſign to reſerve the appointment of the governor to himſelf. It was in vain, after loſing this chance in parliament, to try for the reſtoration of the old charter. A new charter, with as many of the old privileges as could be obtained, was all that could be hoped for. In the mean time, application was made, for expreſs power and authority to be granted to the colony to exerciſe government according to the old charter, until a new could be ſettled. This was obtained.† At the ſame time an order was ſent, commanding the delivery of the ſails taken from the Roſe frigate ; and another order, for Sir

* At a committee of grievances, martis 5° martii 1688, reſolved nem. con. that it is the opinion of this committee, that the late proſecutions of quo warrantos againſt the cities, two univerſities, the towns corporate, boroughs and cinq ports, and the plantations, and the judgment thereupon, and the ſurrenders of charters to the violation of their ancient rights, are illegal and grievances. By the houſe. "Reſolved, that this houſe doth agree with the ſaid committee in ſaid reſolve, that the late proſecution of quo warrantos againſt the cities, two univerſities, the towns corporate, boroughs and cinq ports and plantations, and judgment thereupon, and the ſurrenders of charters to the violation of their ancient rights, are illegal and a grievance." *MS.*

† WILLIAM, R.

Truſty, and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed by ſeveral addreſſes from the colony of the Maſſachuſetts-bay, and particularly by the addreſs coming to us in the name of the governor and council and convention of the repreſentatives of the people of the ſaid colony, that they had joyfully received the notice of our happy acceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms, and cauſed the proclamation thereof to be iſſued throughout the ſaid territory: We have therefore thought fit hereby to ſignify our royal approbation of the ſame, and gracious acceptance of your readineſs in performing that which was neceſſary on your parts for the preſervation of the peace and quiet of our ſaid colony. And whereas you give us to underſtand, that you have taken upon you the preſent care of the government until you ſhould receive our order therein; we do hereby authorize and empower you to continue, in our name, your care in the adminiſtration

Sir Edmund Andros, and the other perſons, to be ſent to England.* Mr. Mather intended to have returned to New-England with theſe orders; but his ſon being taken with the ſmall-pox at Deal, prevented his embarking. Letters arrived in England, preſently after the King's order to the old magiſtrates, from Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Dudley, &c. complaining of their uſage. Nicholſon and Uſher came to London alſo with their complaints; and the Indians falling upon Piſcataqua about the ſame time, it was imputed to the revolution in Maſſachuſetts; and the

miniſtration thereof, and preſervation of the peace, until we ſhall have taken ſuch reſolutions and given ſuch directions for the more orderly ſettlement of the ſaid government, as ſhall moſt conduce to our ſervice and the ſecurity and ſatisfaction of our ſubjects within that our colony. And ſo we bid you farewell. Given at our court in Whitehall, the 12th day of Auguſt, 1689, in the firſt year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,

Colony of Maſſachuſetts. SHREWSBURY.

* WILLIAM, R.

Whereas Sir Edmund Andros, knt. late governor of our dominion of New-England, has been ſeized by ſome people in Boſton, and is under cloſe confinement there, together with Edward Randolph, John Treſry, and divers other ſubjects, who have humbly requeſted us that they be either ſet at liberty or ſent in ſafe cuſtody into England to anſwer before us what might be objected againſt them: we do hereby will and require, that the ſaid Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, John Treſry, and others our ſubjects that have been in like manner ſeized by the ſaid people of Boſton, and ſhall be at the receipt of theſe our commands detained there under confinement, be forthwith ſent on board the firſt ſhip bound hither, to anſwer before us what may be objected againſt them; and that you take care that they be civilly uſed in their paſſages from New-England, and ſafely conveyed to our royal preſence. Given at our court at Whitehall, this 30th day of July, 1689, in the firſt year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command, NOTTINGHAM.

To ſuch as for the time being take care for preſerving the peace and adminiſtering the laws in our colony of the Maſſachuſetts-bay in New-England, in America.

Of all that were concerned in the late government, Mr. Dudley felt moſt of the people's reſentment. *Oppreſſion is leſs grievous from a ſtranger than one of our own country.* Danforth writes to I. Mather, "Mr. Dudley is in a peculiar manner the object of the people's diſpleaſure; even throughout all the colonies where he hath ſat judge, they deeply reſent his correſpondence with that wicked man Randolph for overturning the government.——The governor and council, though they have done their utmoſt to procure his enlargement, yet can't prevail, but the people will have him in the jail; and when he hath been by order turned out, by force and tumult they fetch him in, &c." Mr. Dudley to C. Mather, June 1ſt, "I am told that this morning is the laſt opportunity for rolling away the ſtone from the mouth of this ſepulchre, where I am buried alive, in which I yet trouble you for your aſſiſtance." To governor Bradſtreet, Sept. 12th, "After twenty weeks unaccountable impriſonment, and many barbarous uſages offered me therein, the laſt ſeven weeks whereof are upon account of your letters to me, I have now to complain, that on Monday the whole day I could be allowed no victuals till nine of the clock at night, when the keeper's wife offered to kindle her own fire to warm ſomething for me, and the corporal expreſsly commanded the fire to be put out.—I may be eaſily oppreſſed to death.—God will hear them that complain to him.—I pray your directions for your oppreſſed kinſman, J. D."

the friends of New-England were afraid the powers would be recalled,* and a governor ſent over without delay.

The letters did not arrive in New-England until very late in the year, but came very opportunely to calm the commotions which had very much increaſed there. Sir Edmund, his ſervant having enticed the centinel to drink, and then to ſuffer him to be upon guard in his ſtead, eſcaped from the caſtle, and went to Rhode-Iſland, where Major Sanford ſtopped him, and ſent him back to the caſtle again.† The firſt opportunity after the arrival of the King's order, he, with Mr. Dudley and ſeveral others, embarked for England.‡ The general court thought it adviſable to ſend over two of their members to join with Sir Henry Aſhurſt and Mr. Mather in maintaining their charges againſt their oppreſſors, as well as in ſoliciting the reſtoration of the charter, with ſuch additional privileges as ſhould be thought proper, viz. Eliſha Cooke and Thomas Oakes,|| both of them aſſiſtants. Mr. Cooke was a gentleman of good underſtanding, and had been well educated; had always adhered ſtiffly to the old charter; and when all the reſt of the aſſiſtants declined reaſſuming it, he alone was

* Nath. Mather's letter to Increaſe Mather, &c.

† Leiſler, at New-York, was greatly alarmed with Sir Edmund's eſcape. He writes to the Maſſachuſetts governor from New-York, Sept. 3d, "The eſcape of Sir Edmund, and his arrival at Rhode-Iſland, where Col. Dongan did, the ſame day, land ſome of his people, and himſelf not far off, cauſed a jealouſy in us of a bad deſign. In this interim of time arrived here Mr. John Emerſon, John Levereret, William Brattle, Thomas Maccarty, and John Perry, from the ferry, after watch ſet in the night, well armed, and, as reported, went into a tavern where doors and windows were ſhut, a man on horſeback was diſpatched poſt out of the town, made us all believe them of Sir Edmund's people, and he himſelf not far off. I ſent for the ſtrangers, of whom I demanded a paſs; they ſaid they had one, but loſt it; they knew no body but Major Brockholt and Capt. Locker, two known papiſts, whereby I ſuſpected them to be really of Sir Edmund's people, and beat the drum. I ſent 12 ſoldiers to ſearch the houſe for their portmanteaus; two were brought, and owned to be theirs. I found about 40 letters, moſt of them directed to diſapprovers of our actions, which cauſed me to alarm the town, by which alarm I got immediately about 500 men courageouſly armed; and, while the committee read the letters, I ſent out parties to ſearch for ſtrangers, and for the men of the houſe where they arrived, being perſons who never joined with us to watch and fortify, nor armed in any alarm. The letters being read and nothing found, we ſuſpected that thoſe of conſequence were gone, and ſo remained upon our guard. In the morning Mr. Lawrence peruſed a letter from his grand-child, wherein the characters of the ſaid gentlemen were diſcovered; upon which ſlender proof, and my charity, I ventured to releaſe the ſaid gentlemen, who confeſſed we had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect them, all things falling out as they did."

The four perſons firſt named belonged to the college at Cambridge.

‡ The beginning of February.

|| Mr. Oakes was not choſen aſſiſtant until May, after they embarked.

was in favour of it.* Mr. Oakes was a man of leſs conſequence, but attached to the ſame ſide, having been ſome time a repreſentative of the town of Boſton, and not of the aſſiſtants when they refuſed to reaſſume. They were inſtructed, among other things, to ſolicit in parliament, or elſewhere, the confirmation of their ancient charter and all its rights and privileges, civil and ſacred; and, if there ſhould be opportunity, to endeavour the obtaining ſuch farther privileges as might be of benefit to the colony. The agents diſagreed, and by this means certain articles intended againſt Sir Edmund were never ſigned by them.† He

* This appears from the files of the court.

† Mr. Mather ſaid, that the Earl of Monmouth told him they had cut the throat of their country in not doing it; but Mr. Cooke's excuſe was, Sir John Somers's advice, which he ſaid was againſt doing it. An inquiry into the conduct of Sir Edmund and the reſt, it was deſigned ſhould be avoided, and this was the reaſon of Sir John Somers's advice to Mr. Cooke. "When the agents firſt appeared before the council, Sir Edmund, Dudley, Randolph, &c. had notice to be preſent alſo, and came prepared with a charge againſt the colony, for rebellion againſt lawful authority, for impriſoning the King's governor, &c. Sir John Somers thereupon ſaid, that the agents were upon the defenſive part, and were ready to anſwer any complaints. Sir Robert Sawyer, who had brought the quo warranto, then declaimed largely againſt the colony for thoſe deeds by which he ſuppoſed the charter forfeited; but, in the cloſe, to prevent an anſwer, acknowledged that what he ſaid was foreign to the preſent caſe; and one of the lords ſaid, let us keep to the matter before us. The agents were then required to give the reaſons of the oppoſition to Sir Edmund and his authority. They began with his proclamation, and other endeavours to ſtifle the news of the Prince's landing, and the impriſonment of the perſon who brought over the declaration. Lord preſident (Marquis of Carmarthen) aſked, who impriſoned Sir Edmund and the reſt. Sir John Somers replied, the country, my lord, oppreſſed by an arbitrary government, did there as we did here, roſe as one man, took the opportunity of the news of the revolution in England to free themſelves from the yoke they were under. Lord preſident. You ſay it was the country and the people; that is no body; let us ſee A B and C, the perſons that will make it their caſe. Here is a charge againſt the King's governor, but no body has ſigned the paper. Sir J. Somers. My lord, we are here, in behalf of the country, to manage their concerns, and not in the behalf of any particular perſons. One of the agents then whiſpered Sir John, that, if that was a ſtick, they would ſign the paper immediately; but he replied, no, we are in our way, and have followed the direction of the board, and if they will bring us off thus they may. One of the lords ſaid, I perceive the revolution was there as it was here, by the unanimous agreement of the people; for who ſeized and impriſoned the late lord chancellor, who ſeized and impriſoned the lord Tuch and ſuch, naming ſeveral, and ſecured the garriſon of Hull? &c. I think we underſtand the matter well enough, and ſee no reaſon why we may not go forward with the proof. Another lord ſpake to the ſame purpoſe, and ſaid, the people were to be commended for what they had done; but lord preſident applied himſelf to the agents, and ſaid, Gentlemen, here has been a pretty deal of time ſpent; my lords will give his Majeſty a true and impartial account of what has been ſaid on both ſides, and wait his Majeſty's further pleaſure, and you may withdraw for the preſent. The next day, Sir Edmund and the reſt were diſcharged from any further attendance; and a report being made to his Majeſty in council, the ſame was approved, and the matter was ordered to be diſmiſſed on both ſides." *(Mr. Cooke's let.)* Thus the agents were

He obtained, ſome time after, the government of Virginia where he died. Mr. Dudley was appointed chief juſtice of New-York, and the latter end of the year 1690 was at Boſton, in his way to his poſt. Nicholſon endeavoured for the government of New-York, but had not intereſt to carry it, and was appointed lieut. governor of Virginia under Lord Howard of Effingham.*

The war with the Indians, which began before the revolution of government, continued all the year after. Madockawando, ſachem of the Penobſcots, who came into Pemaquid, was ſent to Boſton, where he arrived juſt about the time the governor was confined. The authority treated him kindly, and ſent him home; and at the ſame time wrote to St. Caſtine, and deſired him to uſe his influence over the Indians; and offered him ſafe conduct, if he inclined to come to Boſton. Madockawando had promiſed his intereſt for redemption of the captives which had been taken, and for putting an end to the war; but both he and Caſtine deceived the government. Madockawando proved a moſt virulent enemy.

The Indians of Penicook, upon Merrimack river, in the ſpring of the year 1689, profeſſing great friendſhip to Major Waldron, of Quochecho,† were civilly treated by him; and one of their chiefs was lodged in his garriſon. The Indian, in the night, opened the gate to a great number of Saco and Penicook Indians, who lay hovering round it. They killed the Major and twenty-two others, and carried away twenty-nine captives, and plundered and burnt the neighbouring houſes. The authority at Boſton were equally anxious for the protection and defence of the people as if they had been within the colony, and ſent out forces for their relief. Intelligence arrived, ſoon after, of miſchief done

were diverted by their own counſel from purſuing their inſtructions, and ſupporting a charge which had been prepared and offered to the lords of the council. It was well known, that it would be moſt agreeable to have no inquiry made. Lord preſident's own arbitrary actions, whilſt Earl of Danby, for which no ſatisfaction had been given, would have ſtared him in the face; and it would not have well conſiſted with the oblivion intended for what had paſt at home, to have been very ſtrict in inquiring into tyranny in the colonies.

* He wrote to the Maſſachuſetts authority, to inquire into the ſtate of the Indian war, and with an air of boaſting concludes his letter, "From him who has the honour to be their Majeſties' lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the colony of Virginia, F. Nicholſon."

† In New-Hampſhire.

done in ſeveral parts of the county of York, or province of Main; and, on the 22d of Auguſt, the fort at Pemaquid, the command of which (being garriſoned by 14 men only) was given to one Weems, an officer Sir Edmund had left there, was beſieged by the Indians. It was ſo ſituated as to be overlooked from a rock near to it.* From thence the Indians galled the garriſon to ſuch degree, that the next day they capitulated upon terms, which were kept with Indian faith, ſome of the men being butchered, and the others carried captive. There were no hopes of ſecurity by ſea or land, the French from Quebec inſtigating the Indians and joining parties with them, and the French from Acadie, by their ſmall privateers, infeſting the coaſts and taking many veſſels. In the winter, therefore, the general court were meditating an attempt both upon Port-Royal and Quebec. Sir William Phips† came to New-England in the ſummer of 1689. He was thought the fitteſt perſon for the command of the forces. Eight ſmall veſſels, with ſeven or eight hundred men, was thought a ſufficient force for Port-Royal.

The fleet ſailed the 28th of April, 1690, and returned the 30th of May. The fort at Port-Royal, being in no capacity to ſtand a ſiege, ſurrendered with little or no reſiſtance. Sir

* Both Engliſh and French have fell into the like miſtake, in the ſituation of ſeveral forts, built ſince that time.

† Sir William Phips was a New-England man, born at Pemaquid in 1650, where he kept theep until he was 18 years old, then was an apprentice to a ſhip carpenter. When he was free, he ſet up his trade and built a ſhip at Sheepſcote. After that, he followed the ſea, and hearing of a Spaniſh wreck near the Bahamas, he gave ſuch an account of it in England, that in 1683 he was appointed commander of one of the King's frigates, the Algier Roſe, of 18 guns, and went in ſearch of it, but failed. Soon after, being fitted out by the Duke of Albemarle upon a ſecond voyage, he was more ſucceſsful, and brought home a treaſure of near three hundred thouſand pounds, his own ſhare being about ſixteen thouſand pounds only. The King knighted him. He was ſoon after appointed high theriff of New-England, which he accepted with a view to ſerve his country, under a tyrannical government; but he could do no ſervice, and was in England again in 1688. King James, about the time of his abdication, offered him the government of New-England. It was not a time to accept of it. Sir William had the character of an honeſt man. His education was very low. He was of a hatty temper; and, being a ſtout man, he would uſe his cane and fiſt after he was governor. Some inſtances of this ſort with a captain of a man of war and a collector occaſioned complaints againſt him in England, which he was ſent for to anſwer, and ſo far juſtified or excuſed his paſt conduct, that he was returning to his government, when he fell ſick and died, and was buried in St. Mary Woolnoth church, London. By a ſeries of fortunate incidents, rather than by any uncommon talents, he roſe from the loweſt condition in life to be the firſt man in his country.

Sir William took poſſeſſion (as appears by his journal) of the whole ſea coaſt, from Port-Royal to Penobſcot and the New-England ſettlements. The plunder was thought equal to the whole expenſe. But this was conjecture. The acquiſition was ſo eaſy, that the court were confirmed in the proſecution of their deſign upon Canada. Beſides, the ravages began upon the frontiers by French and Indians, as ſoon as the ſpring opened, made it appear more neceſſary than ever. Caſco fort, with above 100 perſons, was beſieged* and taken, whilſt the forces were gone to Port-Royal. There was a ſtill further inducement; they hoped to recommend themſelves to the King's favour, and to obtain the eſtabliſhment of their government. A ſmall veſſel had been ſent to England expreſs, the beginning of April, with a repreſentation of the expoſed ſtate of the colony, and the neceſſity of the reduction of Canada, and praying for a ſupply of arms and ammunition, and a number of the King's frigates to attack the French by ſea, whilſt the colony forces ſhould march by land and perform their parts.† But their hands were too full in England to give any

* May 17th.

† —"The conſideration of the premiſes hath put the government here upon ſending a veſſel on purpoſe to give their Majeſties and moſt honourable privy council a true information of the preſent condition of theſe their Majeſties colonies. Sundry plantations eaſterly, in the province of Maine, are utterly ruinated and depopulated. The war was begun there the ſummer 1688, and about 700 ſoldiers then levied in this colony by Sir Edmund and ſent thither, the charge whereof is not yet defrayed.—Laſt ſummer we had as great a number, or more, in conſtant pay; the whole of the rates already made amount to more than twenty thouſand pounds. This people are now ſo very poor, that many profeſs they have not corn for their families; and thoſe to whom wages are due, cry, that if they have them not, they and their families muſt ſtarve.—There being now wars between Holland and France, ſome are fearful leſt the Hollanders ſhould eſſay the poſſeſſing themſelves of Canada; and though it is hopeful they may prove better neighbours than the French, yet, conſidering the damage that will thereby be ſuſtained by the crown of England, in loſs of fiſhery, maſting, furs, &c. it were better to expend two or three thouſand pounds for the gaining that place, than that the French, or Dutch either, ſhould have it.—This ſmall veſſel, coming upon this ſole errand and buſineſs, to ſerve their Majeſties intereſt, muſt not be permitted to return empty. We have confidence, that, may their Majeſties have a true information, they will judge the preſent war made by the French and Indians upon their ſubjects here, to be more their Majeſties concern than their ſubjects, and will not ſuffer them to ſink and periſh under ſo heavy a burden, but will order to be ſent out of the King's ſtore four or five hundred barrels of powder, with ſhot proportionable, and four or five thouſand fuzees, our guns being many of them loſt in the war.—You may aſſure their Majeſties that it will encourage their ſubjects here, with all alacrity of mind, to ſerve their Majeſties therewith, for reducing the French in Canada to their Majeſties obedience, if their Majeſties ſhall give orders for a ſuitable number of frigates to attack them by ſea."—*Dep. Gov. Danforth's letter to Sir H. Aſhurſt, April* 1, 1690.

any attention to this propoſal. Maſſachuſetts, however, determined to proceed; and Connecticut and New-York engaged to furniſh a body of men. Two thouſand were expected to march by Lake Champlain and attack Montreal, at the ſame time that the forces by ſea ſhould be before Quebec. It was late in the ſeaſon to undertake this great affair, but they tarried longer than otherwiſe they would have done, in expectation of the ſtores they had ſent for to England. None arriving, the 9th of Auguſt the fleet ſailed from Nantaſket. There were between thirty and forty veſſels, great and ſmall, the largeſt of 44 guns and 200 men, perhaps not of ſuperior ſtrength to a ſixth rate man of war, the whole number of men about two thouſand. They did not arrive before Quebec until the 5th of October. Great dependence was had upon a diviſion of the French force; but it happened, moſt unfortunately, that the forces deſigned againſt Montreal had retreated, and the news of it had reached Montreal before the fleet arrived at Quebec; ſo that Count Frontenac, the French general, was able to employ the whole ſtrength of Canada againſt this little army.* This muſt have ſtruck a damp upon

* When a plan is thus formed, conſiſting of various parts, upon the due execution of which the ſucceſs of the whole depends, it muſt give great pain to men, who have not loſt all feeling, not to have it in their power to perform the parts aſſigned them, and much greater to have been guilty of neglect or unfaithfulneſs. It is difficult, at this day, to aſcertain the cauſe of the New-York and Connecticut forces failing. A letter from Boſton to London, Nov. 24, 1690, ſays, "That the enemy had notice of our coming very long before we could get at them; and whereas we had laid in beforehand that the five nations of the weſtern Indians, with a party of Engliſh from Connecticut and Albany, ſhould by land alarm the French quarters about Montreal, it fell out that when theſe were upon their march, ſome that therein ſerved the French intereſts, by their wiles decoyed them into a retreat, that proved unlucky for us." The diſtracted ſtate of the government of New-York, one party determined to ruin the public intereſt if the other had engaged in it, muſt have contributed to this diſappointment. Leiſler writes in a rage to governor Bradſtreet, Sept. 15, 1690, "I have uſed all arguments and means poſſible to reinforce for Canada; but by Major Winthrop's treachery and cowardice, with the reſt of his tools, hath rendered the work altogether impracticable, his errand being ſo far effected as to leave us in a weaker ſtate than he found us. Nevertheleſs, we deſpair not in the leaſt ſo to maintain that poſt that it ſhall defy him and all his aſſailants ever to dare attempting ſuch lewd, unaccountable practices, in ſuch a rebellious manner, as his keeping a garriſon in Livingſton's houſe, poſting centinels to challenge the grand rounds, and other crimes, not only to ſtop our proceedings to paſs the lake, but to anſwer the ambitious ends of the confederates united therein to divert our forces another way. —Good God! how monſtrous is it, under pretence of general aſſiſtance, to cover their particular intereſts, and bring to paſs ſuch treacherous purpoſes! Mr. Livingſton, that betrayer of the province, and arch confederate with yourſelves, being willing

upon the ſpirits of the Engliſh forces, and they could have but little hopes of ſucceeding. Le Hontan, a French writer, ſays, the general was at Montreal when he heard the news of the fleet's being in the river; and that, if the Engliſh had made their deſcent before his arrival at Quebec, or two days after, they would have carried the place without ſtriking a blow, there not being 200 French in the city, which lay open and expoſed on all hands; but that they loſt three days in conſulting, before they came to a reſolution. Succeſs is wiſdom with mankind in general. From the ill ſucceſs of this undertaking, both Engliſh and French writers have treated it with ridicule and peculiar contempt. The next morning after the fleet arrived, Sir William ſent a ſummons aſhore. If it was too pompous, the anſwer was too inſolent. The Engliſh were called heretics and traitors, and told, that if it had not been for the revolution, New-England and Canada would have been all one. The French ſay, the major who carried the ſummons was threatened with a gibbet, and had like to have ſwooned. No notice is taken of this in the Engliſh journals, and it is not likely to be true. An attempt was made to land the next day (the 7th), but the violence of the wind prevented. The 8th they landed all the effective men, amounting to between twelve and thirteen hundred.* They were fired upon from the woods by French and Indians, and marched in diſorder, and did not attempt to croſs Charles river, which lay between them and the town. Night overtook them. Upon examining a deſerter, he gave them ſuch an account of the ſtrength of the French, as diſcouraged them from advancing any further. The ſhips were drawn up the next evening before the town. They did little damage to the enemy, but were much ſhattered by the cannon from their batteries. The forces continued aſhore until the 11th, rather upon the defenſive, when they embarked with precipitation. A council of war was called the next day, and propoſals were made for another

willing to have expoſed us to the remaining inhabitants; however, God be thanked, we had thoſe that made early proviſion againſt theſe devices," &c.

Thus Winthrop's character ſeems to have been made a ſacrifice to Leiſler's vanity and madneſs.

* Le Hontan makes them three times that number, and that they left 300 dead on the ſpot.

other attempt, after a few days refreſhment for the men; but tempeſtuous weather came on, which drove ſome of the veſſels from their anchors, and ſcattered the whole fleet; and they made the beſt of their way back to Boſton, where Sir William arrived the 19th of November. Some of the fleet were blown off to the Weſt-Indies, one was loſt upon Anticoſta, and two or three were wrecked or never heard of. It appears by manuſcript letters, that about two hundred men were loſt by the enemy and ſickneſs.* The ſmall pox, which prevailed in Boſton before they ſailed, had got into the army. Many died of the camp diſeaſe after their return, and ſpread the infection among the inhabitants of Boſton. This was a humbling ſtroke to New-England. The return of the New-York and Connecticut forces was the moſt viſible cauſe of the diſappointment. Walley, who had the command of the land forces, gave in a journal of his proceedings to the general court. His conduct was cenſured by particular perſons, but there was no public inquiry.

The government was utterly unprepared for the return of the forces. They ſeem to have preſumed, not only upon ſucceſs, but upon the enemy's treaſure to bear the charge of the expedition. The ſoldiers were upon the point of mutiny for want of their wages.† It was utterly impracticable to raiſe, in a few days, ſuch a ſum of money as would be neceſſary. An act was paſſed for levying the ſum, but the men could not ſtay until it ſhould be brought into the treaſury. The extreme difficulty to which the government was thus reduced was the occaſion of the firſt bills of credit ever iſſued in the colonies, as a ſubſtitute in the place of money.‡ The debt was paid by paper notes, from two ſhillings to ten pounds denomination; which notes were to be received for payment of the tax which was to be levied,

* Sir William ſays, in his repreſentation to King William, that he did not loſe above 30 men by the enemy.

† Arma tenenti, omnia dat, qui juſta negat.

‡ Barbados was the firſt which followed the example. Mr. Woodbridge, a New-England man, was the projector. Their bills ſank ſo low that the iſland was in confuſion, and they ſoon aboliſhed them. All the colonies upon the continent, Nova-Scotia excepted, have, firſt or laſt, with very different ſucceſs, gone into the ſame ſubſtitute. It may be made a query, whether the project of a land bank in England in the reign of King William, which entirely failed, was not taken from this experiment of New-England.

levied, and all other payments in the treaſury. This was a new experiment. They had better credit than King James's leather money in Ireland, about the ſame time. But the notes would not command money, nor any commodities at money price. Sir William Phips, it is ſaid, exchanged a large ſum, at par, in order to give them credit. The ſoldiers in general were great ſufferers, and could get no more than twelve or fourteen ſhillings in the pound. As the time of payment of the tax approached, the credit of the notes was raiſed; and the government allowing five per cent. to thoſe who paid their taxes in notes, they became better than money. This was gain to the poſſeſſor, but it did not reſtore to the poor ſoldier what he had loſt by the diſcount.* Sir William Phips, after a few weeks tarry in Boſton, embarked for England, to ſolicit an expedition from thence againſt Canada; the government, at the ſame time, ſending their humble addreſs to their Majeſties, ſhewing the neceſſity of it.

Whilſt

* The government, encouraged by the reſtoration of credit to their bills, afterwards iſſued others for charges of government. They obtained good credit at the time of their being iſſued. The charges of government were paid in this manner from year to year. Whilſt the ſum was ſmall, ſilver continued the meaſure, and bills continued their value. When the charges of government increaſed after the ſecond expedition to Canada in 1711, the bills likewiſe increaſed; and in the ſame or greater proportion the ſilver and gold were ſent out of the country. There being a cry of ſcarcity of money in 1714, the government cauſed 50,000l. to be iſſued, and in 1716, 100,000l. and ſent to the inhabitants, to be paid in at a certain period, and in the mean time to paſs as money. Lands were mortgaged for ſecurity. As ſoon as the ſilver and gold were gone, and the bills were the ſole inſtrument of commerce, pounds ſhillings and pence were altogether ideal; for no poſſible reaſon could be aſſigned why a bill of twenty ſhillings ſhould bear a certain proportion to any one quantity of ſilver more than another: ſums in bills were drawing into the treaſury from time to time by the taxes or payment of the loans, but then other ſums were continually iſſuing out, and all the bills were paid and received without any diſtinction either in public or private payments; ſo that, for near forty years together, the currency was in much the ſame ſtate as if a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling had been ſtamped in pieces of leather or paper of various denominations, and declared to be the money of the government, without any other ſanction than this, that, when there ſhould be taxes to pay, the treaſury would receive this ſort of money, and that every creditor ſhould be obliged to receive it from his debtor. Can it be ſuppoſed that ſuch a medium could retain its value? In 1702, 6/8 was equal to an ounce of ſilver. In 1749, 50/. was judged equal to an ounce of ſilver. I ſaw a five ſhilling bill which had been iſſued in 1690 and was remaining in 1749, and was then equal to eight pence only in lawful money, and ſo retained but about one eighth of its original value. Such was the deluſion, that not only the bills of the Maſſachuſetts government paſſed as money, but they received the bills of the government of Connecticut, New-Hampſhire and Rhode-Iſland alſo as a currency. The Maſſachuſetts bills paſſed alſo in thoſe governments. In 1749 bills of credit were aboliſhed; and, unleſs the evils which they occaſioned ſhould be forgotten, the government, it muſt be preſumed, will never iſſue any more.

Whilſt the forces were gone to Canada, and the event uncertain, the Indians pretended to be diſpoſed to peace. Major Pike and Major Hutchinſon,* two of the aſſiſtants, were appointed to treat with them at Wells; but nothing was done. On the 29th of November, ſix of the chiefs, viz. Edgeremet, Toqualmot, Watombamet, Naictumbuit, Walombee, and John Hawkins,† brought in ten captives, and, in behalf of the Penicook, Winnapiſſiaukee, Oſſapy, Pigwacket, Amaſcoggin, Pejepſcot, Kennebeck Indians, and all adjacent places, within the territories of thoſe ſagamores, agreed upon a truce until the firſt of May enſuing, upon which day they were to meet at the houſe of Lieutenant Storer, in Wells, and to bring in all the Engliſh captives, and to ſettle articles for a firm and laſting peace. This agreement was made at Sagadehoc, with Capt. John Alden, appointed by the governor and council for that purpoſe. In conſequence of this truce, the land enjoyed reſt for the winter.

At the day appointed, Mr. Danforth, the deputy governor, and ſeveral others, with a proper guard, repaired to Wells; but no Indians appeared. Capt. Converſe went out, and meeting with ſome of them, they came in, bringing two captives with them, and promiſed in twenty days to bring in all the reſt. The deputy governor returned diſappointed, and a freſh ſupply of 35 men were ſent to Storer's houſe, where they were ſcarcely arrived, when, on June 9th, an attack was made upon the garriſon by 200 Indians, with Moxus, a noted ſachem, at their head; but the fortunate arrival of theſe recruits prevented the enemy from ſucceeding. Divers were killed at Berwick, Exeter and Cape Nidduck. A ſmall army was ſent into the eaſtern country by ſea, which landed at Maquoit, and marched to Pejepſcot, but met with none of the enemy. As the Engliſh were re-embarking, they were attacked by a great body

* Grandſon to Mrs. Hutchinſon.

† The laſt received his name from the Engliſh, his Indian name not mentioned. The others are names of dignity, it being their cuſtom when one chief dies to give the name to his ſucceſſor in office though not of his family. There were an Edgeremet and Naictombuit at the treaty of Falmouth in 1749. Toxus has been the name of a Norridgewock chief for divers ſucceſſions; perhaps from the ſame cauſe that the Pharaohs and Ptolemys kept up thoſe names in Egypt—a reſpect for them that firſt bore them.

body of Indians. Their veſſels were aground. Engliſh and Indians kept firing all night. The Indians were, by this army, diverted from going over to the Iſles of Shoals, which they intended to have done. The frontiers were unmoleſted after this, until the 28th of September, when 7 people were killed and taken at Berwick; and, the next day, between 20 and 30 at Sandy-beach; and in October, a family was deſtroyed at Rowley, and another at Haverhill. On the 25th of January the town of York was deſtroyed. Moſt of the houſes were unguarded. A gun fired by the Indians cauſed many of the inhabitants to run to their doors. They found themſelves ſurrounded with Indians; about 50 of the Engliſh were killed upon the ſpot, and near an hundred captivated. The miniſter, Shubael Dummer, who was in great eſteem, was ſhot dead, as he was mounting his horſe at his door, and his wife and family made priſoners. They ſet fire to the houſes, four fortified houſes only holding out againſt them, viz. Alcock's, Preble's, Harman's and Norton's. A party of men were ſent from Portſmouth, but too late to give relief.

Whilſt the colony was thus diſtreſſed within themſelves, their enemies in England took the advantage of their diſtreſſes, and uſed them as an argument againſt the reſtitution of the charter, imputing all to the bad adminiſtration of government. The difference between their agents alſo increaſed. Mr. Wiſwall, a miniſter of Plymouth colony, a gentleman of piety and learning, was in Boſton when Mr. Cooke and Oakes were about to embark, and he was deſired to go with them. He had no credentials. He joined in politics with Mr. Cooke, rather than with Mr. Mather. The people of Plymouth were extremely deſirous of continuing a ſeparate government; but if that could not be obtained, they choſe to be annexed to Maſſachuſetts rather than New-York. When Mr. Slaughter was appointed governor of New-York, Plymouth was put into his commiſſion; but by the induſtry and diſcreet application of Mr. Mather, the commiſſion was altered.* An order, after

* Connecticut, to remove all exception, obtained the opinion of three great lawyers upon the caſe of that colony, which was as follows:

"The corporation of Connecticut colony in New-England not having under their

after this, was iſſued to the lords chief juſtices, Holt and Pollexfen, and the attorney and ſolicitor general,* to draw up a new charter for Maſſachuſetts, and Plymouth was included in it. When Mr. Wiſwall underſtood this, he oppoſed it, in hopes of obtaining a ſeparate grant. This offended the ſolicitor general, and he ſtruck out Plymouth, and it was again intended they ſhould be annexed to New-York. When this news reached the colony of Plymouth, many people were alarmed; yet their general court perſiſted in deſiring Sir Henry Aſhurſt, their agent, to apply for a ſeparate charter, without ſignifying that they choſe to be joined to Maſſachuſetts rather than to New-York; nor could they raiſe any money, the people about Briſtol, Dartmouth, &c. pretending that there was no hopes of any charter for them, nor Maſſachuſetts neither. The ſentiments of many of the beſt men in the colony were known to Mr. Mather; otherwiſe, it is not improbable, Plymouth would

their public ſeal ſurrendered their charter, and there being no ſurrender upon record, only, when it was propoſed to them by the late King James that they ſhould take their choice whether they would be under the governor of New-York or of Boſton, they humbly prayed that they might ſtill enjoy the privilege of chooſing their own governor according to their charter, but, if the King was reſolved otherwiſe, they ſaid they had rather be under Boſton than under New-York. After which Sir Edmund Andros did, by a commiſſion from the late King James, invade the liberty of the people in that colony, and exerciſe a government over them contrary to their charter, which they moſt unwillingly ſubmitted to. But ſince the late happy revolution in England, the people of Connecticut have choſen a governor and aſſiſtants according to their charter, and doubt not but that they have a legal right to their former privileges.

Qu. Whether the charter belonging to Connecticut in New-England is, by means of their involuntary ſubmiſſion to Sir Edmund Andros's government, void in law, ſo as that the King may ſend a governor to them contrary to their charter privileges, when there has been no judgment entered againſt their charter, nor any ſurrender thereof upon record?

I am of opinion that ſuch ſubmiſſion as is put in this caſe doth not invalidate the charter, or any of the powers therein, which were granted under the great ſeal; and that the charter, not being ſurrendered under the common ſeal, and that ſurrender duly enrolled of record, nor any judgment entered of record againſt it, the ſame remains good and valid in law, and that the corporation may lawfully execute the powers and privileges thereby granted, notwithſtanding ſuch ſubmiſſion and appointment of a governor as aforeſaid. 2d Aug. 1690. EDW. WARD.

I am of the ſame opinion; as this matter is ſtated, there is no ground of doubt. GEO. TREBY.

I am of the ſame opinion. J. SOMERS."

The proceedings againſt Rhode-Iſland having been very near the ſame with thoſe againſt Connecticut, the ſame opinion would ſerve to juſtify them in reaſſuming their charter. The refuſal of the Maſſachuſetts houſe of deputies to comply with the demands of an arbitrary prince, and to make the like ſubmiſſion which the other two colonies had done, cauſed a judgment againſt their charter; and however equitable a re-aſſumption might have been, yet they were barred from a lawful claim to it.

* Treby and Somers.

would finally have been included in New-York commiſſion, although near three hundred miles diſtant.*

When Mr. Mather found it impoſſible to obtain the reſtitution of the old charter, his next care was to preſerve as many of the privileges contained in it as he could. Sir Henry Aſhurſt joined with him in all his meaſures. Mr. Cooke was for the old charter, or none at all. Mr. Oakes, the other agent, joined with Mr. Cooke.† It was doubtful whether they had authority, by their inſtructions, to ſolicit for any other. In the firſt draught of a new charter, the governor only was reſerved to the King; the deputy governor, and council, and other officers, were to be choſen by the people; and the governor had no negative in any caſe. This draught was made by the attorney general, according to what he took to be the King's mind, as expreſſed in council. It was preſented at the council board the 8th of June, 1691;‡ when it was objected, that, "by ſuch

* Your ſervice in keeping us from New-York, and all other intimations for the good of this colony, is thankfully received; and it would have been well pleaſing to myſelf and ſundry others of the moſt thinking men, who are deſirous of ſupporting the miniſtry and ſchools of learning, to have been annexed to Boſton; yet the greateſt part of the people, and of our deputies, are moſt deſirous of obtaining a charter for themſelves if poſſible to be procured, though, ſo far as I can diſcern, they had much rather be annexed to Maſſachuſetts than to New-York, yet are not willing to have it mentioned, leſt it ſhould divert any endeavours for obtaining a diſtinct charter for themſelves.——It was voted that two hundred pounds ſhould be raiſed by a voluntary contribution. On trial made, though ſome particular men and towns did contribute liberally, yet others, by reaſon of the great charge of the war, and partly being diſcouraged by ſome leading men telling them that they would but throw away their money, that they would never be like to obtain a charter, nor you neither for Maſſachuſetts, thereby the ſum propoſed fell conſiderably ſhort; and by the court's order, the whole ſum not being raiſed, none was to be ſent.——Not being in a capacity to make rates for the equal defraying the charge, I ſee little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unleſs their Majeſties out of their royal bounty and clemency graciouſly pleaſe to grant it *ſub forma pauperis* to their poor but loyal ſubjects of this colony. *J. Hinkley to Mather, Octob.* 16, 1691. The charter was complete before this letter could arrive.

† Mr. Oakes, however, ſigned the petition for a new charter, although Mr. Cooke refuſed.

‡ Whilſt the Maſſachuſetts agents were ſoliciting a charter for that colony, a project was ſet on foot by Doctor Cox for forming a grand colony or ſtate more extenſive than all the other colonies together. The original draught of a charter has this entry upon it: "In the council chamber at Whitehall, the 22d of Auguſt, 1690. The right honourable the lords of the committee for trade and foreign plantations are pleaſed to refer the conſideration of this draught of a grant, to Mr. Attorney General, who is deſired to conſider how far the ſame is conſiſting with law, and to report his opinion thereupon to the committee, William Blaithwait." The report of the attorney general runs thus: "May it pleaſe your lordſhips, in obedience to your order of reference, I have peruſed this draught, and I conceive

such a charter as this, the King's governor would be made a governor of clouts ;"* and an order passed for preparing the heads of another draught. When they were prepared, a copy was given to Mr. Mather, with an order from their Lordships, that "if the agents were not satisfied therewith, they should bring in their objections to the attorney general." Mr. Mather was so dissatisfied, that he declared he would sooner part with his life than consent to them. He was told, "the consent of the agents was not desired ; the agents of New-England were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign state ; if they declared they would not submit to the King's pleasure, his Majesty would settle the country, and they might take what would follow." Sir Henry Ashurst, with Mr. Mather, drew up, notwithstanding, their objections

Conceive their Majesties may erect such a corporation (as is here purported) and enable them to purchase such lands, and exercise government in the same. But the clause of confiscating the ships and goods of their Majesties' subjects who shall trade to such place without the company's permission will not be good in law. Also some clauses, particularly about the oaths and courts and officers, need be more clearly and intelligibly penned. Geo. Treby. Aug. 25th, 1690."

By this charter, certain persons were to be made a corporation, capable in law to plead and be impleaded, &c. and to acquire and purchase lands, goods and chattels of the several natives and other inhabitants of that part of the continent of America lying and being in breadth from 36 ½ degrees of north latitude, which is the northerly bounds of Carolina, to 46 ½ degrees of north latitude, and in length from the pacific ocean, otherwise called the south sea, unto the westerly bounds of the English colonies of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the heads of the great rivers, in a certain ridge of mountains, separating the colony of Virginia from the rest of the continent, which runs into the bay of Chesapeak and from thence into the atlantic ocean, together with all islands, lakes, quarries, mines, &c. and all appurtenances whatsoever, to hold, use, and to give, grant and dispose of the same in as ample manner as any other corporation within the realm of England might or could do.

The governor, deputy governor and assistants were to be annually chosen by the company in England.

They had power to cause to be transported, subjects and strangers ; also, goods, chattels and merchandize.

None were to inhabit or dwell within the bounds of the patent, or to trade with the natives, without leave of the corporation.

All who should go thither, or be born there, to have the liberty of free and natural born subjects.

Power to establish provinces, counties, cities, towns, districts and jurisdictions, as should be thought fit.

Under their common seal in the King's name to appoint judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers civil and military.

By such commanders, governors and officers as should be appointed by the corporation, to erect forts, &c. to assemble and put in warlike posture the inhabitants, and to encounter by sea and land all persons invading, annoying, &c.

A general court established, each city or borough to send two members, with power to make laws, &c. for the royal approbation, to raise taxes for the support and defence of the colony.

Free liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants.

* Mather's Narrative.

objections againſt the minutes, inſiſting upon the King's promiſe, and that charters might as well be refuſed to be reſtored to any of the corporations in England, where they had been taken away, as to New-England.* The objections were preſented to the attorney general, and laid before

* Mr. Hampden, upon this occaſion, deſired the opinion of Mr. Hooke, a counſellor of note, which he gave as follows:

"There are two parties which ſolicit the affairs of New-England:

1. Thoſe who labour for an union of the whole territory under a captain-general, who ſhould govern by commiſſion from the King, without any reſpect to former charters.

Againſt this party it is juſtly objected, that a people, who ſome years ſince left their native country for the ſake of their conſciences, and adventured to inhabit a wilderneſs which had juſt before been ſwept of its inhabitants by a dreadful plague; who had added to many of the heathen to the inheritance of our bleſſed Saviour, which no other chriſtian planters have done; who have added ſo great a territory to the Engliſh empire, and are ſo uſeful to all other Engliſh plantations; who, rather than break with England, ſubmitted to the Turkiſh commiſſion of Sir Edmund Andros; and who have maintained civility beyond any other people on earth; I ſay, that ſuch a people ſhould have their whole conſtitution overturned by a new ſort of government, would be hard and unreaſonable; that for the preſent government to do all this, by taking advantage of the arbitrary and juſtly exploded proceedings of the laſt reign, would be ſcandalous and diſhonourable.

2. The other party labour to have the ſeveral charters of the reſpective colonies reſtored.

Againſt them it is juſtly objected, that a bare reſtoration of their charters, and eſpecially of the Maſſachuſetts, would be of no ſervice at all, as appears both from the charter itſelf and the practice of that colony, who have hardly purſued the terms thereof in any one inſtance; which hath given colour to evil-minded men to give them diſturbance.

1ſt. As to the charter itſelf, that colony, ſhould they have their charter, would want,

1. Power to call a parliament, or ſelect aſſembly; for there, many thouſand freemen have, thereby, an equal right to ſit in their general aſſembly.

2. Power to lay taxes and raiſe money, eſpecially on inhabitants not being of the company, and ſtrangers coming to or trading thither.

3. They have not any admiralty.

4. Nor have they power to keep a prerogative court, prove wills, &c.

5. Nor to erect courts of judicature, eſpecially chancery courts.

2d. The deficiency of their charter appears from their practice, wherein they have not had any reſpect thereto; but, having uſed the aforeſaid powers without any grant, they have exerciſed their charter powers alſo otherwiſe than the charter directed.

1. They have made laws contrary to the laws of England.

2. Their laws have not been under their ſeal.

3. They have not uſed their name of incorporation.

4. They have not uſed their ſeal in their grants.

5. They have not kept their general courts; nor,

6. Have they obſerved the number of aſſiſtants appointed by the charter.

A middle way, therefore, ſeems moſt deſirable, viz. that new charters be granted to the reſpective colonies, wherein the former to be recited, and the proceedings againſt them reſpectively, and a new grant made, in terminis, by the words grant and confirm; and, reciting the deficiency in the former charter, all thoſe powers may be veſted in the government of the Maſſachuſetts for the time being; and the colonies which have no charters to be annexed to the Maſſachuſetts colony," &c.

fore the council, and a copy ſent to the King in Flanders; but all had no effect. The King approved of the minutes, and diſliked the objections made to them; and the charter was drawn up by Mr. Blaithwait,* according to them. The only queſtion with the agents was, whether to ſubmit to this new ſettlement, or to ſignify to the miniſters of ſtate that they had rather have no charter at all. Mr Cooke continued firm to his firſt principles; and as he would never take any one ſtep towards obtaining the charter, ſo he utterly refuſed to accept of it, when granted; and he endeavoured to prevent the colony from accepting it alſo.† Mr. Wiſwall's principles and conduct were the ſame with Mr. Cooke's, and he endeavoured to prejudice the colony of Plymouth againſt the charter, as the other did that of Maſſachuſetts.

* The charter has been ſaid to have been drawn up by Sir John Somers; a miſtake, from his having drawn the firſt, which was refuſed: others ſaid it was done by Mr. Locke. There are ſo many inaccuracies as are not to be accounted for, if done by either of thoſe great men. It is more probable they ſhould come from Mr. Blaithwait.

† London, Nov. 4, 1691.

Hon. Sir,

The foregoing went by Capt. Blower; ſoon after which, Mr. Blathwait prepared the draught of the charter which was agreed to by the Lords of the committee, and afterwards by them referred to the lords of the council, and there alſo paſſed, ſo as the dedimus was ſigned by the lords of the great ſeal October the 7th, that ſo the ſeal might be affixed when they pleaſed; but a ſtop was put thereto for ſome time, and it was given out that there would be no further proceeding therein till the King's return to court, who was then expected the firſt fair wind, which was not till the 19th day; but ſome, being reſtleſs and impatient till that matter was made irretrievable, got it to paſs the great ſeal about two days before, and the commiſſion and inſtructions for the government were then ſaid to be alſo prepared, though his Majeſty has not yet declared who ſhall be the governor, and lieutenant or deputy governor, and I am informed that it will be a week at leaſt before he will, there being ſeveral who now move for it beſides Sir William, and it is ſaid there are no leſs than twenty that lay in for the government of New-York. I have herewith ſent a copy of the charter, which in ſome things you will find comes ſhort of the minutes, and the province of New-Hampſhire left out; and notwithſtanding the country of Nova-Scotia, &c. is therein granted, yet an after clauſe thereby takes away all the right to the ſoil to the eaſtward of Sagadehoc. Had any petition come from New-Hampſhire reſpecting their deſire to be continued under the Maſſachuſetts, in all probability it had been granted them; but the contrary being affirmed, and that they deſired to be diſtinct, gave the advantage to Mr. Allen to gain his point, which doubtleſs will be much to their prejudice.——When the court ſhall have the charter before them, they will then ſee how far it anſwers their deſire and expectation, and know what they have to truſt to, whom I pray God to direct for the beſt. It muſt be remembered that you have no plenipotentiaries for you here, and if any thing ſaid or done here by any employed by you ſhould be conſtrued as obliging of you, you know how far you have obliged yourſelves by your commiſſions and inſtructions to them. I hope you have been careful not to perpetuate any public revenue, or any officer's ſalary or ſtipend, nor large fees, &c. *Mr. Cooke's letter to Gov. Bradſtreet.*

Maſſachuſetts.* The nomination of the officers reſerved to the crown were left, for the firſt time, to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, who was conſidered as *inſtar omnium*.†

Sir William Phips was the perſon recommended for governor. He had been choſen by the colony an aſſiſtant, the year before, and was acceptable to the people in general. Mr. Stoughton had been appointed deputy preſident by King James; and although he had not recovered his intereſt ſo far with the people as to obtain a vote for an aſſiſtant, yet he ſtood well with many perſons of influence, particularly with Mr. Mather, the ſon, who wrote to his father in favour of him.‡ Mr. Addington, the ſecretary, was at that time ſecretary to the colony. The emoluments of that office were ſmall, compared with the duty, and ſo he was in leſs danger of a competitor. The twenty-eight counſellors were perſons of the beſt characters in the ſeveral parts of the colonies, of which, by the charter, they were to be inhabitants or proprietors. Several who had been of the

* ——"I do believe Plymouth's ſilence, Humphries' neglect, and the raſhneſs and imprudence of one at leaſt who went from New-England in diſguiſe by night, hath not a little contributed to our general diſappointment.—Plymouth, the Maſſachuſetts as far weſt as the Narraganſet country and northward 3 miles beyond Merrimack river, the province of Maine, and the lands from Sagadehoc eaſtward as far as the eaſternmoſt extent of Acadie or Nova-Scotia, are clapt into one province, under ſuch reſtrictions as I believe will not be very acceptable to thoſe inhabitants who muſt loſe their ancient names. There are in the new charter 28 counſellors (of which 4 for Plymouth) a governor and deputy, all nominated by one who acts as if he were a ſole plenipotentiary. The governor, deputy and ſecretary are to be nominated and continued only *durante bene placito*. Sir W. P. hath one that labours hard for his advancement.—I only reflect on New-England's condition under this juncture of providence, much like that of the Jews under Cyrus aſcending the throne of their oppreſſor. At his firſt appearance, they were in hope to rebuild their city and ſanctuary, but were deprived of their expected privileges all his days by ill-minded counſellors.——All the frame of heaven moves upon one axis, and the whole of New-England's intereſt ſeems deſigned to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to be concentric to the Maſſachuſetts tropic. You know who are wont to trot after the Bay horſe. Your diſtance is your advantage, by which you may obſerve their motions. Yet let me mind you of that great ſtateſman, Eccleſ. vii. 14. Few wiſe men rejoice at their chains.—Doubtleſs it would be accounted hypocriſy before God, and ground of deſpair among men, to ſee any perſon receive and entertain the preſent and undeniable evidences of his diſappointment, with the uſual teſtimonies and compliments attending the deſire accompliſhed. *Wiſwall to Hinkley, Nov.* 5, 1691.

† "Pray let me by eight o'clock have the names you would have for governor, deputy and aſſiſtants, that I may give them to my lord preſident," &c. *Sir H. Aſhurſt to I. Mather, Sept.* 3, 91.

‡ "Mr. Stoughton is a real friend to New-England, and willing to make any amendment for the miſcarriages of the late government. I wiſh that you might be able to do any thing to reſtore him to the favour of his country." *Cotton to Increaſe Mather.*

the aſſiſtants choſen by the people, were left out of the number, Mr Cooke in particular, alſo Thomas Danforth, William Browne, William Johnſon, John Smith, Thomas Oakes, and Jeremiah Swaine. All theſe, except Mr. Browne, who was ſuppoſed to have been too compliant with Sir Edmund, were rigidly attached to the old charter; and Mr. Mather no doubt expected they would appear in oppoſition to the acceptance of the new; for, however extraordinary it may appear, the people of the country were far from being unanimous in ſubmitting to it, expecting, that, if it ſhould be refuſed, they might maintain their right to their old privileges. They thought it would be a ſingular hard caſe, that the effects of the late deſpotiſm muſt be felt by them alone, of all their Majeſties' ſubjects, all other charters, whether there had been judgments againſt them, or whether there had been a ſurrender only, being, by one means or other, reſtored. But, it was ſaid, there was this difference between the caſe of the Maſſachuſetts and moſt of the other charters. In general, there was no room for legal exception to the powers exerciſed by the corporations; but the Maſſachuſetts charter not being intended, when it was granted, for ſuch government as is neceſſary to be exerciſed in the colony remote from its mother country, a reverſion of the former judgment would have been of no ſervice; and Sir George Treby declared to Mr. Mather, Sir John Somers, and the two lords chief juſtices being preſent and aſſenting to it, that "if the judgment againſt the charter ſhould be reverſed, and the government ſhould exerciſe thoſe powers which, before the quo warranto, they had done, a new writ would iſſue out againſt them in Weſtminſter-hall, and there would be a judgment againſt them, and ſuch an one as that there would be no room for a writ of error." By the old charter, it was ſaid, they had power to impriſon or inflict puniſhment, in criminal caſes, according to the courſe of corporations in England; but that, unleſs capital caſes be expreſſly mentioned, the power would not reach them; that no power was given to erect judicatories, or courts for probate of wills, or with admiralty juriſdiction, nor any power to conſtitute a houſe of deputies or repreſentatives, nor to impoſe

impoſe taxes on the inhabitants, nor to incorporate towns, colleges, ſchools, &c. which powers and privileges had been, notwithſtanding, uſurped. Whether many of the corporations in England had not deviated as much from their original conſtitution, and whether particular perſons are not puniſhable for uſurpations, and not the corporation itſelf extinguiſhed or diſſolved, as was urged in the caſe of the city of London, it is not neceſſary to determine. Seventy years practice under a new charter, in many reſpects to be preferred to the old, has taken away, not only all expectation, but all deſire, of ever returning to the old charter. We do not envy the neighbouring governments which retained, and have ever ſince practiſed upon, their ancient charters. Many of the moſt ſenſible men in thoſe governments would be glad to be under the ſame conſtitution that the Maſſachuſetts province happily enjoys.

Sir William Phips arrived at Boſton, with the charter, the 14th of May, 1692. He iſſued writs for a general aſſembly, which met the 8th of June following.

Although a party was formed which oppoſed a ſubmiſſion to the charter, yet a majority of the court wiſely and thankfully accepted it, and appointed a day of ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God, for "granting a ſafe arrival to his excellency the governor and the Rev. Mr. Increaſe Mather, who have induſtriouſly endeavoured the ſervice of this people, and have brought over with them a ſettlement of government, in which their Majeſties have graciouſly given us diſtinguiſhing marks of their royal favour and goodneſs."

Sir William arrived juſt at the beginning of as ſtrange an infatuation as any people were ever under. A conſiderable number of innocent perſons were ſacrificed to the diſtempered imagination, or perhaps wicked hearts, of ſuch as pretended to be bewitched. But having proceeded as far as I propoſed, I leave the relation of this unfortunate affair, and other tranſactions and occurrences ſince the preſent charter, to be communicated to the public by ſome abler pen.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

The Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution of the Colony, and the ſpecial Religious Cuſtoms.

IT was one great deſign of the firſt planters of the Maſſachuſetts colony to obtain for themſelves and their poſterity the liberty of worſhiping God in ſuch manner as appeared to them to be moſt agreeable to the ſacred ſcriptures. Whilſt they remained in England they continued in the communion of the church, ſuch of them excepted as were excluded from it for nonconformity to ſome of the ceremonies. With ſome of the ceremonial parts of worſhip they were all more or leſs diſſatisfied. The canons or laws of the church, and the rigid execution of them, they accounted a grievous burden. The form of government in the church was not a general ſubject of complaint. They were very careful to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Brownifts and other ſeparatiſts. Had they remained in England, and the church been governed with the wiſdom and moderation of the preſent day, they would have remained, to uſe their own expreſſion, "in the boſom of that church where they had received their hopes of ſalvation."* They were of the ſame ſtamp with Doctor Preſton, Doctor Sibbs, Mr. Hilderſham, Rogers, Dod, and other old puritans; who, though called nonconformiſts, yet I ſuppoſe never ſeparated, but refrained from ſuch ceremonies and ſuch parts of the liturgy only as they ſcrupled to uſe. However, they did not ſuppoſe the form of epiſcopal government to be enjoined by divine authority, ſo as to make it unlawful to ſubmit to, or to eſtabliſh, any other form. They knew very well, that upon their arrival in America they would be no longer ſubject to any dioceſan in England; but they took no meaſures for the eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy under any reſtrictions or limitations by royal or national

* The ſon of one of the firſt miniſters, in a preface to a ſermon preached ſoon after the revolution, remarks, "that if the biſhops in the reign of King Charles the Firſt had been of the ſame ſpirit with thoſe in the reign of King William, there would have been no New-England."

tional authority. They muſt, however, have ſuppoſed ſome form or other of church government would be neceſſary; but they were far from being determined what it ſhould be. *Mr. Hilderſham adviſed them to agree upon it before they left England; but it was neglected; perhaps it was impracticable. They knew not how far Mr. Endicot had proceeded in forming the firſt church, and how much it reſembled the conſtitution of the ſeparatiſts at Plymouth; and ſoon after the news of it, one company, who were deſigned for New-England, formed themſelves into a church in the new hoſpital at Plymouth, and John Warham and John Maverick were choſen and ordained their miniſters. Both of them had before been ordained by biſhops. The ſeparatiſts uſed to boaſt, that "if the old puritans were ſecure of the magiſtrate's ſword, and might go on with his good licence, they would ſhake off the prelate's yoke, and draw no longer in ſpiritual communion with all the profane in the land; and though they then preached and wrote againſt the ſeparatiſts, yet, if they were in a place where they might have their liberty, they would do as they did."† The inconveniencies we ſuffer under one extreme, it muſt be allowed, carry us inſenſibly into the other. The New-England puritans, when at full liberty, went the full length which the ſeparatiſts did in England. It does not follow that they would have done ſo if they had remained in England. Upon their removal they ſuppoſed their relation both to the civil and eccleſiaſtical government, except ſo far as a ſpecial reſerve was made by their charter, was at an end, and that they had right to form ſuch new model of both as beſt pleaſed them. In the form of worſhip, they univerſally followed the New-Plymouth church. I find a common prayer book among the liſt of books preſented by William Backhouſe for the uſe of the miniſters, but it was never made uſe of in any church. The firſt notice, after the charter, of any ſtep towards forming themſelves into a church eſtate was, upon occaſion of great ſickneſs and mortality, about a month after their arrival, when the governor, at Charleſtown, wrote to Mr. Johnſon at Salem to ſet apart a day to humble themſelves,

* Hubbard. † Robinſon—Bradford.

ſelves, and ſeek God in his ordinances, and ſolemnly to enter into covenant with him; and as they lived in three* diſtinct places, and had men of ability in each, they might become three diſtinct bodies. At Charleſtown, the governor, deputy governor, Mr. Johnſon, who had removed from Salem, and the miniſter, Mr. Wilſon, on the 30th of July, the faſt day, entered into a church covenant; two days after, they allowed five more to join them, and ſo others, from time to time; and at length they in form choſe Mr. Wilſon for their miniſter, and ordained him;† but all joined in a proteſtation that it was not a renouncing of the miniſtry he received in England, but that it was as a confirmation in conſequence of their election.‡ In the other plantations they formed themſelves into diſtinct churches, one after another, but ſeem to have had no ſettled ſcheme or plan of church government, until Mr. Cotton|| came over, in 1633. His praiſe was in all the churches, as the principal projector of the plan of government of the New-England churches, which from that time took the name of congregational. This was called the middle way between browniſm and preſbyterianiſm,§ and is ſaid to be diſtinguiſhed by four characteriſticks, viz.

1ſt. The ſubject matter of the viſible church, viz. ſaints by calling, ſuch as are acquainted with the principles of religion, and who profeſs their faith, and the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Chriſt, either *vivâ voce*, or elſe by a public declaration thereof made by the elders, as it has been delivered to them in private; although, if ſuch profeſſion be ſcandalized by an unchriſtian converſation, it is not to be regarded.

2d. The conſtitutive part of a particular viſible church ought to be, a reſtipulation or mutual covenanting to walk together in their chriſtian communion, according to the rule of the goſpel.

3d. No church ought to be of larger extent or greater number

* Mr. Prince ſuppoſes the three to be Dorcheſter, Carleſtown and Salem. Salem had been in a church ſtate a year before.

† Auguſt 30th.

‡ Mr. Prince has taken no notice of this circumſtance mentioned by Hubbard.

|| Whatever Mr. Cotton delivered was ſoon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or ſet up as a practice in the church, if of an eccleſiaſtical concernment. *Hut.*

§ Hubbard.

number than may ordinarily meet together in one place, for the enjoyment of all the ſame numerical ordinances, and celebrating all divine worſhip; nor fewer, ordinarily, than conveniently may carry on church work.

4th. That there is no juriſdiction to which particular churches are or ought to be ſubject, by way of authoritative cenſure, nor any other church power, extrinſical to ſuch churches, which they ought to depend upon any other ſort of men for the exerciſe of.

Theſe are ſaid to be the principles upon which a platform of church government was formed.

An odious ſenſe had been affixed to the name of Independents, which ſeems to have been the reaſon why it was avoided, rather than any material diſtinction in the conſtitution of the churches which appears or can be inferred from either of thoſe characteriſtics; but the platform, agreed upon and publiſhed in 1648, although it does not own that dependence which ſhall ſubject any one church to any other, or even to the whole united together, yet it profeſſes a relation which one church hath to another,* and

* We may ſee ſomething of the relation the churches conſidered themſelves in, one to another, before the platform in 1647, by the following letter from the church of Salem to the church of Dorcheſter.

"Salem, 1ſt 5th m° 39.

"Reverend and dearly beloved in the Lord. We thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of ſuch perſons as have had the great cenſure paſt upon them in this our church, with the reaſons thereof, beſeeching you in the Lord, not only to read their names in public to yours, but alſo to give us the like notice of any dealt with in like manner by you, that ſo we may walk towards them accordingly, for ſome of us, here, have had communion ignorantly with ſome of other churches, 2 Theſ. iii. 14. We can do no leſs than have ſuch noted as diſobey the truth.

Roger Williams and his wife,
John Throgmorton and his wife,
Thomas Olney and his wife,
Stukeley Weſtcot and his wife,
Mary Holliman,
Widow Reeves,

} Theſe wholly refuſed to hear the church, denying it, and all the churches in the Bay, to be true churches, and (except two) are all re-baptized.

John Elford, for obſtinacy, after divers ſins he ſtood guilty of and proved by witneſs——William James for pride, and divers other evils, in which he remained obſtinate——John Talby for much pride, and unnaturalneſs to his wife, who was lately executed for murdering her child——William Walcot for refuſing to bring his children to the ordinance, neglecting willingly family duties, &c.

Thus, wiſhing the continued enjoyment of both the ſtaves, beauty and bands, and that your ſouls may flouriſh as watered gardens, reſt

Yours in the Lord Jeſus,
HUGH PETERS,
For the church of Chriſt in Dorcheſter.
by the church's order, and in their name."

"Of late, divers of the miniſtry have had ſet meetings to order church matters, by which it is conceived they bend towards preſbyterian rule." *Lechford*, 1641.

and connects them together by certain rules to be obſerved as the terms or conditions upon which ſuch connection is to continue, and upon the irregular walk or demeanor of any one church, they are no longer to remain members of the ſame body, and the other churches are not to admit them to their fellowſhip or communion. And, although it was the buſineſs of a ſynod, or general council of all the churches, to debate and determine matters of religion, and to give directions relating to the worſhip of God and the good government of the church, "which were to be received with reverence and ſubmiſſion," yet the ſynod was to exerciſe no church cenſures by way of diſcipline, nor any act of church authority or juriſdiction, further than was done at the firſt council of the apoſtles, elders, and whole church, as recorded in the 15th chapter of Acts, which was declared to be a precedent. All this proviſion may appear but a weak band of ſociety; and one would think that merely being rejected from a ſociety, which, it is to be preſumed, after ſufficient cauſe given for ſuch rejection, there would remain no great fondneſs for continuing with, would be no great puniſhment. But this conſtitution of church government was adapted to the conſtitution of civil government, both as popular as can well be conceived; and notwithſtanding an acknowledgment or declaration from both, of ſeparate and diſtinct rights, yet each was aiding and aſſiſting to the other.* By the laws eſtabliſhed

* A conſtant watch was kept over the churches by the magiſtrates; and when any contention or diſorder aroſe in a church, it was recommended to ſome of the neighbouring churches to inquire into the cauſes thereof. The following order of the civil government ſhews in what manner they proceeded.

"At a council held at Boſton, the 5th of Sept. 1656.

"The council, being informed of the uncomfortable differences that of late have fallen out in the church of Chriſt at Sudbury, notwithſtanding ſeveral endeavours to compoſe the ſame, which yet have been fruitleſs, out of their tender care to preſerve and procure peace and unity amongſt them, lately wrote to the ſaid church, in an amicable way, to adviſe and counſel them forthwith to call in to their help ſuch council from the neighbouring churches as the rule preſcribes, from whoſe labours, through the bleſſing of God, a bleſſing might have been expected, which too great a part of that church, as they underſtood by their letter, is far from inclining unto. The council, judging it to be their duty to take an effectual courſe for the healing of their breaches, do therefore deſire and order, that the churches of Chriſt in Cambridge, Watertown and Concord, do each of them reſpectively ſend two meſſengers to meet at ſaid Sudbury on the 7th day of October next, by 8 of the clock in the morning, to conſider and adviſe in the premiſes, viz. to endeavour to compoſe and ſettle the diſtractions at Sudbury, to give their judgments in the caſes of differences there; and it is expected and deſired

eſtabliſhed in the colony, no man could have a ſhare in the adminiſtration of civil government, or give his voice in any election, unleſs he was a member of one of the churches.* No church could be gathered without the allowance of the magiſtrates, conſiſting of and elected by members of the churches; and a miniſter, for preaching to ſuch a ſociety, was liable to a penalty. Mr. Matthews, a miniſter, about the year 1630, was fined ten pounds for this offence. A law was made in 1638, that if any perſon ſtood excommunicated ſix months, they ſhould be liable to fine, impriſonment, or baniſhment, as the court of aſſiſtants ſhould determine; but this law approached too nigh to the eccleſiaſtical laws in England, ſo much complained of, to continue long in force, and in 1639 it was repealed. But the firſt laws ſeem to deprive an excommunicated perſon, and alſo a whole church, if ſeparated from the reſt, of all civil privileges, although the platform does not ſuppoſe deprivation of civil rights and authority to be the neceſſary conſequence; yet, even by the platform, all others were to "forbear to eat and drink with excommunicated perſons." Whilſt

fired that the church of Sudbury, and all perſons concerned therein, give this council, at the time and place aforeſaid, the opportunity of meeting with them, to declare what ſhall concern themſelves, or the council ſhall ſee cauſe to inquire of them, in reference to this buſineſs; making their return to the council of this juriſdiction, what ſucceſs their endeavours, through the bleſſing of Chriſt, hath procured, and whoſe the fault hath been, or is; that ſo, if neceſſity require, ſuch further courſe may be taken therein, as may moſt conduce to the glory of God, the uniting their hearts to unity in truth and peace, according to the rule of the goſpel. And it is ordered, that Lieut. Goodenow, or ſuch as he ſhall appoint, ſhall take care for the entertainment of the ſaid council and all perſons concerned therein. [*This was very agreeable 'to the procuration,' the canonical term for the proviſion made by a church for the archdeacon at his viſitation.*] And it is ordered, that the ſaid council ſhall have liberty to adjourn to ſome other place, if they ſhall ſee cauſe. By order of the council, EDWARD RAWSON, Secr'y."

"Maſter Peters went from Salem, on foot, to Dover, to appeaſe the difference between Maſter Larkham and Maſter K----. He went by the ſending of the governor and aſſiſtants. Maſter Wilſon went to Green's harbour, &c. and at another time, Maſter Wilſon, Maſter Mather, and others, heard the difference between Maſter Hooke and Maſter Doughty, at New-Taunton.——

"It may be, it will be ſaid, they did theſe things by way of love and friendly advice. Grant this. But were not the counſelled bound to receive good counſel? If they would not receive it, was not the magiſtrate ready to aſſiſt, and to enforce peace and obedience?" *Lechford.*

"Every church hath power of government in and by itſelf, and no church or officer have power over one another, but by way of advice or counſel, ſaving that the general court now and then over-rule ſome church matters." *Id.*

* This law was diſpenſed with in favour of Mr. Humphries, who lived at Lynn, where no church was gathered, nor was he a member of any other church, yet was an aſſiſtant ſeveral years. Mr. Cotton ſays, they ſuppoſed he would have been a member if he had had opportunity for it.

Whilſt they remained in this ſtate they would have very little chance for a public poſt, where all the electors were church members.*

The elders or miniſters, although they were not conſidered as one of the eſtates, yet no matters of great weight or moment, whether of a religious or civil nature, were determined without their advice, and a formal reference to them; (in early times they were generally preſent in the courts); and they were thus naturally led to uſe their influence with their people to acquieſce in, and approve of, the meaſures which they themſelves had been conſulted upon and adviſed to.

But however defective this conſtitution may appear in theory, we ſhall ſeldom meet with an inſtance where there has been ſo ſteady and ſo general an adherence to the principles upon which it was founded, and ſo much harmony ſubſiſting, not only in particular churches, but between one church and another, for fifty years together.

In general, the ordination of miniſters was by impoſition of the hands of their brethren in the miniſtry; but ſome churches, perhaps to preſerve a more perfect independency, called for the aid of no miniſters of any other churches, but ordained their miniſters by the impoſition of the hands of ſome of their own brethren.† The ordination at Salem, Auguſt 29th, 1660, was performed in this manner, as I find minuted by a gentleman then juſt arrived from England, who was preſent. ‡ "The church at Salem kept this "day as a faſt, for the ordaining a teacher and a ruling "elder. Mr. Higginſon preached in the morning, conti- "nuing until one o'clock, then broke off for one hour; "then, the congregation being aſſembled again, they went "to the work of the ordination, which was thus—firſt Mr. "Higginſon,

* In 1637, when Mr. Winthrop, the governor, had been very active in the baniſhment of many of the members of Boſton church, for adhering to Mrs. Hutchinſon, ſome of thoſe which remained preſſed the elders very hard to call the governor to anſwer as an offender againſt the church for what he had done in the ſtate, but the elders did not think proper to comply. *Magnalia.*

† This is ſaid by Bailey to be Browniſm. *Dict. of Browniſts.*

‡ I have ſeen an account of an ordination, about the year 1640, of Mr. Hooke, at Taunton, then Cohannet, in Plymouth colony, by the ſchoolmaſter and one of the brethren, an huſbandman, although Mr. Wilſon and Mr. Mather, two miniſters, were preſent: but the general practice was otherwiſe; and at this day an ordination by the lay brethren, although it might not be condemned as invalid, yet would be generally diſapproved and diſcountenanced.

" Higginſon, who was to be ordained teaching elder, " prayed ; after prayer, Major Hathorne, a private mem- " ber, being, it ſeems, deſired by the church, ſtood up and " ſpake to the brethren of the church, that they ſhould " now, if they did continue in the mind they were in be- " fore as to the choice of Mr. Higginſon for their paſtor, " declare their conſent by ſilence ; and then ſpake to Mr. " Higginſon to declare his acceptance ; and then ſpake " to the meſſengers of the churches that were ſent to be " preſent, and to all others, to ſpeak if they knew any " weighty reaſons againſt their proceeding to ordination ; " and then, none ſpeaking, Major Hathorne and two of " the deacons of the church, laying their hands on Mr. " Higginſon's head, pronounced words of ordination, and " prayed over him ; and then Major Hathorne exhorted " the church in a few words to remember their duty, &c. " towards him whom they had ordained to be their paſtor. " Then Mr. Higginſon did, after the ſame manner as is " before expreſſed, proceed to the ordination of Mr. Brown " for the ruling elder ; which being done, they ſung a pſalm, " and concluded with prayer. After the exerciſe, I was " invited to the elder's houſe, where was good company " and good cheer."

Moſt of the churches, not all, had one or more ruling elder. In matters of offence, the ruling elder, after the hearing, aſked the church if they were ſatisfied ; if they were not, he left it to the paſtor or teacher to denounce the ſentence of excommunication, ſuſpenſion or admonition, according as the church had determined. Matters of offence, regularly, were firſt brought to the ruling elder in private, and might not otherwiſe be told to the church. It was the practice for the ruling elders to give public notice of ſuch perſons as deſired to enter into church fellowſhip with them, and of the time propoſed for admitting them, if no ſufficient objection was offered ; and when the time came, to require all perſons who knew any juſt grounds of objection to ſignify them. Objections were frequently made ; and until they were heard and determined, the ruling elder ſeems to have moderated in the church ; but the church's conſent to the admiſſion was aſked by the paſtor

or

or teacher, who alſo rehearſed and propoſed the church covenant, and declared them members. When a miniſter preached to any other than his own church, the ruling elder of the church, after the pſalm ſung, ſaid publicly, "If this preſent brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him ſay on."* The ruling elder always read the pſalm. When the member of one church deſired to receive the ſacrament at another, he came to the ruling elder, who propoſed his name to the church for their conſent. At the communion they ſat with the miniſter. I find nothing further relating to this officer in their public aſſemblies. They were conſidered, without doors, as men for advice and counſel in religious matters; they viſited the ſick, and had a general inſpection and overſight of the conduct of their brethren. Every thing which I have mentioned as the peculiar province of the ruling elder, ſo far as it is in itſelf neceſſary or proper, may with propriety enough be performed by the miniſter. It is not ſtrange therefore that this office in a courſe of years ſunk into almoſt an entire deſuetude in the churches. Indeed the multiplying unneceſſary and mere nominal officers, or officers whoſe duties and privileges are not with certainty agreed upon and determined, ſeems rather to have a natural tendency to diſcord and contention than to harmony and peace.

We meet with nothing peculiar, in the beginning of the churches, relative to the office of deacons. Mention is made of the duty of deaconeſſes or widows, who were "to ſhew mercy with cheerfulneſs, and to miniſter to the ſick and poor brethren;" but I find no inſtance of any ſpecially choſen or appointed to this ſervice.

The miniſters of the ſeveral churches in the town of Boſton have ever been ſupported by a free weekly contribution. I have ſeen a letter from one of the principal miniſters of the colony expreſſing ſome doubts of the lawfulneſs of receiving a ſupport in any other way. In the country towns, compulſory laws were found neceſſary; and in the year 1654 the county courts were empowered to aſſeſs upon the inhabitants of the ſeveral towns which neglected the ſupport

* Lechford.

ſupport of the miniſtry a ſum ſufficient to make up the defect.*

In Boſton, after prayer and before ſinging, it was the practice for ſeveral years for the miniſter to read and expound a chapter. Whether it was becauſe this carried the ſervice to too great a length, or any other reaſon could be given for it, in a few years it was laid aſide, except when it came in place of a ſermon.† Exceptions (may we not ſay cavils?) have been made, by ſome learned, ſerious miniſters, againſt reading the ſcriptures as part of the divine ſervice without an expoſition. The other parts of religious public worſhip, and the manner of adminiſtering the ſacraments, not differing from what is at this day the practice of the churches of New-England and of the church of Scotland, it is unneceſſary to take any notice of them.

From a ſacred regard to the religion of the chriſtian ſabbath, a ſcruple aroſe of the lawfulneſs of calling the firſt day of the week Sunday; and they always, upon any occaſion, whether in a civil or religous relation to it, ſtyled it either the Lord's-day or the Sabbath. As the exception to the word Sunday was founded upon its ſuperſtitious, idolatrous origin, the ſame ſcruple naturally followed with reſpect to the names of all the other days of the week, and of moſt of the months, which had the ſame origin; accordingly, they changed Monday, Tueſday, &c. into the ſecond and third days of the week; and inſtead of March and April, uſed the firſt and ſecond months; and inſtead of the third Tueſday in May, the language was, the third third day of the third month; and ſo of the reſt.‡ All their records and other writings are dated in the common form, which they brought from England with them, until the

* In 1644 one Briſcoe, a tanner, of Watertown, publiſhed a book againſt the ſupport of miniſters by tithes or taxes, and reproached the miniſters who took ſalaries in that way. The miniſters thought him who denied the authority of the civil magiſtrate to provide for the ſupport of miniſters *fuſte potius eruciendum quam argumento*, and therefore they left it to the magiſtrates to defend the cauſe, who convened the tanner before them, and brought him to an acknowledgment, if not to a ſenſe, of his error. *Hubbard.*

† To preach a ſermon which was not compoſed by the preacher himſelf, was looked upon, if not criminal, yet highly diſreputable. One Mr. Bond, having taken this liberty, and being diſcovered, preſently after removed to Barbadoes. *MS.*

‡ This was a ſcruple of the Browniſts.

the year 1636, when Mr. Vane was governor; but after that, the alteration ſeems to have been very ſtrictly obſerved in all public and private writings and diſcourſe, for many years together. In the interregnum it much obtained in England; but the ſcruple there went off at once, upon the reſtoration; here, it abated; and it continues ſcarce any where at this day, except among the people called Quakers. Perhaps the great diſlike to ſome other peculiarities of that people cauſed the decline of that cuſtom in the colony, and made them conſider the ſingularity in the ſame light with ſome others of the ſame nature, which they condemned.*

That every thing approaching to an acknowledgment of the authority of the pope, and his power of canonization, might be avoided, they never uſed the addition of ſaint when they ſpake of the apoſtles and the ancient fathers of the chriſtian church, and even the uſual names of places were made to conform. The Iſland of Saint Chriſtophers was always wrote Chriſtophers, and by the ſame rule all other places to which ſaint had been prefixed. If any exception was made, an anſwer was ready: Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob had as good right to this appellation as Peter, James and John.

They laid aſide the faſts and feaſts of the church of England, and appointed frequently, as occaſion required, days of faſting and thankſgiving; but, beſides theſe occaſional faſts and thankſgivings, they conſtantly, every ſpring, appointed a day for faſting and prayer, to implore the divine bleſſings upon their affairs in the enſuing year; and in the fall, a day of thankſgiving and public acknowledgment of the favours conferred upon them in the year paſt. If they more readily fell into this practice from the example of the people of God of old, yet they might well have been juſtified without any example. It has continued without interruption,

* They began the ſabbath the evening of the laſt day of the week. It was ſome time before this cuſtom was ſettled. Mr. Hooker, in a letter without date, but wrote about the year 1640, ſays, "The queſtion touching the beginning of the ſabbath is now on foot among us, hath once been ſpoken to, and we are to give in our arguments each to the other, ſo that we may ripen our thoughts touching that truth, and if the Lord will it may more fully appear." And in another letter, March, 1640, "Mr. Huit hath not anſwered our arguments againſt the beginning the ſabbath at morning."

ruption, I ſuppoſe, in any one inſtance, down to this day. This is a cuſtom to which no devout perſon of any ſect will take exception. By a law of the colony, every perſon abſenting himſelf from the public worſhip, on theſe days, without ſufficient excuſe, was liable to five ſhillings fine. It would have been as well, perhaps, if this proviſion had been omitted.

Theſe were the principal of the ſpecial eccleſiaſtical or religious cuſtoms. There were ſome attempts to introduce ſingularities into ſome of the churches; particularly, Mr. Davenport, of New-Haven, who afterwards removed to Boſton, required all his congregation to ſtand up whilſt the text was naming; the principal reaſon which was given for it being, that it was the word of God, and deſerved peculiar honour;* and Mr. Williams, of Salem, required all the women of his congregation to wear veils; but neither of theſe cuſtoms ſpread, or were of any long continuance. It was obſerved, as to the latter, that ſo uncouth an appearance, contrary to the practice of the Engliſh nation, would probably draw more eyes than if they were dreſſed like other women. Mr. Cotton, of Boſton, happening to preach at Salem ſoon after this cuſtom began, he convinced his hearers that it had no ſufficient foundation in the ſcriptures: the married women had no pretence to wear veils as virgins; neither married nor unmarried would chooſe to do it from the example of Tamar the harlot, nor need they do it for ſuch purpoſe as Ruth did in her widowhood. His ſermon had ſo good an effect, that they were all aſhamed of their veils, and never appeared covered with them afterwards.†

During the fifty years the charter continued, there were very few inſtances of any ſociety of chriſtians differing, profeſſedly, in doctrine, diſcipline, or form of worſhip, from the eſtabliſhed churches. The number of baptiſts was ſmall. The quakers came over in ſmall parties; but notwithſtanding

* "At Quinnipyack (New-Heaven) Mr Davenport preached in the forenoon that men muſt be uncovered and ſtand up at the reading the text, and in the afternoon the aſſembly jointly practiſed it." *Mr. Hooker to Shepard, March* 20, 1640.

† Hubbard. Mr. Cotton, when he was in England, thought more favourably of this cuſtom. He mentions the old counteſs of Lincoln her always coming to church veiled.

withſtanding the ſtrange deluſion they were under in courting perſecution, and the imprudence of the authority in gratifying this humour as far as their utmoſt wiſhes could carry them, as has been obſerved in the courſe of the hiſtory, yet they were never numerous enough to form a ſociety of any conſequence, except upon the borders of Rhode-Iſland.* Nor was there any epiſcopal church in any part of the colony until the charter was vacated.

The teſt, which we have juſt mentioned, went a great way towards producing this general uniformity. He that did not conform was deprived of more civil privileges than a nonconformiſt is deprived of by the teſt in England. Both the one and the other muſt have occaſioned much formality and hypocriſy. The myſteries of our holy religion have been proſtituted to mere ſecular views and advantages. Beſides this teſt, another reaſon may be aſſigned. As good if not better lands than any in the colony lay contiguous to it, and men of different opinions choſe to remove where they might enjoy both civil and religious liberty, rather than remain and be deprived of either. In this way, birth and quick growth were given to a neighbouring colony, which admitted perſons of all religions, and gave equal privileges to all; and as ſoon as what they called a ſectary ſprang up in the Maſſachuſetts colony, it was tranſplanted to Rhode-Iſland.

I ſhall finiſh what I have to ſay upon the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the colony with a ſhort ſummary of the platform, as I find it prepared by a very ſenſible divine,† who made a figure in the colony ſoon after the platform was eſtabliſhed.

1. "Eccleſiaſtical policy, church government, or church diſcipline, is nothing elſe but that form and order which is to be obſerved in the church of Chriſt upon earth, both for the conſtitution of it and all the adminiſtrations which therein are to be performed, the parts of which are all of them deſcribed in the word of God, and it is not left in the power of any to alter, add, or diminiſh, any thing therein.

2. There

* The ſanguinary laws were of ſhort continuance, otherwiſe the number of quakers would have increaſed.

† Mr. Hubbard.

2. There is a catholic visible church, viz. the company of those who profess the christian faith, whether in church order or not; but there is no political catholic church, the state of the members of the visible church, since the coming of Christ, being only congregational.

3. A congregational church, by the institution of Christ, is a part of the visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body by an holy covenant for the public worship of God and the mutual edification one of another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus; the matter of which, as to its qualification, ought to consist of such persons as have attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, who are free from gross scandal, and with the profession of their faith and repentance walk in blameless obedience to the word of God; as to its quantity, it ought not to be of greater number than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor fewer than may conveniently carry on church work. The form of such a church is an agreement, consent, or visible covenant, whereby they give themselves unto the Lord to the observing the ordinances of Christ together in the same society.

4. The fraternity or brotherhood of such a church is the first subject of all ordinary church power, which is either a power of office or of privilege. But the power of privilege is in the brethren, formally and immediately; the other is in them no otherwise than that they design the persons unto office, who only are to act and exercise that power.

5. The ordinary officers of the church are such as concern their spiritual and moral, or temporal and natural, good. Of the first of which are pastors, teachers, ruling elders, 1 Tim. v. 17. In the last mentioned, most of the churches in New-England, as many of the congregational churches elsewhere, are not so well agreed, accounting ruling elders should be able to teach.

6. It is in the power of the churches to call their own officers, and remove them from their office again, if there fall out just cause; yet so as the advice of neighbour churches, where it may conveniently be done, be first had. They who

who are to officiate ought to be tried and proved before they be elected. 1 Tim. v. 22.

7. Elders are to be ordained by impoſition of hands, which is to be performed by the elders of the ſame church, if it be furniſhed with any, or thoſe of neighbour churches, and it may be done by ſome of the brethren deputed thereunto, which latter is alſo diſapproved by Dr. Hornbeck, the learned profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, from Numb. viii. 10.

8. The power of government in a congregational church ought to proceed after the manner of a mixed adminiſtration; for, in an organic church, no act can be conſummate without the conſent both of the elders and brethren, ſo as the power of government or rule in the elders prejudice not the power of privilege in the brethren, nor the power of privilege in them prejudice the power of rule ſeated in the elders, ſeeing both may ſweetly agree together.

9. For the maintenance of the miniſters of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things; and in caſe of neglect, the magiſtrate ought to ſee that the miniſtry be duly provided for.

10. For the admiſſion of members, there ought to be either a perſonal relation in public, or by the elders acquainting the church what ſatisfaction they have received from the perſons in private. The things wherein ſatisfaction is required are faith and repentance, which ought to be found in all church members.

11. Where members of churches are called to remove from one church to another, it is convenient, for order ſake, that it be done by letters of recommendation or of diſmiſſion.

12. The cenſures of the church, which are for the preventing, removing or healing offences, are excommunication or admonition, wherein the church ought to proceed according to the rule, Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17. wherein the offence is to be brought to the church by the mouth of the elders.

13. Particular churches, although they are diſtinct and have not one power over another, yet, becauſe they are united unto Chriſt, not only as a myſtical but as a political head, they ought to have communion one with another, by

by way of mutual care, conſultation, admonition, and participation in the ſame ordinances.

14. Synods, orderly aſſembled and rightly proceeding according to the pattern of Acts xv. are the ordinance of Chriſt, and, if not abſolutely neceſſary to the being, yet neceſſary to the well-being, of churches, for the eſtabliſhment of peace and truth therein. And many churches may ſo aſſemble together by their meſſengers and elders. And their directions and determinations, ſo far as conſonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and ſubmiſſion, not only for their agreement therewith, without which they bind not at all, but alſo for the power whereby they are made, as an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.

15. Church government and civil government may very well ſtand together, it being the duty of the magiſtrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for obſerving the duties commanded in the firſt as well as in the ſecond table, ſeeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the ſubject in matters of righteouſneſs and honeſty, but alſo in matters of godlineſs. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2."

After all that may be ſaid in favour of the conſtitution, the ſtrength of it lay in the union, declared in the laſt article, with the civil authority. The uſual way of deciding differences and controverſies in churches, it is true, was by a council conſiſting of the elders and other meſſengers of neighbouring churches; and where there was a general agreement in ſuch councils, the contending parties generally acquieſced; but if the council happened to differ in apprehenſions among themſelves, or if either of the contending parties were contumacious, it was a common thing for the civil magiſtrate to interpoſe, and put an end to the diſpute.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

The System, or Body, of Laws established in the Colony.

AT the first meeting of the court of assistants at Charlestown, Aug. 23d, 1630, they established rules of proceeding in all civil actions, and instituted subordinate powers for punishing offenders. The supreme authority being in the court of assistants, they resolved upon frequent meetings for the due execution of it. As it was necessary for every family to provide lodgings before winter, the first law proposed and passed was for the regulating the price of wages of workmen, under a penalty to him that gave as well as to him who received more than the limited price.* They proceeded to other laws, for punishing idleness and encouraging industry; and, as they were in the midst of savages much more numerous than themselves, they obliged every man to attend military exercises, and limited the bounds of their plantations, that none might be more exposed than was necessary.

In civil actions, equity, according to the circumstances of the case, seems to have been their rule of determining. The judges had recourse to no other authorities than the reason and understanding which God had given them. In punishing offences, they professed to be governed by the judicial law of Moses, but no farther than those laws were of a moral nature.

Whilst they were thus without a code or body of laws, and the colony but just come to its birth, their sentences seem to be adapted to the circumstances of a large family of children and servants, as will appear from the following, which, from amongst many others of the same sort, I have taken out of the public records.

Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of

* Carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers, not more than 2s. per day, &c.

of Joſias, and not * Mr. as formerly he uſed to be.

Captain Stone, for abuſing Mr. Ludlow, and calling him juſtaſs, is fined an hundred pounds, and prohibited coming within the patent without the governor's leave upon pain of death.

Serjeant Perkins ordered to carry forty turfs to the fort, for being drunk.

Edward Palmer, for his extortion, in taking two pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence for the wood work of Boſton ſtocks, is fined five pounds, and ordered to be ſet one hour in the ſtocks.

Captain Lovel, admoniſhed to take heed of light carriage.

Thomas Petit, for ſuſpicion of ſlander, idleneſs and ſtubborneſs, is cenſured to be ſeverely whipped, and to be kept in hold.

Catharine, the wife of Richard Corniſh, was found ſuſpicious of incontinency, and ſeriouſly admoniſhed to take heed.

Daniel Clarke, found to be an immoderate drinker, was fined forty ſhillings.

John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be ſet in the ſtocks.

John Kitchin, for ſhewing books which he was commanded to bring to the governor, and forbidden to ſhew them to any other, and yet ſhewed them, was fined ten ſhillings.

Robert Shorthoſe, for ſwearing by the blood of God, was ſentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft ſtick, and to ſtand ſo for the ſpace of half an hour.

Great numbers of the like kind might be added.

In the year 1634, the plantation was greatly increaſed; ſettlements were extended more than thirty miles from the capital town; and it was thought high time to have known, eſtabliſhed laws, that the inhabitants might no longer be ſubject to the varying, uncertain judgments, which otherwiſe would be made concerning their actions. The miniſters,

* They were very careful that no title or appellation ſhould be given where it was not due; not more than half a dozen of the principal gentlemen took the title of eſquire; and in a liſt of 100 freemen you will not find above 4 or 5 diſtinguiſhed by Mr. although they were generally men of ſome ſubſtance. Goodman and goodwife were common appellations.

iſters, and ſome of the principal laymen, were conſulted with, about a body of laws ſuited to the circumſtances of the colony, civil and religious. Committees, conſiſting of magiſtrates and elders, were appointed almoſt every year, for twelve or fourteen years together; and whilſt they were thus fitting a code, particular laws, which were of greateſt neceſſity, from time to time were enacted; and in the year 1648, the whole, collected together, were ratified by the court, and then firſt printed.

Mr. Bellingham of the magiſtrates, and Mr. Cotton of the clergy, had the greateſt ſhare in this work.

Let us conſider the character of our new planters, the ſtate and condition they were in before they left England, and after their arrival in America, and we ſhall ſee the ſource of the peculiarities in their laws and cuſtoms. It has been obſerved, that they were diſſatisfied not only with the ceremonies, but alſo with the rigid diſcipline, at that time, of the church of England: in this indeed they were not ſingular; the principal commoners, great part of the clergy, and many of the nobility, were of the ſame ſentiments. They muſt have had very tender and ſcrupulous minds, or they would not have baniſhed themſelves from their dear country, friends and acquaintance, and launched into an unknown world, rather than ſubmit to any thing againſt their judgments and conſciences. They profeſſed a ſacred regard to the word of God in the old and new teſtament as a ſufficient rule of conduct, and that they were obliged to follow it. They looked upon the obſervation of the firſt as well as ſecond table neceſſary to be enjoined; and as the conſtitution of their churches would not admit of eccleſiaſtical courts, proviſion muſt be made for the puniſhment of many offences here by the civil magiſtrate which are not offences by the common law. Whether every breach of the laws of the firſt as well as ſecond table has not ſuch a tendency, by mere example, to diſturb the peace of civil ſociety, as that proviſion for the puniſhment thereof is neceſſary, by ſome authority or other, I need not determine: they thought it had; and upon this principle they did not chooſe ſuch puniſhments for crimes as were merely in proportion to their affecting the ſafety or peace of

of ſociety, a principle upon which the nations of Europe have been more and more modeling their criminal laws for ſeveral ages paſt, but annexed greater penalties to ſome immoralities and impieties than had been known in the country they left, determined many others to deſerve the notice of the civil magiſtrate which would have eſcaped it in England, and perhaps judged ſome actions criminal which to minds leſs ſcrupulous would have appeared indifferent.* The generality of the colony being very near upon a level, more than common proviſion was neceſſary to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to eſtabliſh and preſerve the authority of the government; for although ſome amongſt them had handſome fortunes, yet in general their eſtates were ſmall, barely ſufficient to provide them houſes and neceſſary accommodations; a contempt of authority was therefore next to a capital offence. The country being new and uncultivated, the utmoſt induſtry, economy and frugality were neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence; and laws, with heavy penalties to enforce the obſervance of them. They were in the midſt of ſavages, whoſe numbers were much greater than their own, and were under continual alarms and apprehenſions of danger, and a ſtrict diſcipline could not be diſpenſed with. If we add, that they were at their full liberty, the troubles in England taking off from the colonies the attention of the ſeveral ſucceſſions of ſupreme power there, for near thirty years together; from all theſe circumſtances we may pretty well account for all the peculiarities in the laws of the colony.

In that branch of law more eſpecially which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of crown law, they profeſſed to have no regard to the rules of the common law of England. They intended to follow Moſes's plan, as has been obſerved, but no farther than it was of a moral nature †, and obligatory

* The character which the colony acquired by the ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of their laws, induced many perſons of pious minds to come over themſelves, and others to ſend their children for education, many of whom remained here. Pennſylvania, by a greater latitude in their ſyſtem, have drawn inhabitants in much greater proportion. Our anceſtors valued themſelves upon being a colony for religion. Penn had no other motive to found his colony than human policy.

† They did not go the length of the Browniſts, who are ſaid to have held, "that no prince nor ſtate on the earth hath any legiſlative power; that God alone is the lawgiver; that the greateſt magiſtrate hath no other power but to execut-

tory upon all mankind; and perhaps they did not, in many inſtances, err in judgment upon the morality of actions; but their grand miſtake lay in ſuppoſing certain natural puniſhments, in every ſtate, alike proportioned to this or that particular kind of offence, and which Moſes had obſerved; whereas ſuch puniſhments are and ought to be governed by the particular conſtitutions and circumſtances of the ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates where they are applied; and although they were undoubtedly well fitted to the ſtate of the ancient Iſraelites, and the great end of puniſhment, viz. the preventing the like offences, could not, it may be, have been otherwiſe ſo well effected, yet they were by no means obligatory upon other ſtates whoſe conſtitutions or circumſtances differed; and other ſtates have therefore continually more or leſs varied from them. Idolatry was the ſin which eaſily beſet the Iſraelites, and it was neceſſary to make it a capital offence. Perhaps if it ſhould be thought proper to prohibit idolatry in China, at this day, the ſame penalty might be neceſſary, and yet not ſo in New-England.

Murder,* ſodomy, witchcraft, arſon, and rape of a child under ten years of age, were the only crimes made capital in the colony which were capital in England; and yet, from the miſtaken principle I have juſt mentioned, their laws were more ſanguinary than the Engliſh laws; for many offences were made capital here, which were not ſo there. The firſt in order, being a breach of the firſt command in the decalogue, was the worſhip of any other god beſides the Lord God. Perhaps a roman catholic, for the adoration of the hoſt, might have come within this law.

execute the laws of God ſet down in ſcripture; that the judicial laws of Moſes bind at this day all the nations of the world as much as ever they did the Jews." *Baylie.*

Roger Williams ſaid, that "although they profeſſed to be bound by ſuch judicials only as contained in them moral equity, yet they extended this moral equity to ſo many particulars as to take in the whole judicial law, no leſs than the rigideſt Browniſts." *Idem.*

Although they did not go to this extreme, it muſt be allowed they did not keep within the limits they profeſſed as their rule. They were charged with holding it to be the duty of the magiſtrate to kill all idolaters and heretics, even whole cities, men, women and children, from the command of the Iſraelites to root out the canaanites. *Idem.*

* Homicide was either murder, excuſable homicide, or juſtifiable. They did not make the diſtinction of manſlaughter from murder. The benefit of the clergy was of popiſh extract, and burning in the hand with a cold iron appeared to them a ridiculous ceremony.

law. After the miſerable Indians ſubmitted to the Engliſh laws, ſpecial proviſion was made, by another law, that if any of them ſhould powow, or perform outward worſhip to their falſe gods, the powower (who was their prieſt) ſhould be fined five pounds, and others preſent twenty ſhillings each. The Indians have been puniſhed upon the latter law; but I never met with an inſtance of a proſecution of any Engliſhman upon the former.

To blaſpheme the holy name of God, Father, Son, or Holy Ghoſt, with direct, expreſs, preſumptuous, or high-handed blaſphemy, either by wilful or obſtinate denying the true God, or his creation or government of the world, curſing God, or reproaching the holy religion of God, as if it was a politic device to keep ignorant men in awe, or to utter any other kind of blaſphemy of the like nature and degree, was alſo made capital.

Man-ſtealing, from Exodus xxi. 16. was alſo capital.

So was adultery with a married woman, both to the man and woman, although the man was ſingle; and ſeveral have ſuffered death upon this law.* Male adultery with an unmarried woman, was not capital.

He who was convicted of wilful perjury, with intent to take away the life of another, was to ſuffer death, from Deut. xix. 16. This crime may well enough be denominated murder; and yet a wilful perjury, by which a man's life is in fact taken away, was never made capital in England. Many offences are made ſo, which ſeem to be inferior in their guilt and conſequences to the public. The difficulty of conviction may be one reaſon, and the diſcouragement it would ſometimes be to witneſſes to give their

* Philo places the command againſt adultery before that againſt murder.—— There was a pretty extraordinary inſtance of a proſecution for adultery in the year 1663. Mr. N. P. a young merchant, had been intimate with a married lady of one of the firſt families in the country. After her huſband's death he married her. After they had lived together three or four years, a proſecution was began againſt both of them, for adultery in the life time of the firſt huſband. They were both committed to priſon, and ſeparately brought upon trial for their lives. The court and jury were favourable to the huſband, and acquitted him of a capital offence, probably becauſe he was not at the time charged a married man. The wife likewiſe met with a favourable jury, and they found her alſo not guilty; but the court, who thought otherwiſe, refuſed the verdict, and the cauſe was carried before the general court, where ſhe very narrowly eſcaped, the whole court determining that there was proof of a crime which approached very near to adultry, but in favour of life ſhe was diſcharged.

their teſtimonies another and ſtronger reaſon, in vindication of the common law. In this inſtance the Maſſachuſetts law agreed, I take it, with the civil law, the laws of Scotland at this day, and of many other ſtates in Europe.

A child, above ſixteen years of age, that curſed or ſmote his father or mother, unleſs provoked by cruelty and in its own defence, or unchriſtianly neglected in its education, and alſo a ſtubborn and rebellious ſon, according to Deut. xxi. 20. upon conviction, were to ſuffer death. There have been ſeveral trials upon this law. I have met with one conviction, but the offender was reſcued from the gallows by order of the King's commiſſioners in 1665.*

High treaſon is not mentioned.† Before they had agreed upon the body of laws, the King's authority in England was at an end. Conſpiracy to invade their own commonwealth, or any treacherous, perfidious attempt to alter and ſubvert fundamentally the frame of their polity and government, was made a capital offence.

Rape, it was left to the court to puniſh with death or other grievous puniſhment at diſcretion.‡ No judge would deſire to have a capital puniſhment left to his diſcretion; and it may be doubted whether, in any caſe, it can be of public utility.

Several

* In the firſt draught of the laws by Mr. Cotton, which I have ſeen corrected with Mr. Winthrop's hand, divers other offences were made capital, viz.

Profaning the Lord's day in a careleſs or ſcornful neglect or contempt thereof. Numbers xv. 30 to 36.

Reviling the magiſtrates in higheſt rank, viz. the governor and council. Exod. xxii. 18. 1 Kings xxii. 8, 9, 44.

Defiling a woman eſpouſed. Deut. xxii. 23 to 26.

Inceſt within the Levitical degrees.

The pollution mentioned in Levit. xx. 13 to 16.

Lying with a maid in her father's houſe, and keeping it ſecret until ſhe was married to another. Exod. xxi. 16.

The puniſhment by death is eraſed from all theſe offences by Mr. Winthrop, and they are left to the diſcretion of the court to inflict other puniſhment ſhort of death.

From the ſame prejudice in favour of Iſraelitiſh cuſtoms, a fondneſs aroſe, or at leaſt was increaſed, for ſignificant names for children. The three firſt that were baptized in Boſton church were, Joy, Recompence, and Pity. The humour ſpread. The town of Dorcheſter, in particular, was remarkable for ſuch names, Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preſerved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfaſt, &c. Many of which at this day are retained in families, in remembrance of their anceſtors.

† In 1678, when complaints were made againſt the colony, it was by law made capital.

‡ Rape was not capital by the Jewiſh law, and for that reaſon it was not ſo for many years by the colony law.

Several offences were capital upon a ſecond conviction, as the returning of a romiſh prieſt into the juriſdiction after baniſhment upon the firſt conviction. The law was the ſame with reſpect to quakers alſo.

The denial of either of the books of the old and new teſtament, which were all enumerated, to be the written and infallible word of God, was either baniſhment or death for the ſecond offence, at the diſcretion of the court; and, what is very extraordinary, an inhabitant who was guilty of this offence upon the high ſeas, was made liable to the penalty.

Burglary, and theft in a houſe or fields on the Lord's day, were capital upon a third conviction. Theſe were all the offences which they made capital.

Larceny, or theft, was puniſhable by fine or whipping, and reſtitution of treble the value, and theft boot by a forfeiture of the value of the goods to the government.

The penalty of drunkenneſs was ten ſhillings; exceſſive drinking, three ſhillings and four pence; tippling above half an hour, half a crown; profane curſing and ſwearing, ten ſhillings, and if more than one oath at a time, twenty ſhillings.

I have ſeen a letter, dated about the year 1660, wherein a gentleman writes to his friend in London, that "he had lived ſeveral years in the country, and never ſaw a perſon drunk, nor never heard a profane oath."

The penalty of profanation of the ſabbath was ten ſhillings.*

Fornication might be puniſhed by enjoining marriage, by fine, or corporal puniſhment; and a freeman, for this offence, might be diſfranchiſed, upon conviction.†

Idleneſs was no ſmall offence: common fowlers, tobacco-takers, and all other perſons who could give no good account how they ſpent their time, the conſtables were required to preſent to the next magiſtrate; and the ſelect-men of every town were required to overſee the families, and

* When exception was taken in England to the laws, that relative to the ſabbath, reſtraining perſons from walking in the ſtreets or fields, was one; but, although their charter was in danger, they refuſed to make any alteration in the law.

† Exodus xxii. 16, 17. cauſed ſome doubt whether fine or corporal puniſhment was to be inflicted for fornication. I have ſeveral manuſcripts on both ſides the queſtion.

and to diſtribute the children into claſſes, and to take care that they were employed in ſpinning and other labour, according to their age and condition.

Contempt of authority was puniſhed with great ſeverity, by fine, impriſonment, or corporal puniſhment.

Leſſer offences, as all breaches of the peace, and alſo every offence *contra bonos mores*, where there was no determinate penalty, the court, before which the offence was tried, puniſhed at diſcretion.

They had a law againſt ſlavery, except priſoners taken in war. Negroes were brought in very early among them.* Some judicious perſons are of opinion that the permiſſion of ſlavery has been a public miſchief.

Their laws concerning marriage and divorce were ſomewhat ſingular. I ſuppoſe there had been no inſtance of a marriage, lawfully celebrated, by a layman in England, when they left it. I believe there was no inſtance of marriage by a clergyman after they arrived, during their charter; but it was always done by a magiſtrate, or by perſons ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe, who were confined to particular towns or diſtricts. If a miniſter happened to be preſent, he was deſired to pray. It is difficult to aſſign a reaſon for ſo ſudden a change, eſpecially as there was no eſtabliſhed form of the marriage covenant; and it muſt have been adminiſtered many times in the new plantations by perſons not the moſt proper for that purpoſe, conſidering of what importance it is to ſociety that a ſenſe of this ordinance, in ſome degree ſacred, ſhould be maintained and preſerved.† At this day, marriages are ſolemnized by the clergy; and although the law admits of its being done by a juſtice of peace, yet not one in many hundred is performed by them.‡

In

* Joſſelyn mentions three or four blacks in Mr. Maverick's family at Noddles-iſland in 1638.

† The Scotch writers tell us, that by their laws it is not neceſſary marriages ſhould be celebrated by a clergyman; that the conſent of parties, ſignified before a magiſtrate, or only before two witneſſes, and without conſummation, will make a marriage valid.

‡ The publication of the banns was very early required; and no magiſtrate, or other perſon ſpecially authorized to join perſons in marriage, had authority to do it before the parties had been publiſhed according to law. The ſame law was renewed under the province charter, and, after more than an hundred years experience, has been found very beneficial; there have been inſtances, but they are rare,

In matters of divorce, they left the rules of the canon law out of the queſtion; with reſpect to ſome of them, prudently enough. I never heard of a ſeparation, under the firſt charter, *a menſa et thoro*. Where it is practiſed, the innocent party often ſuffers more than the guilty. In general, what would have been cauſe for ſuch a ſeparation in the ſpiritual courts, was ſufficient, with them, for a divorce *a vinculo*. Female adultery was never doubted to have been ſufficient cauſe; but male adultery, after ſome debate and conſultation with the elders, was judged not ſufficient. Deſertion a year or two, where there was evidence of a determined deſign not to return, was always good cauſe; ſo was cruel uſage of the huſband. Conſanguinity they ſettled in the ſame degrees as it is ſettled in England and in the levitical laws. It is ſaid, a man may give his wife moderate correction without expoſing himſelf to any penalty in the law; our legiſlators had more tender ſentiments of this happy ſtate, and a man who ſtruck his wife was liable to a fine of ten pounds, or corporal puniſhment: a woman who ſtruck her huſband was liable to the ſame penalties.*

In teſtamentary matters, the county courts had juriſdiction by law.† In the beginning, they ſo far followed the civil law as to conſider real eſtates as mere *bona*, and they did not confine themſelves to any rules of diſtribution then in uſe in England, and which afterwards were more fully eſtabliſhed by the ſtatute of diſtributions. They conſidered the family and eſtate in all their circumſtances, and ſometimes aſſigned a greater portion to one branch than

rare, of young people going to New-Hampſhire, where licences to marry are granted by the governor. As theſe inſtances have been, many of them, not for the moſt reputable cauſes, their example has had but little influence. Perhaps, in a few years, the people of England will be equally well ſatisfied with the proviſion made by the late marriage act, and no body will be at the pains of a journey to Scotland to avoid conformity to it. Upon Mr. Dudley's being appointed preſident of the colony, &c. in 1686, he publiſhed an order of council, authorizing and empowering miniſters and juſtices of the peace, the order ſays, "to conſummate marriages," after three ſeveral times publication or licence from the preſident or deputy.

* This ſeems to leave the wife to the mercy of the huſband, who ordinarily muſt have paid the fine himſelf, or ſuffer her to be whipped.

† In the reign of Henry the Seventh, it was ſaid by Fineux, that the juriſdiction of the ſpiritual court in matters teſtamentary was but lately introduced by cuſtom.

than another; ſometimes they ſettled all upon the widow; in other caſes aſſigned the whole eſtate to the adminiſtrators, or to any relation who would undertake to ſupport or provide for the family, and pay certain ſums to the children when they came to age or marriage. All this ſeems to be neceſſary in a new plantation, where moſt people ſoon ſpent what little perſonal eſtate they had, in improvement upon their lands. When they eſtabliſhed a general rule, they conformed very near to the rules reſpecting perſonal eſtate in England, only they gave the eldeſt ſon a double portion;* and in the real eſtate, the widow generally was conſidered for her dower only; but ſtill, according to the circumſtances of the eſtate and family, the court would conſider the widow, and allow her a greater or leſſer part, and enjoin her to take care of the children unable to provide for themſelves, in proportion to what ſhe received. They had no law for the diſtribution of the eſtates of perſons dying inſolvent; however, as executors and adminiſtrators were not held to prefer in payment one debt to another, whether by judgment, bond or ſimple contract, the uſual way was, for a creditor of an inſolvent perſon to apply to the general court to appoint commiſſioners to examine the claims, and alſo to diſcover the eſtate by examining upon oath, &c. and each creditor was paid in proportion.† The common law was altered with reſpect to fee ſimple eſtates, and they deſcended to every child. It ſeems very natural to ſuppoſe that eſtates in fee tail would deſcend in like manner, except ſo far as the entail limited or cut the fee, as in gavelkind all the ſons take as heir of the body. Notwithſtanding this, the conſtruction of a general tail was ſuch, that the heir at common law took as heir of the body, to the excluſion of the other children. Traitors and felons might diſpoſe of their eſtates, real and perſonal, by will, after ſentence; and if they died inteſtate, diſtribution was made as in other caſes, there being no forfeitures. They held their lands as of the manor of Eaſt Greenwich in the county of Kent,

* From Deuteronomy xxi. 17. This law of Moſes extended as well to real as perſonal eſtate, and perhaps had as great weight as either the civil law or the peculiar circumſtances of a new country.

† About the year 1680, a law was made to enable the county courts to appoint commiſſioners to examine claims to the eſtates of perſons dying inſolvent, and to diſtribute in proportion to the creditors.

Kent, in free and common ſocage, and not in capite nor by knights ſervice. They ſtrangely ſuppoſed that ſocage tenure included all the properties and cuſtoms of gavelkind, one of which is, "the father to the bough, the ſon to the plough."* God having forbad the alienation of lands from one tribe to another in the commonwealth of Iſrael, ſo among the firſt laws of the colony it was provided, "that no free inhabitant of any town ſhould ſell the lands allotted to him in the town, but to ſome one or other of the free inhabitants of that town, unleſs the town gave conſent, or refuſed to give what others offered without fraud." This law could not continue long in force. All the valuable ends were anſwered by making lands liable to pay taxes upon them to the town where they lay, though the lands be not the property of the inhabitants.

They made proviſion by temporary laws for the charges of government. This was done for divers years in the moſt equitable way, by aſſeſſing every inhabitant in proportion to the profits of his whole eſtate real and perſonal, and his income by any ways and means whatſoever. This is practicable only in caſes where the taxes are not very heavy. By impoſts, exciſes and other duties, taxes are inſenſibly paid, which, if proportionably laid upon every individual, and paid in one ſum out of an annual income, would be thought intolerable. The clergy, at all times, have been exempt from all taxes for their perſons or eſtates under their own improvement, not merely becauſe this was agreeable to the levitical law,† but becauſe they depended upon the people from year to year for their ſupport, and whatever was added to their annual expenſe by a tax, ſo much muſt have been added by the people to enable their miniſters to pay it. After the year 1645, impoſts and exciſes were introduced. Where the officers are annually elected by the people, one great objection againſt ſuch duties, viz. the

* "As to what is objected againſt perſons condemned making wills, &c. we conceive it to be according to our patent and its original, viz. that of Eaſt-Greenwich, according unto which, as we conceive, notwithſtanding the father's crime, yet the children are to poſſeſs the eſtate." *Maſſ. Records.*

† Upon occaſion of ſome diſputes with the clergy at Rome, a memorial was preſented, in which was this maxim, "That the clergy ought to contribute to the ſupport of the ſtate, let the old teſtament ſay what it will." *Spirit of Laws.*

the influence such officers may have upon the people's liberty, in other elections, can have no place.

Their military laws at first were more severe, every person being required to appear in arms, in order for military exercise, once every month. Some few persons in public office were only excepted. This was afterwards lessened to eight times in a year, and at length to four. Every inhabitant was to be furnished with arms and ammunition. A few months actual service against the Indian enemy, in Philip's war, made better soldiers than all their exercise at home had done in forty years.

Upon the division of the colony into regiments, colonels and lieut. colonels were appointed to each regiment. This lasted but a short time; ever after they had one field officer only to every regiment, a serjeant major, and a major general for the whole. He was chosen by the freemen. The officers of the several companies, ordinarily, were chosen by the companies respectively, and presented to the general court for their approbation.

It may not be amiss to add a brief account of their legislative and judiciary forms, and some special customs.

The magistrates or assistants, and the deputies or representatives of the people, at first, sat together in one room, and for several years voted together, without any distinction, the major part of the whole number determining the vote; for in 1635, when the general court was ordered, for time to come, to be held twice a year only, it was at the same time resolved, that inasmuch as in those courts held by the magistrates and deputies, there might arise some difference of judgment in doubtful cases, therefore no law, order or sentence should pass as an act of the court, without the consent of the greater part of the magistrates on the one part, and the greater number of the deputies on the other part; and for want of such accord, the cause or order was to be suspended; and if either party thought it sufficiently material, a committee was to be chosen, one half by the magistrates and one half by the deputies, which committee might choose an umpire, and by them the cause was to be determined. This was a prudent precaution on the part of the magistrates; for their number being limited, and

and the number of deputies increaſing in proportion as new towns were planted, without ſuch proviſion the magiſtrates would, in a few years, have loſt all their weight in the legiſlative part of the government. There is no record of the general court's ſitting and acting in diſtinct and ſeparate houſes until the year 1644. In the charter, as has been obſerved, there was no mention of a houſe of repreſentatives; a general court was to conſiſt of the magiſtrates and freemen; and this occaſioned the diſpute, whether there was a negative voice in each part of the legiſlative body; but at length it was agreed, that, in matters of legiſlation, they ſhould act diſtinct and ſeparate, and that no legiſlative act ſhould be valid that was not approved by the major part of each houſe.

The judicial power, both in civil and criminal matters, was at firſt exerciſed by the court of aſſiſtants, except in caſes cognizable by a juſtice of peace. In divers caſes of violent death, juries of inqueſt were impanneled by the governor, and a jury was alſo impanneled for trial of any perſons charged by the jury of inqueſt. I find but one inſtance of trial by jury in any caſe, except murder, and that was in an action of aſſault and battery, until November 1633, when it was ordered that proceſs ſhould be directed by the ſecretary to the beadle, to warn 24 jurors, 14 days before the court, who were to be named by the ſecretary. In 1634, an order or law was made, that no trial ſhould paſs upon any for life or death, without a jury regularly choſen by the freemen. Grand juries were firſt eſtabliſhed by law in September 1635. At the firſt court afterwards, an hundred offences were preſented.

The colony increaſing, and the ſettlements extending remote from the capital, it was ſoon found neceſſary to make a diviſion into ſhires or counties; and courts were held in each county, in ſome four in a year, in others two, in Yorkſhire or the province of Main, but one. Theſe courts were held by the magiſtrates who lived in each county, or any other magiſtrates who would attend, together with ſuch other perſons as the freemen of the county, from time to time, ſhould nominate, and the general court approve of, ſo as to make five in all, any three to hold a court.

court. They had power to determine all civil cauſes.* and all criminal, the penalty not extending to life, member, or baniſhment. Grand and petit juries were ſummoned to attend them. Appeals from them lay to the court of aſſiſtants, and from thence to the general court. The higher offences againſt law were cognizable by the aſſiſtants only, except upon application, by appeal or petition, to the general court. In all actions, civil or criminal, in which any ſtranger was a party or intereſted, who could not ſtay, without damage, to attend the ordinary courts of juſtice, the governor or deputy governor, with any two magiſtrates, had power to call a ſpecial court to hear and determine the cauſe, either civil or criminal, if triable in a county court; the record of the proceedings to be tranſmitted to the records of the courts of aſſiſtants. In divers towns, a petty court was eſtabliſhed for ſmall debts and treſpaſſes under twenty ſhillings: and in every town the ſelectmen, who were annually choſen by the town, had power to hear and determine all offences againſt the by-laws of the town, the penalty of which could not extend beyond twenty ſhillings, and the by-laws could not extend to matters criminal in their nature, but were limited to the regulation of their buildings, fences, ſtreets, &c. to the preventing nuiſances, and to other matters tending to the convenience and accommodation of the inhabitants.

The ſtar chamber, high commiſſion, as well as all the eccleſiaſtical courts, were in their zenith when our anceſtors left England, but they brought away no affection for them. A diſcontented attorney,† who publiſhed, in 1642, a little pamphlet relative to New-England, ſays, that "in their general

* At firſt in civil cauſes they were limited to ten pounds.

† This was one Thomas Lechford, who left England about the year 1637, being diſſatisfied, as he ſays, with the eccleſiaſtical government, and having made himſelf obnoxious by his oppoſition to epiſcopacy. When he came to New-England, he ſays, he found every church-member a biſhop, and not inclining to become one himſelf, he could not be admitted a freeman among them, but was very active in cenſuring their proceedings in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters. The court took the advantage of an offence of another nature, his going to the jury and pleading with them out of court, and debarred him from pleading any man's cauſe beſides his own, and at the ſame time admoniſhed him not to preſume to meddle beyond what he ſhould be called to by the court. Being deprived of the means of ſupporting himſelf, he returned to England in 1641, a zealous epiſcopalian. Epiſcopacy being declining there, he had room to indulge the ruling paſſion, by attacking Old England and New in the ſame piece, to which he gave the title of Plain Dealing.

general courts and quarter ſeſſions, they exerciſed all the powers of parliament, king's bench, common pleas, chancery, high commiſſion, ſtar chamber, and all other the courts of England; and in divers inſtances put to death, baniſhed, fined, cut off ears, whipt and impriſoned for eccleſiaſtical and civil offences." It will appear from their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, and the profeſſed independency of the churches, that there was no room for the exerciſe of great part of the powers of the ſpiritual courts.

All cauſes which in England would have fallen within the juriſdiction of the high court of admiralty, were likewiſe heard and determined in the courts of common law. There were divers inſtances of trials, condemnations and executions, for piracies, murders and other felonies committed upon the high ſeas. I imagine, the neceſſity of the thing, that juſtice might be done, muſt have been the plea for this extraordinary proceeding. To have ſent ſuch offenders to England, where they might have had a trial, to the legality of which no exception could have been made, would have been much more regular, and the expenſe attending it muſt have been matter of little weight, when compared with the putting men to death where the authority for it was but doubtful, if even that may be ſaid in favour of it.

Their judicial proceedings were in as ſummary a way as could well conſiſt with the preſervation of any tolerable degree of method or order. They ſeem to have not much regarded forms in books of entries. Writs and proceſſes were not in the King's name, and were very conciſe. I find a writ in 1650 in this form.

"To the Marſhal or his Deputy.

"You are required to attach the goods or lands of William Stevens, to the value of one hundred pounds, ſo as to bind the ſame to be reſponſible at the next court at Boſton, 29th of the 5th month, to anſwer the complaint of Mr. James Altwood in an action of debt to the value of fifty pounds upon a bill of exchange; and ſo make a true return hereof under your hand. Dated 29th 2d month, 1650. per curiam,

Wm. Aſpinwall."

They

They did not trouble themſelves with pleas in abatement. They made no alteration, upon the ſeveral changes of government in England. There is no room to ſuppoſe that the omiſſion of his Majeſty's name proceeded from diſaffection, or that they imagined themſelves altogether independent. So far as their dependence was expreſſed in their charter, it could not be diſputed. The reaſonable and neceſſary connexion between a colony and the ſtate from which it ſprings, perhaps, was not fully underſtood. They were not long afraid of any checks or reſtraints from the powers at home. After a few years, the authority of the King in England was at an end. The houſe of commons, in 1642, paſſed a reſolve which ſhews the colony to have been a favourite. Both Oliver and Richard Cromwell, during their protectorates, wrote to the government in a ſtyle more proper for one ally to another, than for the head of a ſovereign ſtate to one of its branches or dependences.

For more than the ten firſt years, the parties ſpake for themſelves, for the moſt part; ſometimes, when it was thought the cauſe required it, they were aſſiſted by a patron, or man of ſuperior abilities, but without fee or reward.

Where there was ſo much of equality in the circumſtances of the inhabitants, and once a year every office expired, it is not ſtrange that every order of men ſhould be fond of acquiring and retaining their full ſhare of power and authority; and, although it had been a known rule in the conſtitution they came from, that matters of evidence were determinable by the jury, and points of law, ordinarily, by the court, and the general court was ſo ſenſible of the expediency of this rule, that in 1642 they paſſed a temporary law or order, "that in all trials between party "and party, the jury ſhall find matter of fact, with damages "and coſts, according to their evidence, and the judges are "to declare the ſentence upon it, or they may direct the "jury to find according to the law," yet the jury ſeldom found a ſpecial verdict, which, a contemporary writer ſays, was the cauſe of many inconveniences.* I do not find that this law was ever revived. It was a very common thing for the court to refuſe to receive the verdict of the

* Lechford, p. 28.

the jury, and in this caſe the cauſe was carried before the general court. The jury ſometimes gave their verdict, that there were ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion, but not ſufficient evidence to convict. The court would give ſentence upon this verdict, and puniſh for many offences which, by the evidence upon trial, the party appeared to them to have been guilty of, although he was not convicted of the particular crime he was charged with. *Secundum allegata et probata* was a rule of proceeding to which they did not confine themſelves.*

In criminal proſecutions, regularly, a bill was to be found by a grand jury, in which they were not very formal. Sometimes, the bill would be endorſed, that the jury had ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion, but not ſufficient evidence to put upon trial. I have met with inſtances of one of the court ſtanding up, after a verdict of the petty jury of not guilty, in a capital trial, and charging the priſoner, in open court, with burglary and theft, which were not capital, and a new trial ordered upon ſuch charge. The court would ſometimes aſk the party charged, whether they would be tried by bench or jury.

An attorney-general was not an eſtabliſhed officer. On ſome occaſions, a perſon has been ſpecially authorized to bring informations for the King or government.† The treaſurer, as receiver general for the colony, took care for the recovery of public dues. In criminal matters, a ſpirit of virtue produced informers, without reproach to their characters.

Oaths were adminiſtered with no other ceremony than holding up the hand. This was ſufficient to diſtinguiſh a witneſs from the reſt of the court. Kiſſing, or laying the hand upon the book, was ſcrupled as an idolatrous ceremony, and it has never ſince been practiſed in the government, nor the other governments in New-England, except when ſpecial

* Mr. Hinkley, governor of Plymouth, writing to Mr. Stoughton for advice, in 1681, he anſwers him: "The teſtimony you mention againſt the priſoner, I think, is clear and ſufficient to convict him; but in caſe your jury ſhould not be of that mind, then, if you hold yourſelves ſtrictly obliged by the laws of England, no other verdict but not guilty can be brought in; but, according to our practice in this juriſdiction, we ſhould puniſh him with ſome grievous puniſhment, according to the demerit of his crime, though not found capital."

† Sup. court's records.

ſpecial commiſſions from England, to take depoſitions to be uſed in ſome of the courts of law there, have made it neceſſary. There is no law to enjoin this, or reſtrain any other mode. Oaths are ſaid to be, generally, adminiſtered according to the religion he that ſwears holds to be true. The Chriſtian is ſworn upon the goſpels, the Jew upon the old teſtament,* and the Mahometan upon the alcoran. To have the fear of God before our eyes is all that is eſſential; and this is more likely to be produced by a due gravity and ſolemnity, at the adminiſtration, on his part who adminiſters the oath, as well as his who takes it, than by any particular ceremony. Gentlemen who come among us from other parts of the Britiſh dominions approve of this form, and it is kept up now, more from the decency of it, than from any religious ſcruples.

For the firſt twenty years, they uſed too little formality in their deeds and conveyances of the titles to lands; but, in the year 1651, it was thought neceſſary to order that no eſtate of inheritance ſhould paſs, unleſs it was expreſſed in the deed or conveyance "to have and to hold to the grantee and his heirs forever," or words to that effect; and ſo no eſtate tail, except expreſſed "to the heirs male of the body lawfully begotten forever, or to the grantee for life, or term of years," &c.

As early as the year 1640, they made proviſion for a public regiſtry; and no mortgage, bargain, ſale or grant of any realty was good, where the granter remained in poſſeſſion, againſt any perſons, except the granter and his heirs, unleſs the ſame was acknowledged before a magiſtrate, and recorded; and all grants that had been before made were to be acknowledged and recorded within one month after the end of October that year, if the party was within the juriſdiction, if not, within three months after their return, otherwiſe to be void, except as aforeſaid.

Every marriage, birth and death was likewiſe regiſtered, firſt in the town, and, at the end of the year, carried by the

* It is ſaid by ſome writers, that ſwearing by the book took its riſe from the Jews, who laid their hands upon the old teſtament; but our firſt planters, who were not ignorant of this cuſtom among the Jews, attributed it to their proneneſs to idolatry.

"Cum, ut mos Græcorum eſt, jurandi causâ, ad aras accederet." *Cic. pro L. C. Balbo.*

the town clerk, or clerk of the writs, as he was then called, to the county regiſter; and every neglect was puniſhed with twenty ſhillings fine.

CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VI.

Of the original State of the Country with reſpect to the Inhabitants and Soil.

THE Maſſachuſetts firſt planters diſtinguiſhed the natives by four diviſions, eaſtern, weſtern, northern and ſouthern. The eaſtern people had the general name of Tarrateens or Tarrenteens; they had their reſidence at Kennebeck and the other rivers in the province of Main and country eaſt of it, and were part of the Indians called by the French Abenakis. The ſeveral ſubdiviſions of theſe Tarrenteens or Abenakis, according to the rivers where they dwelt or generally reſided, as St. John's, Penobſcot, Norridgewock, Ameriſcoggin, Saco, &c. were not known to the Engliſh until many years after.* There was great enmity between the Tarrenteens and Aberginians, or Indians of Maſſachuſetts bay, who, although they had been formerly a great people, yet were ſo reduced, that upon alarms they would fly to the Engliſh houſes as to aſylums, where the Tarrenteens durſt not purſue them. The French traders were better known than the Engliſh to theſe Tarrenteens, and early planted prejudices againſt the Engliſh, which could never be eradicated. Theſe were the Indians who firſt uſed fire arms, which, with ammunition, they obtained from the French. The ſecond year after the Maſſachuſetts planters arrived, the Tarrenteens deſtroyed ſome of the Engliſh who went to trade with them, and pretended that they were drowned; but the truth being diſcovered, ſome of the Indians concerned in the murder were taken and hanged. Although they refrained from open hoſtilities for above forty years, yet they kept no great correſpondence with, nor ſhewed any affection for, the Engliſh colonies, but at all times were attached to the French, who ſpeak of them as the moſt mild and docile of any of the Indian

* The Indians of the river Saint François, viz. the Areſaguntacooks and Weweenocks, were a colony of the Abenakis removed from the eaſtern parts of New-England for the ſake of French neighbourhood. They fixed at firſt upon the falls of Chaudiere, but ſoon after removed to St. François. *Charlevoix.*

Indian tribes. The weſtern Indians went by the general name of Mohawks,* and under this name were included all the Indians weſtward of Quinnipiack (New-Haven) although the Indians of Hudſon's river,† the Moheganders or Mackhanders, were people of a different nation and language. The name of Mohawks ſtruck terror into the Indians who lived eaſt of them.

The ſouthern Indians were divided into many diſtinct nations or tribes. Thoſe upon Long-Iſland and the main land oppoſite upon the ſea coaſt were accounted among the moſt ſavage: the Maſſachuſetts Indians had but little knowledge of them. There was another ſub-diviſion, by the name of the River Indians, who had ſeated themſelves in ſeveral commodious places upon the banks of Connecticut river. The next to them were called Mohegins, between Connecticut river and the Pequod river, and upon ſome of the higher branches of the laſt mentioned river. Then came the Pequods, ſeated between and about New-London and Stonington, near to the ſea coaſt: theſe were ſuppoſed to be among the moſt warlike, active and daring, and made the Narraganſets, though more numerous, ſtand in awe of them, and would have made the Engliſh do ſo likewiſe if they had been owners of Engliſh arms, and underſtood how to uſe them: they were repreſented to have been under greater prejudices againſt the Engliſh, from the beginning, than any other tribe. Next to the Pequods were the Narraganſets, who lived along the ſea coaſt from Stonington round point Judith, and on what is called the Narraganſet bay. They conſiſted of ſeveral leſſer principalities, but all united under one general ruler, called the chief ſachem,‡ to whom all the others owed ſome kind of ſealty

* Mohawks they were called by the Indians of New-England, which ſignifies cannibals, from the Indian word *mobo*, to eat. *R. Williams.*

† The Indians called by the French Loups (Wolves) moved from Hudſon's river. *Charlevoix.*

‡ Canonicus and Miantinomy were conſidered as having equal authority, until the latter was killed. *R. Williams.*

The ancient Indians among the Narraganſets reported, when the Engliſh firſt arrived, that they had in former times a ſachem called Taſhtatſuck, incomparably greater than any in the whole land in power and ſtate; that he had only two children, a ſon and a daughter, and not being able to match them according to their dignity, he joined them together in matrimony, and that they had four ſons, of which Canonicus, who was ſachem when the Engliſh came, was the eldeſt. *MS.* This is the only piece of Indian hiſtory or tradition of any ſort from the anceſtors of our firſt Indians I have ever met with.

fealty or ſubjection. The Nianticks were included and conſidered as a branch of the Narraganſets. The Narraganſets muſt have been very numerous. None of the Indians were ſuppoſed to increaſe, but to be continually decreaſing, not in the Engliſh colonies only, but among the French in Canada alſo; and yet in 1675, at the beginning of Philip's war, it was generally agreed that the Narraganſet tribe conſiſted of 2000 fighting men. They were the moſt curious coiners of the wampompeag,* and ſupplied the other nations with money, pendants and bracelets; alſo with tobacco pipes of ſtone, ſome blue and ſome white; they furniſhed the earthen veſſels and pots for cookery and other domeſtic uſes. They were conſidered as a commercial people, and not only began a trade with the Engliſh for goods for their own conſumption, but ſoon learned to ſupply other diſtant nations at an advanced price, and to receive beaver and other furs in exchange, upon which they made a profit alſo. The Pequods jeered them for their indiſpoſition to war, and called them a nation of women.

The Womponoags were next to the Narraganſets. Their ſachem was Maſſaſoiet of Wooſamequin, whoſe chief ſeat was ſometimes at Pokanocket† or Sowam, and at other times at Namaſket, now Middleborough. The Nipnets, who were ſeated upon ſome leſſer rivers and lakes or large ponds, more within the continent, where Oxford now is, and towns near it, were ſuppoſed to be tributaries to Maſſaſoiet. The Indians upon Cape Cod, although not conſidered as part of the Wamponoags, yet were ſuppoſed to be alſo under ſome kind of ſubjection to Maſſaſoiet. However, it is certain, that when Philip, the ſon of Maſſaſoiet, had engaged almoſt all the other Indians of the country in war with the Engliſh, his ſolicitations could not prevail with thoſe of Manamet to join him, but they adhered to the Engliſh, and were a defence to Sandwich and the towns further

* The people of New-Plymouth, in the year 1627, began a trade with the Dutch at Manhados, and there they had the firſt knowledge of wampompeag, and their acquaintance therewith occaſioned the Indians of theſe parts to learn to make it. *Hubbard.* It is not probable the New-England Indians had any inſtrument of commerce: the Engliſh could not have been ſeven years among them without diſcovering it. *Argentum & aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito.* Tac.

† Briſtol.

further upon the Cape. There ſeems to have been two cantons or ſachemdoms of the Cape Indians; one extending from Eel river in Plymouth, to the ſouth ſhore of the Cape, and comprehended what are now called the Maſhpee Indians,* and then extended upon the Cape to the eaſtern part of Barnſtable, and as far weſtward as Wood's-hol, and divers petty ſachems or ſagamores were comprehended in this diviſion, of which Maſhpee was one: the eaſtern part of the Cape from Nobſkuſſet or Yarmouth made another ſachemdom, the capital of which was Nauſit or Eaſtham: theſe were known to the people of New Plymouth by the name of Nauſit Indians. The Indians upon Nantucket, and thoſe upon Martha's Vineyard, are ſuppoſed to have been diſtinct and ſeparate tribes, having their own ſachems and ſagamores. The Nantucket Indians were a large body.

The ſeveral ſcattered tribes from the Pockanockets to Piſcataqua river, were called the Northern Indians, and by ſome Aberginians. There were many diſtinct ſettlements, upon the leſſer channels of Piſcataqua or Newichewannock river. Merrimack alſo had its receptacles, from the mouth fifty miles or more, as Wainooſet, Patucket, Amoſkeag, Penicook, &c. and Newbury falls was a noted plantation, there being plenty of fiſh there at all ſeaſons. And for the ſame reaſon, and becauſe of the great plenty of ſhell fiſh, at Agawam (Ipſwich) there was a noted tribe with their ſachem. Naumkeag (Salem and Marblehead) and Saugus (Lynn) made another diviſion. Saugus Indians had a diſtinct ſachem, known by the Engliſh name of George, who lived

* I received this account of the Cape Indians from the Rev. Mr. Hawley, a worthy miſſionary to the Maſhpee tribe, who are the principal body of Indians now remaining in New-England. The town of Maſhpee conſiſts of 65 wigwams, beſides 9 wigwams at a place called Scanton, and 4 at Sockanoſſet, in the bounds of Falmouth, who are likewiſe under Mr. Hawley's charge. In 1648 Papmunnuck ſold lands to the people of Barnſtable, as being the chief of this tribe. They have not preſerved a ſucceſſion of ſachems, but for many years paſt have affected government in imitation of the form of government in the Engliſh townſhips. However, the great grandſon of this Papmunnuck they conſidered as the chief ſpeaker in 1761. He died that year. Another of his deſcendants is now a ſchoolmaſter, near four ſcore years of age. But ſome deny that Papmunnuck was their chief, and make Tookenchoſen the ſachem. There are as many adult perſons of this tribe as there were fourſcore years ago, but not ſo many children and youth. Complaints are made of the practice of the parents in binding out their children as ſervants in Engliſh families, and ſome late attempts have been made by the government to reſtrain or regulate this practice.

lived forty years or more after the Engliſh came there.

At Maſſachuſetts, near the mouth of Charles river, there uſed to be a general rendezvous of Indians. That circle which now makes the harbours of Boſton and Charleſtown, round by Malden, Chelſea, Nantaſket, Hingham, Weymouth, Braintree, and Dorcheſter, was the capital of a great ſachem,* much reverenced by all the plantations of Indians round about; and to him belonged Naponſet (Dorcheſter mills, now Milton), Punkapog (Stoughton), Weſſaguſſet (Weymouth), and ſeveral places upon Charles river, where the natives were ſeated. At Miſtick a ſagamore was ſeated, upon a creek which meets with the mouth of Charles river.

It is not poſſible to make a juſt computation of the number of Indians within the limits of New-England. It is agreed that they looked with a jealous eye upon the Engliſh planters, and, when it was too late, repented that they had not, by a general union, diſcouraged and prevented the firſt attempts of ſettlements among them.

The life of hunters and fiſhermen is ſaid to be averſe to human ſociety, except among the members of ſingle families. The accounts which have been tranſmitted of the natives, at the firſt arrival of the Europeans, repreſent them to have been as near to a ſtate of nature as any people upon the globe,† and deſtitute of moſt of the improvements which are the uſual effects of civil ſociety. Some writers‡ tell us, that huſbands and wives, parents and children, lived always in one room or wigwam, without any apartments, and made no privacy of thoſe actions which nature teaches even ſome irrational animals§ to be aſhamed of in public. All agree, that a young woman was not leſs eſteemed for having accompanied with a man, their uſual practice being to

* The tradition is, that this ſachem had his principal ſeat upon a ſmall hill or riſing upland, in the midſt of a body of ſaltmarſh in the townſhip of Dorcheſter, near to a place called Squantum, and it is known by the name of Maſſachuſetts hill, or mount Maſſachuſetts, to this day. The blue hills, ſo called, in the townſhip of Milton, &c. are called in Capt. Smith's map, in 1614, Chevi hills, but they were called before Maſſachuſetts mount. Prince Charles changed the name, and alſo gave the name of Charles's river to what had been before called Maſſachuſetts river.

† Salluſt's deſcription of the aborigines of Italy ſuits very well for our natives: "Genus hominum agreſte, ſine legibus, ſine imperio, liberum atque ſolutum."

‡ Mr. Shepard's clear ſun-ſhine of the goſpel, 1648.

§ The elephant, the deer, &c. who never couple but in ſecret.

to live together upon trial, before they took one another for husband and wife.* We hear of no instances of refined conjugal affection. The superior strength of the man to that of the woman, instead of being employed in the most laborious services necessary for their mutual support, was made use of to keep the wife in subjection, and oblige her to every kind of drudgery, not only to the carrying her children upon her back in all their removes, but to the carrying their provisions and packs of every kind, in their huntings and other marches. The women not only provided bark and stakes, the materials of their houses or cabins, but were the housewrights who built them; and as often as the family moved, for the sake of fishing or hunting, the women took down the houses and carried them on their backs. They planted, hoed and gathered the corn, and provided barns (holes in the ground ceiled with the rind of trees) for the reception of it; not to mention their employments in providing shell-fish and other fish for the family, bearing burdens of wood and water, dressing their food, &c. The men commended themselves for keeping their wives employed, and condemned the English husbands for spoiling good working creatures. A family seems, necessarily, to carry an idea of government; but parents had no authority over their children. The storgée in the parent might be observed towards their young. No return was made on the part of the child; but as soon as it

* Champlain, who lived a whole winter, about 1615, among the Algonquins, says, "they have a sort of marriage: when a young girl arrived to eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years, she would have suitors in proportion to her charms, who would apply to her father and mother; although, often enough, except among the discreeter sort, the girls would not stay for their consent. The enamoured Indian tenders to his mistress a few belts, chains, or bracelets of wampom. If the girl likes him she will receive the present, and he comes and lodges with her three or four nights, without saying one word, where they enjoy the fruits of their affections. If, after a week or fortnight spent in this manner, they cannot agree, which is very often the case, the quits her lover, who leaves his wampom and other presents made her. Disappointed, he seeks another mistress, and she another humble servant, and continue so to do until two meet together who are agreeable each to the other. There are some who pass their youth thus with many such husbands, who have not the sole possession; for, as soon as it is night, the young women, although married, run from one wigwam to another, and take what they like; but no violence is ever offered to the women, all depending on their consent. The husband takes the like liberty, without raising any jealousy, or but little, between them; nor is it any damage or loss of reputation to them, such being the custom of the country." Did ever any other people, in this respect, approach nearer to the brutal part of the creation?

it was capable, it was as ready to reſiſt and oppoſe its parent as any other perſon.

Every nation or tribe had one whom they acknowledged as the head or chief. The ſon ſucceeded to the father. If no ſon, the queen ruled; if no queen, the next of kin of the blood royal.* They gave the title of ſachem to the chief, and ſometimes that of ſagamore. Some ſuppoſe theſe two titles to be indifferently uſed; others, that the ſagamores had a ſmall territory,† and perhaps were, in ſome degree, dependent upon a ſachem. There were ſeveral ſagamores in the Maſſachuſetts bay: ſagamore George, at Saugus or Lynn; John, at Medford; Paſſaconaway, at Merrimack; his ſon, at Wechuſet; Shawanon, at Nathaway; and many others. Maſſaſoiet, the chief of the Wompanoag Indians, was always called ſachem; ſo was Myantinomo, chief of the Narraganſets, and Saſſacus of the Pequods.

What power and authority the ſachems and ſagamores had, it is more difficult to determine.‡ Murder, and a bare attempt upon the life of their chief, are ſaid to have been capital offences. Such a malefactor, being apprehended, (an eſcape to another nation was not very difficult) the ſachem called ſome of his wiſeſt men together, and the offender being pronounced guilty, his brains were beat out with a tomahawk. Other puniſhments they had not. We hear of no laws. Where they had no idea of property, but few laws were neceſſary. They had nothing to loſe, worth even any corporal puniſhment, much leſs the life of a ſubject, where they were not over-ſtocked. Of perſonal injuries and affronts every man was his own avenger; they had no religion which forbad rendering evil for evil. Military authority

* Wood's Proſpect.

† "The inferior ſachems and ſubjects plant and remove at the pleaſure of the higheſt and ſupreme ſachems; and I humbly conceive that it pleaſeth the Moſt High to make uſe of ſuch a bond of authority over them, without which they could not long ſubſiſt in human ſocieties, in this wild condition wherein they are." *Roger Williams's letter to Maſſa. Gov.* 12. *3d mo.* 1656.

‡ The earlieſt writers repreſent the ſachem as ruled by the people, rather than a ruler of them, and that he held the reins no longer than he pleaſed the people, and, when they thought proper, reſigned them to one that was more worthy, and as quietly betook himſelf to a private condition as if he had never known any other. Some tribute was paid to ſupport the prince. Cutſhamoquin, a ſachem, complained to Mr. Elio[t], that ſome of his ſubjects, after they became chriſtians, were more ſlack in their tribute of corn, &c. than they were before.

authority they had none; every man fought, and ran away, at his pleaſure; for this reaſon, they never could ſtand a body of Engliſh, and their wars between themſelves were extremely precarious. Uncas, with an inferior number of Mohegins, and of no repute, beat Myantinomo at the head of the Narraganſets, who held the Mohegins in contempt. Their arms were bows and arrows; their captains, only, carried a ſpear. Their bowſtrings were made of mooſe ſinews. Their arrows were pointed with a ſmall flat ſtone, of a triangular form, the baſis of which they faſtened with a leathern ſtring into a cleft made in the end of a young ſtick of elder wood; and, ſimple as they were, they did execution upon naked bodies. Many of theſe ſtones, or heads of arrows, are found, to this day, in the earth, in places where the Indians uſed to reſort. After the arrival of the Engliſh, they made the heads of their arrows of braſs, faſtened them to a ſmall ſtick ſix or eight inches long, formed to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to ſtrengthen it. They ſeldom miſſed their mark, when they aimed at a beaſt or bird, running or flying. In their wars they are ſaid to have always engaged in a looſe, diſorderly manner; and, as ſoon as their artillery was ſpent, to have taken to their heels. The Mohawks ſecured their bodies againſt the arrows of other Indians by a covering of ſeahorſe ſkins. Their principal weapon was the tomahawk, a club two or three feet long, with a knob at the end; ſince they knew the uſe of iron, improved by the addition of a ſharp pointed hatchet oppoſite to the knob. Roger Williams ſays, it was their conſtant practice to ſtrike off the heads of their dead enemies, at which they were very expert.

They were remarkable for firm, well-compacted bodies; ſtrong and active; capable of enduring the greateſt hardſhips and fatigues; regardleſs of cold, whilſt travelling in the ſeverity of winter.* Having made holes in the ice, they

* "They were at a loſs what could induce the Engliſh to leave England, and come to America. The moſt probable conjecture they could make was, that the Engliſh wanted fewel at home, and came over for the ſake of the wood. When they had burnt up the wood near their ſettlements, they removed to a new place for the ſake of firing." *R. Williams.* The ſame author ſays, that he has known them

they would fit round them, upon their naked bottoms, catching pickrel, breams, pearch, and other freſhwater fiſh. A ſmall pouch of parched corn, ground or rather pounded into meal, and called nuichicke, which is well enough tranſlated nocake,* would ſupport them ſeveral days in their travelling, when they could get no other proviſions; and ſometimes they were deſtitute even of this; but after abſtinence they never failed of a proportionable indulgence, the firſt opportunity they had for it, and would make up at one meal for all they had miſſed. Their clothing was of the ſkins of wild beaſts; after the Engliſh came, they began to uſe woolen, and in a few years wholly laid aſide ſkins. One of their old garments of ſkins would purchaſe a new one of woolen, and a good quantity of ſtrong water or ſack into the bargain. The men threw a light mantle or covering over them; and although they wore a ſmall flap, called Indian breeches, yet they were not over nice in concealing their nudities.† The women were more modeſt, and wore a coat of cloth or ſkins, wrapt like a blanket about their loins and reaching down to their hams, which they never put off in company; and if the huſband had a mind to ſell the wife's beaver petticoat, he muſt have provided another of ſome other ſort, before he could prevail with her to part with it. In winter, the old men ſometimes wore a ſort of trouſers of ſkins, faſtened under their girdles with buttons. Their ſhoes without heels, which they called mockaſſins,‡ were cut out of a mooſe's hide. Their ornaments were pendants in their ears, carved of bone, ſhells and ſtone, in the form of birds, beaſts or fiſhes; belts of wampompeag upon their arms, and hanging down over their ſhoulders. Their hair was cut into various forms, and ſtuck with feathers. Upon their cheeks, and in many parts

them run between eighty and an hundred miles in a ſummer's day, and back again within two days. "The inhabitants of Formoſa have been ſeen to out-run horſes in their full ſpeed. The Chineſe alledge, as the cauſe of their ſwiftneſs, that till the age of 14 or 15, their knees and loins are bound exceeding tight." *Du Halde.* The Americans are bound in this manner the firſt year or two only.

* The Indian corn boiled, after being a little broken, they called naſaump. The Engliſh call it ſamp. Boiled with clams it makes a ſavory diſh.

† Champlain ſays, the men in Canada generally threw aſide all covering in the ſummer, and that the women and girls were no more moved at ſeeing them in that faſhion than if they had ſeen nothing ſtrange. p. 273.

‡ The Virginians had the ſame name for ſhoes.

parts of their bodies, ſome of them, by inciſions, into which they conveyed a black unchangeable ink, made the figures of bears, deer, mooſe, wolves, eagles, hawks, &c. which were indelible, and generally laſted as long as they lived.*

Their food, in winter, was birds and beaſts of all ſorts, fiſh from the ponds, and ſhell-fiſh. In ſummer, they had fiſh from the ſea, but no way to ſave that or their meat from putrefaction; berries of all ſorts, green corn, beans,† and ſquaſhes. They boiled their victuals in earthen pots; their ſpits were ſticks faſtened in the ground, cleft a-top, where they fixed their meat, and placed them round a fire until they had ſufficiently toaſted it. The earth was their table; trenchers, napkins or knives they knew not the uſe of. Salt they had none, nor bread.‡ Indian corn boiled was the neareſt akin to bread. They had no ſet meals; eat when they were hungry, as long as victuals laſted; and, being improvident, not caring for the morrow, they and their families would ſometimes keep a faſt of two or three days together. Water was their only drink.§ Their houſhold furniture was very ſmall. A ſkin or mat was their bed; they never uſed a chair or ſtool, always ſitting on the ground.‖ A few earthen and wooden veſſels anſwered all the purpoſes of a family. As they had no metals of any kind, what few tools they had were of ſtone. Their hatchet and chizzel are kept as curioſities; the former ſomewhat in ſhape like an iron hatchet, ſaving that, inſtead of an eye for the handle, it had a neck, where they faſtened a withe.¶ Their arts and manufactures lay in a very

* Since they have been furniſhed with paints from Europe, they daub their faces with vermilion, and ſometimes with blue, green, and other colours.

† Beans, called in Europe French beans, are undoubtedly natural to the country, as much as Indian corn. In Canada the French called them beans of Brazil, when they firſt found them among the natives.

‡ The Indians of Canada mixed up their Indian meal and water into a cake, which they dried by the fire. *Champ.*

§ Tobacco was in general uſe. This refreſhed their ſpirits.

‖ At this day, when hundreds of them are at a conference with any of the Engliſh governments, they all ſit upon the ground, with their elbows upon their knees.

¶ Roger Williams ſays, he knew an old ſquaw, many years after all the reſt of the Indians uſed iron hoes for their corn, who was ſuperſtitiouſly attached to the clam-ſhell, and would never uſe an Engliſh hoe, though three times more work might have been done with it in the ſame time.

" The Samogitians are ſo given to ſuperſtition, that whereas it was the old cuſtom of that country to till the ground with wooden ploughs and coulters, and that

very narrow compaſs. Their ſkins they dreſſed by ſcraping and rubbing, and ſometimes ſtained or coloured them with odd ſort of embroideries. They had a ſort of cordage or lines, from the wild Indian hemp, with which they made nets 30 or 40 feet long, for taking ſturgeon. They had two ſorts of canoes, one of pine or cheſnut trees, which they burned hollow, and then ſcraped the inſide with clam-ſhells and oyſter-ſhells, and hewed the out ſide with ſtone hatchets. Thoſe were generally 2 feet wide, and about 20 feet long; the other ſort were made of the bark or rind of the birch tree, with knees or ribs, and though eaſily broken upon the rocks or ſhore, yet were tight and ſecure againſt the waves. Some of theſe were very neat, and the moſt ingenious of any part of their manufactures.*

They that ſpeak moſt favourably, give but an indifferent idea of the qualities of their minds. Mr. Wilſon ſpeaks of them, but with compaſſion, as the moſt ſordid and contemptible part of the human ſpecies. Mr. Hooker ſays, they are the verieſt ruins of mankind upon the face of the earth. Perhaps the Indians about the Maſſachuſetts bay were ſome of the loweſt of the American nations. We hear nothing of that formality and order in their councils, but little of thoſe allegories and figures in their ſpeeches and harangues, which the French obſerved among the Iroquois and other nations, at the beginning of their acquaintance with them. Indeed, in their diſcourſes together upon any matter which they deemed important, they ſeldom uſed any ſhort colloquiums, but each ſpake his mind at large without interruption, the reſt of the company giving attention; and when he had finiſhed, ſome other gave as large an anſwer. They ſhewed courteſy to the Engliſh at their firſt arrival; were hoſpitable, and made ſuch as could eat their

that the governor of one of their provinces brought them the uſe of iron ploughſhares for the caſe of the labourer, and that ſome years after, by an unuſual diſtemper of the air, they had a dear year or two, they threw away their iron ploughſhares and fell to the old wooden ones again, attributing a kind of divinity to the one and unluckineſs unto the other." *Hewet.*

* "I have ſeen a Native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a baſket of corn with him, and ſtones to ſtrike fire. When he had felled his tree (being a cheſnut) he made him a little houſe or ſhed of the bark of it; he puts fire, and follows the burning it with fire in many places; his corn he boils, and hath the brook by him, and ſometimes angles for a little fiſh; but ſo he continues burning and hewing, until he hath, within ten or twelve days (lying there at his work alone) finiſhed his boat." *R. Williams.*

their food welcome to it, and readily inſtructed them in planting and cultivating the Indian corn; and ſome of the Engliſh who loſt themſelves in the woods, and muſt otherwiſe have periſhed by famine, they relieved and conducted home. Their manner was, to come into the Engliſh houſes without knocking, and to ſit down without ceremony. R. Williams compared the Quakers to them. There was no trading with them but for ready pay. He that truſted them loſt his debt and his cuſtomer.

The principle, or perſuaſion, that all things ought to be in common,* might cauſe hoſpitality, where the like was expected in return, without any great degree of virtue. Some appearances there were of compaſſion, gratitude and friendſhip, and of grief at the death or diſtreſs of their children or near relations: ſome degree of theſe ſocial affections is inſeparable from human nature. Vices they had many. They were falſe, malicious and revengeful. The leaſt injury cauſed in them a deadly hatred, which could never be allayed. They were infinitely cruel to their enemies, cutting and mangling their bodies; and then broiling them alive upon hot embers, and inflicting the moſt exquiſite torments they could invent. They were not known to feed upon the fleſh of their enemies after the Engliſh came among them.† The men were lazy and idle, never employing themſelves about any other buſineſs than what was of abſolute neceſſity for their ſupport, and ſuch as the women were not capable of. More dirty, foul and ſordid than ſwine, being never ſo clean and ſweet as when they were well greaſed.‡ Drunkards they were not; but the only

* An Indian gift is a proverbial expreſſion, ſignifying a preſent for which an equivalent return is expected.

† Champlain ſays, the Algonquins took the heart of one of their enemies killed in battle, cut it into pieces, and gave it to his brother and ſeveral other priſoners to eat, who took it into their mouths, but would not ſwallow it.

A journal of a French officer in Canada, which was taken on board a ſmall veſſel in the Weſt-Indies, gives an account of a feaſt made by ſome of the Indians who were at the taking of Fort William Henry, at which they ſacrificed ſome of the Engliſh priſoners, boiled their fleſh, and forced the other priſoners to eat it.

‡ I have ſeen a great half naked Indian ſitting at a ſmall diſtance from the governors and commiſſioners of ſeveral of the colonies, in the midſt of a conference, picking lice from his body for half an hour together, and cracking them between his teeth.—One of the laws our Indians made, upon their firſt pretences to civility, laid a ſmall penalty upon ſuch as cracked lice with their teeth. The Hottentots had the ſame taſte. "They plead in excuſe the law of retaliation, and argue that it is no ſhame to eat thoſe that would eat them." *Kolben's voyage, &c.*

only reaſon was, they had nothing that would intoxicate them. As ſoon as they had a taſte of the Engliſh ſack and ſtrong waters, they were bewitched with them, and by this means more have been deſtroyed than have fell by the ſword. The Engliſh women had nothing to fear, as to any attempt upon their honour. The ſame obſervation is made of the Canada Indians, with reſpect to the French women. La Hontan, a French author, who has given a different account, is charged with a fondneſs for embelliſhing his memoirs, and being very credulous. They had their choice among their own women. We have but litttle reaſon to wonder that ſo few Engliſhmen incline to cohabit with Indian women.

They had ſome ſports and games with which they ſometimes diverted themſelves. Football was the chief, and whole cantons would engage one againſt another. Their goals were upon the hard ſands, as even and firm as a board, and a mile or more in length; their ball not much larger than a hand ball, which they would mount in the air with their naked feet, and ſometimes would be two days together before either ſide got a goal. They had two principal games of chance; one they called puim; this was much the ſame with a game Charlevoix mentions among the Miamis, which he calls jeu des pailles, or the game of ſtraws. They took a number of packets of ſmall ſticks or ſtraws, unequal in number but near of a ſize, and ſhuffling them together, he, to whoſe lot the higheſt number fell, was the forwardeſt in the game. Another game they called hubbub, the ſame the French called jeu de plat, the game of the diſh among the Hurons. They took five ſmall pieces of bone, flatter than a die and longer, black on the one ſide and white on the other, theſe they put into a ſmall wooden tray or platter, and giving it a ſtroke on the ground the bones all flew into the air, and the gameſters whiſk their hands to and fro among the bones, and then ſmite themſelves on the breaſt and thighs, crying out, hub, hub, hub, ſo as to be heard at a great diſtance. According as the bones happened to be more or leſs of one colour, ſo they won or loſt. Whilſt any one continued to win he held the tray, and upon his loſing gave it to the next. The Negroes

groes in Guinea have a game of the ſame ſort, which they call paw-paw. Shooting at marks was a diverſion for their children, as ſoon as they were capable of drawing a bow. Swimming, running and wreſtling they were, as early, accuſtomed to. Their hunting and fiſhing, being all they did, which could be called labour, for their maintenance or ſupport, ſerved alſo as diverſions. Deer, mooſe and bears were their chief objects. Wolves, wild cats, raccoons, otters, muſquaſhes, and even beavers, were not much regarded, until the Engliſh, from the value they ſet upon their ſkins or furs, encouraged the purſuit of them. Beſides their bows, they had other devices to take their game, ſometimes by double hedges a mile or two in length, and a mile wide at one end, and made narrow, by degrees, until they came to a gap of about ſix feet, againſt which they lay hid to ſhoot the deer, as they came through, in the day time; and, at night, they ſet deer traps, being ſprings made of young trees. They had their traps alſo for beavers and otters. Their ordinary fiſhing was with hooks and lines. They made their hooks of bones, their lines of wild hemp, ſtronger and neater than the Engliſh lines.* They had a way of taking ſturgeon by lighting a torch made of birch bark, which weaving to and fro by the ſide of their canoe would delight the ſturgeon and cauſe them to come tumbling and playing, throwing up their white bellies, into which the Indians ſtruck their ſpears or darts.† The ſturgeons' backs were impenetrable. They had grand fiſhings at the ſeveral falls of the rivers, at moſt of which a canton or company of Indians had their chief reſidence, and at fixed ſeaſons the ſeveral neighbouring cantons met by turns, partly for recreation and partly to make proviſion for the year. During theſe meetings, all that came were at home, and had all things in common; and thoſe who had entertained their neighbours expected the like kindneſs.

Religion they had as little as can well be imagined. Some notions they had of a future ſtate, a mahometan paradiſe,

* Douglaſs ſays, they had no threads of flax, hemp or any other herbs; but the earlieſt accounts of the Maſſachuſetts Indians aſſert the contrary, and Champlain ſays that it was part of the employment of the Indian women of Canada to twiſt the wild hemp, and make it into nets for fiſhing.

† The natives of the Canary iſlands happened to hit upon the ſame way of taking fiſh.

adiſe, where they were to ſolace themſelves in fruitful corn-fields and fine flowery meads, with pleaſant rivers to bath in; curious wigwams, provided for them without any labour of their own; hunting, fowling and fiſhing, without any wearineſs or pains to moleſt them; but at the door was a ſnarling animal, who denied a peaceful entrance to all unworthy of it.* This cauſed them to bury the bows and arrows of the deceaſed with their bodies, to affright or repel Cerberus; and good ſtore of wampompeag, to purchaſe ſome peculiar favours or privileges.† Their enemies, and others unworthy the joys of elyſium, they conſigned to an eternal habitation and place of torment. However warm ſome of their imaginations might be, it is agreed that in general no people had greater fears of death, diſcovered by the diſtreſs and deſpair of the dying perſon, and the ſighs and groans of the ſurviving parents or near friends, who mourned without hope. Idolatry‡ there were no ſigns of among them. They acknowledged a God, whom they mentioned by the word Ketan; he gave them rain in time of

* Wood's proſpect.

† They ſuppoſed the ſouls of all great and good men and women went away to the ſouthweſt. A ſouthweſt wind ordinarily makes fair, pleaſant weather. In the ſpring and ſummer, near the ſea, in the afternoon it frequently ſucceeds a raw wind from the ſouth to ſoutheaſt blowing from the ſea all the forenoon. In the country from whence this pleaſant wind came, they concluded the divinity would chooſe to reſide. *R. Williams.* This agrees exactly with the accounts the firſt Eaſt-India voyagers give of the Japaneſe.

‡ Amongſt Mr. Eliot's manuſcripts I find the following ſtory. "This ſpring time in the year 1653, being ſundry days at Pautucket, and ſpending a ſabbath among them, there was a woman at the meeting who had a ſmall braſs image of a man about her neck, hanging by a ſtring faſtened about the neck of the image; I obſerved it, but thought little of it: afterwards when I thought to have gone away, my horſe had run and gone homeward, as they found by his footing, whereupon I ſent ſome after my horſe, and purpoſed to have gone on foot after till they met me with my horſe. Many being gathered together to take leave of me, among the reſt there was that woman with an image about her neck; I aſked her why ſhe wore it there; ſhe roundly and readily anſwered me, I pray unto it. Why, ſays I, do you account that to be your god? She as readily anſwered me, yes. At which I marvelled, having never ſeen the like before at any place I ever came to. I therefore declared to her, and to the company about us, the greatneſs of the ſin of idolatry. I urged the ſecond commandment. I ſhewed how much idols ſhould be demoliſhd. I deſired her to give it to me, that I might demoliſh it; but ſhe refuſed. I offered her half a crown for it, but ſhe was not willing. Perceiving it was tied with a riding knot, I ſlipped the knot, and ſlipped off the image; then ſhe ſwelled with anger, and cried. I preſently gave her half a crown, which ſhe took, but was not pacified. I told the company, the firſt pond I came to I would caſt it in. When I departed, the woman girt up her loins and ran after me; when I perceived it, I aſked her whither ſhe went; ſhe anſwered, whither I went, and ſhe would not leave me ſo long as I had her god about me. It began to rain, which was ſome diſcouragement to my going forward; then I conſidered

of drought, and fair weather after great rains. Upon him they had their firſt dependence for recovey from ſickneſs; but if he failed them, they applied to their powows, which, it is moſt likely, brought upon them the charge of worſhipping the Devil. The powows the Engliſh called their prieſts. We have many idle ſtories of the intercourſe they had with the Devil. Their craft was in danger from the preachers of the goſpel, who condemned their cheats and juggles as diabolical; and they were great oppoſers of the goſpel, and threatened the new converts with death and deſtruction; and many were ſo intimidated, that the powows were ſuppoſed to have faſcinated or bewitched them. Paſſaconaway, a great ſagamore upon Merrimack river, was the moſt celebrated powow in the country. He made the Indians believe ſtrange things; that he could make water burn,

conſidered that this act of mine, in taking away and aboliſhing the idol, was neither ſo proper nor ſo valid as it would be if the rulers and ſachems ſhould do it—I reſolved to return, and did ſo, and the woman after me. When I came to the wigwam, there being four ſachems preſent which prayed to God, I deſired them all to come together. Being come, I told them that ſeeing the rain had driven me back, God would not have me yet to go, but ſomewhat elſe is to be done about this idol and the ſin of idolatry, and becauſe the woman is not content with what I have done I do commit the matter and the idol unto you to judge. So I laid it upon the ground before them where they ſat, and went to confer with the company. When they had ſat about half an hour in conſultation, they deſired the company to come before them, which they did. They ſaid they had agreed upon their judgments. 1ſt, That the act in taking away the idol was well done. 2dly, That one man ſhould be appointed to demoliſh the idol, and three others for witneſſes that it was done. 3dly, They adjudged the idolatreſs to be a great ſinner, yet as it was the firſt time, and ſhe had done it ignorantly, therefore they would ſpare her, yet they did all one after another reprove her very ſolemnly. After execution was done upon the idol, one declared that he underſtood there were ſome more idols like to that, in other houſes. I requeſted the ſachems to ſend for thoſe alſo. The officer or conſtable went well guarded, and preſently brought a bright braſs image or ſeraphim with his wings ſpread, to the ſachems, who preſently paſſed the ſame judgment they had done upon the former, and it was executed accordingly. I aſked, how it ſhould come to paſs that there ſhould be ſuch idolatry here, and in no place elſe that I had heard of. They rendered this reaſon: That being the moſt northerly place that I reſort to, ſome of thoſe Indians have commerce with the Indians that are yet more northerly, who have commerce with thoſe whom the French teach to pray to ſuch idols, therefore they think the idols and idolatry come from them.

The Oqui of the Algonquins, or French Indians, was the ſame with the powow of the Engliſh Indians. Champlain ſays, that what cauſed it to be ſuppoſed they intended the devil, was, that when they ſaw a man do any thing extraordinary, or have any extraordinary qualities, as a brave warrior, or a furious fellow to the degree of madneſs, they called him Oqui. That ſome of theſe Oquis undertook to heal the ſick, cure the wounded, and to foretell future events. The Oquis perſuaded the ſick to cauſe feaſts to be made, that they might have a ſhare in them, and to perform many ceremonies in hopes of a ſpeedy cure. Sometimes the phyſician acquired reputation by the ſudden reſtoration of the patient; but if they were very ill, the horrid noiſe and diſturbance the Oqui made, was much more likely to kill than to cure.

burn, rocks move, and trees dance, and metamorphiſe himſelf into a flaming man; that in winter he could raiſe a green leaf out of the aſhes of a dry one, and produce a living ſnake from the ſkin of a dead one.*

When the powow was ſent for in any malady, after a hideous bellowing and groaning, he made a ſtop, and all the auditors with one voice uttered a ſhort note, and then the powow renewed his roaring, ſmiting his naked breaſt and thighs, and jumping about until he foamed at the mouth. The patients were frequently cured of imaginary diſtempers, by theſe ridiculous pranks; and ſuch inſtances of recovery worked upon the credulity of the Indians, ſo far as to make them to ſuppoſe the powows could heal them, and poiſon them, when they pleaſed. The latter was the eaſieſt, and it is not unlikely that they had enough of the Devil in them to do it, in order to carry on the fraud and raiſe their characters. Theſe poor deluded creatures were ſoon convinced that the Engliſh medicines had a healing virtue beyond all the charms of the powows.† There is a noted inſtance of Mr. Winſlow, the governor of Plymouth, his reviving old Maſſaſoiet, by the help of a doſe of mithridate, when given over by his own phyſicians. Mr. Mayhew, viſiting the ſon of Towanquattick, a ſagamore at Martha's Vineyard, who was ill of a fever, and whom the powows pronounced a dead man, let him bleed, and he ſoon recovered.‡ Many of the powows became converts to Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew; among the reſt, Paſſaconaway, the ſagamore already mentioned. Some of the converts gave this account, that "when any of the "Indians fell into a ſtrange dream, wherein Chepian ap-"peared unto them as a ſerpent, the next day they tell the "other

* They had a tradition, that a crow brought the firſt grain of Indian corn; and although this bird often robbed their fields, not one Indian in an hundred would kill them. *R. Williams.*

† "I find, by God's bleſſing on ſome means uſed in phyſic and chirurgery, they are already convinced of the folly of powowing, and are eaſily perſuaded to give it over, as a ſinful and diabolical practice." *Mr. Eliot's letter, Nov.* 12, 1648.

‡ Their ſweatings in their hot-houſes was a more rational remedy than the powowing. By theſe they are ſaid to have eaſily got rid of the French diſeaſe. The Six Nations make uſe of a plant, which they pretend is a ſpecific for that diſtemper, but make a ſecret of it. I will mention an inſtance of their ſagacity. Obſerving that the muſquaſh fed freely upon the hemlock without hurt, they took out the ſtomach of the animal, dried and pulverized it, and gave it to their children who had eaten of the plant, and found it to be an antidote for the poiſon.

"other Indians of it, and, for two days after, the reſt of "the Indians dance and rejoice for what they tell them "about this ſerpent, and ſo they become their powows." Being aſked what theſe powows do, and what uſe they are of; they ſaid, "their principal employment was to cure "the ſick, by certain odd geſtures and beating themſelves, "and then they ſhall pull out the ſickneſs by applying their "hands to the ſick perſon, and ſo blow it away." This account was given to Mr. Eliot, who made this inference, "ſo that their powows are great witches, having fellowſhip "with the old ſerpent, to whom they pray, and by whoſe "means they heal ſick perſons," &c. Some of them were jugglers; and, without arriving to any great degree of perfection, they might raiſe the admiration of the generality of their blockiſh countrymen. However, the contemporaries of the aboriginals all ſay, that, beſides the Ketan, or their good ſpirit, they had ſome notion of an evil ſpirit, which is ſometimes called Chepian, but generally Abamocho,* lord of thoſe infernal regions to which they conſigned their enemies. Mr. Mayhew, in a letter dated in 1650, relates a converſation between Hiacoomes, a chriſtian Indian, and Myoxco, a chief man of a place at the Vineyard. Myoxco demanded how many Gods† the Engliſh worſhiped; and being anſwered, one, he reckoned up about 37 principal gods he had; and ſhall I, ſaid he, throw away theſe 37 gods for one? ‡

The

* "The Indians, who had never ſeen any man blacker than themſelves, happened to ſpy a Negro a-top of a tree who had loſt his way, ran to the next plantation to inform the Engliſh that they had ſeen Abamocho, and to entreat their aſſiſtance to conjure him down. The Engliſh went out, and found the poor wandering black, and conducted him to his maſter." *Wood.*

Query, Whether it was not as natural for them to have taken the firſt white man they ſaw for Abamocho, as the firſt black, their own colour being a medium between both.

† Mr. Eliot, in tranſlating the bible, could find no Indian word for God. In the prayers and ſermons made by the Indians in their own language, they have been taught to uſe the word Jehovah, or the Engliſh words God or Lord. R. Williams uſes the Indian word *Manitoo*, by which word they ſeem rather to have expreſſed their admiration at any thing which excelled, whether animate or inanimate.

‡ Roger Williams ſays, that when they ſaw one man excel others in wiſdom, valour, ſtrength, &c. they would cry out, he is a god. And when they heard of the Engliſh ſhips, houſes, and manner of plowing their fields, they pronounced that they were gods. By their eaſtern, weſtern, ſouthern and northern gods, which the ſame author ſpeaks of, they probably intended no more than the chief ſagamores of the ſeveral places to which ſouls went. This is very conſiſtent with the groſs notions they had of a future ſtate.

I

The Indians of Canada, according to Charlevoix, had an infinite number of genii, or ſubaltern ſpirits, good and bad, who had their particular worſhip. Very circumſtantial accounts have been publiſhed, by the French writers, of the religious rites and ceremonies of the northern Indians, their feaſts and faſts, their prieſts, and even their nuns or veſtal virgins; which accounts have either been too eaſily received, or elſe the northern differed much from the more ſouthern Indians, who, at beſt, gave themſelves but little concern upon any point of religion. A deep inquiry into futurity could not conſiſt with that indolent ſtate of mind, which they made the ſummit of all happineſs. An Indian convert diſcourſing with Wooſamaquin, the great ſachem, he inquired of the convert, what worldly good things he had gained by his new religion; and not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, gave himſelf no further thought about it. Mr. Mayhew * ſays, that upon the firſt propoſals of religion to them, they generally made theſe three inquiries: 1. What earthly riches they ſhould get. 2. What approbation they ſhould have from other ſagamores and governors. 3. How they ſhould come off from the powows. †

Many people pleaſed themſelves with a conjecture, that the Indians in America were the deſcendents of the ten tribes of Iſrael. There was as little affinity between the Indian and the Hebrew language, as between the languages of any two nations upon the earth; and the New-England Indians had no one cuſtom peculiar to the Iſraelites, except that of the ſeparation of the women on certain occaſions. This cuſtom obtained among moſt of the nations upon the continent. The French ſpeak of others, viz. that, at certain repaſts, they never make uſe of knives; it is not probable

I began to ſuſpect, from this inſtance of plurality of gods, ſomething like the mythology of the ancients. *Romulus in cælo cum diis agit ævum.* CIC. But I have no where met with any evidence of their making any of their deceaſed heroes the objects of their religious worſhip, nor ſo much as preſerving the remembrance of their names; and it is probable the Indians run over a number of names to impoſe upon Mr. Mayhew, or to get rid of his importunity, and that, from this authority only, other writers have mentioned a plurality of gods.

* His letter to the corporation, 1650.

† R. Williams ſays, that when he had diſcourſed of the creation, of the ſoul, of the danger of it, and the ſaving of it, they aſſented; but when he ſpake of the reſurrection of the body, they cried out, we will never believe this.

bable they ever had any to uſe, on any occaſion, until they were brought to them from Europe; they called the firſt Engliſh, Knifemen; that they never break the bones of the beaſts they eat, and that, in ſome of their ſongs, you may diſtinguiſh the word Hallelujah. One Capt. Cromwell, a rich bucanier, who died at Boſton about 1646, aſſured governor Dudley, that he had ſeen Indians to the ſouthward circumciſed. This increaſed the faith of many.* The authors of the univerſal hiſtory ſeem to have as little grounds for the conjecture, that the Indians are the poſterity of the ancient Scythians, and that Maſſachuſetts, a compound Indian word, might be derived from Maſagetes.

Our anceſtors attempted to account for the firſt peopling America, conſiſtent with the ſacred hiſtory of the creation, but were obliged to leave the matter in the ſame uncertainty as all others have done who have ſince made the like attempt.

The language of the Indians, from Piſcataqua to Connecticut, was ſo nearly the ſame, that they could tolerably well converſe together. It was obſerved, that without the greateſt difficulty, they could not be brought to pronounce the letters L or R. For Lobſter, they ſaid Nobſtan. The Tarrenteens ſounded the R eaſily. Labials they uſed with freedom. It is obſerved of the weſtern Indians, particularly the ſix nations, that they have no labials in all their language; and they, and the Nipnets, who lived little more than 100 miles from them, could not better underſtand one another than the Engliſh and Chineſe.

At the beginning, our planters promiſed themſelves great things from the ſoil, and imagined they were rich, having the property of ſo great an extent of territory. The general court allowed no more than 200 acres of land, in the firſt dividend, for 50 pounds ſterling advanced for the plantation. Mr. Johnſon, in a will made made in 1629, ſuppoſes his intereſt, as a proprietor, worth ſix hundred pounds ſterling;

* Their greaſing their hair is called, by R. Williams, anointing their heads. They are ſaid to call the ſeven ſtars the Bear. This would be very ſtrange, if there was any evidence of their calling them ſo when the firſt European arrived. So remarkable a conſtellation muſt have been always diſtinguiſhed by them. A Bear being ſo common an animal with them, they probably were acquainted with the name of the conſtellation being the ſame with that of the animal, from their moſt early converſe with the Engliſh or French.

ſterling ;* but many years had not paſſed, before an ingenious writer † obſerved, that the planters had found, by experience, that their improved lands were of no greater value (in many places not ſo great) than the labour and expenſe in ſubduing them. Several accounts of the opinions, which at firſt prevailed, both of the ſoil and climate, have been preſerved. Wood, a writer of a fertile imagination, who lived in the country four years, which, from ſome paſſages in his hiſtory, appear to have been before the year 1636, or the Pequod war, ſays, "The ſoil is, for the gene-" ral, a warm kind of earth, there being little cold ſpewing " land, no mooriſh fens, no quagmires ; the loweſt grounds " be the marſhes, over which, every full and change, the " ſea flows ; theſe marſhes be rich ground, and bring plenty " of hay, of which the cattle feed, and like as if they were " fed with the beſt up-land hay in New-England,‡ of which " likewiſe there is great ſtore, which grows commonly be-" tween the marſhes and the woods. This meadow ground " lies higher than the marſhes, whereby it is freed from the " overflowing of the ſeas ; and beſides this, in many places " where the trees grow thin, there is good fodder to be got " amongſt the woods. There be likewiſe in divers places " near the plantations great broad meadows, wherein grow " neither ſhrub nor tree, lying low, in which places grows " as much graſs as may be thrown out with a ſcythe, thick " and long, as high as a man's middle, ſome as high as the " ſhoulders, ſo that a good mower may cut three load in a " day. Many object this is but coarſe fodder. True it is, " that it is not ſo fine to the eye as Engliſh graſs, but, be-" ing made into hay, the cattle eat it as well as lea hay, " and like as well with it. The worſt that can be ſaid " againſt the meadow grounds is, that there is but little " ediſh

* In 1716, ſeveral gentlemen joined in the purchaſe of about 500,000 acres of land in the eaſtern country, called the Pejepſcot purchaſe. The whole conſideration was no more than about one hundred pounds ſterling. *Douglaſs.*

† Mr. Hubbard.

‡ This account is much too favourable. Take the ſaltmarſh of the ſeveral parts of the country, one acre with another will not produce more than three quarters of a load of hay. Cattle, remote from the ſea, muſt have ſalt, and a little ſalt hay would undoubtedly be grateful, and black cattle and horſes and ſheep may be kept alive through the winter with ſalt hay, but all creatures prefer Engliſh hay when they can have both. The natural upland graſs of the country, commonly called Indian graſs, is poor fodder, perhaps not better, if ſo good, as barley ſtraw.

" ediſh or after paſture, which may proceed from the late " mowing, more than any thing elſe.* For the more up- " land grounds, there be different kinds, in ſome places " clay, ſome gravel, ſome a red ſand, all which are covered " with a black mould, in ſome places a foot deep, in others " not ſo much. Such is the rankneſs† of the ground, that " it muſt be ſown the firſt year with Indian corn, which is " a ſoaking grain, before it will be fit to receive Engliſh " ſeed. For the natural ſoil, I preſer it before the counties " of Surry or Middleſex, which, if they were not enriched " with continual manurings, would be leſs fertile than the " meaneſt grounds in New-England; wherefore, it is not " impoſſible, nor much improbable, that, upon improve- " ments, the ſoil may be as good, in time, as England. If " any man doubt of the goodneſs of the ground, let him " comfort himſelf with the cheapneſs of it; ſuch bad land " in

* I conclude, from this account, that they had then no hay of Engliſh graſs. Land of a tolerable quality, where Engliſh graſs (a name given to all imported graſſes) has been mowed, we now find by experience will afford after feed until the ſevere froſts burn the graſs and cauſe it to wither. It has been made a queſtion, whether the ſeed of the white clover is not in the earth in all parts of the country; and our farmers affirm, and there is no doubt of the fact, that if they break up new ground in the woods, where no dung has ever been ſpread, and lay it down the next or the ſame year, and give it a thin coat of aſhes, the white honey ſuckle comes in as thick as if the ſeed had been ſown. Some connoiſſeurs ſay, that the plant and flower differ from the Engliſh honey ſuckle. Aſhes will, certainly, in ſome of our improved lands, bring in this ſort of graſs, when barn dung, or ſea manure, will bring in other ſorts of Engliſh graſs in the ſame field. On the other hand, in travelling the woods where no cattle has been, and where the ſoil has been ſo good that the brakes and Indian graſs have been four or five feet high, I have ſearched for Engliſh graſs without being able to find a ſpire of any ſort. Some have ſuppoſed that the pigeons, which come down to the plantations in infinite numbers, and other birds of paſſage, ſcatter the ſeeds in their dung through the continent. There is a tradition, that the graſs called fowl meadow graſs, which is ſuperior to any other graſs of the fleth water meadows, was firſt brought to the meadows in Dedham by a large flight of wild fowls, and that from thence the graſs, and the meadows where it was firſt diſcovered, and from whence it has been communicated to many parts of the country, took their names. I do not find the obſervation any where made, that, at the beginning of the Engliſh ſettlements, the European graſs came into ground which had been broke up, before any ſeed was ſown. On the other hand, it is not probable that the ſeeds of all that great variety of graſſes, diſtinct from what is called wild or Indian graſs, with which our fields abound, was ever imported or ſown among us.

† Rather the roughneſs of the ground. The Indian corn requiring frequent plowings, what are now called horſe hoeings, beſides hoeing and hilling by hand, the land is pulverized, and there will be fine tilth neceſſary for Engliſh grain the next year. Indian corn is likewiſe gathered late, after the froſts ſet in, and, if the corn has been well tended, there will be no graſs or weeds when the froſts break up in the ſpring, immediately after which it ſhould be ploughed for the Engliſh grain.

" in England, I am ſure, will bring in ſtore of good money. " There hath as good Engliſh corn grown there as can be " deſired, eſpecially rye, oats and barley; there hath been " no great trial of wheat and beans; only thus much I af- " firm, that theſe two grains grow well in gardens."

This author's account of the country is not unfavourable. An anonymous manuſcript, which was ſent to England in the beginning of the year 1637, gives us a different idea.

" The ſoil, it is, for the nature of it, mixed; the upland " rather participates of ſand than clay, yet our rye likes it " not, an argument it is both cold and barren; yet I find " ſome of it, manured, to yield ſome increaſe, but not to " anſwer expectation: the low lands are, for the moſt part, " covered with underwoods; the ſoil, which is a mixture " of clay and ſand, ſeems to have been fattened by the con- " tinual fall of leaves from the trees growing thereon. This " ſoil is like your woodland in England, beſt at firſt, yet " afterwards grows more barren. This raiſed the report " of ſo rich a ſoil; but we* that came after found, by dear " experience, that affection, not judgement, was the author " of it; for, after five or ſix years, it grows barren beyond " belief; and whereas, after, the land in England proves " fertile for graſs, this yields none at all, but, like the land " about Dunſtable, puts on the face of winter in the time " of ſummer. I do believe, that if we had marl, lime, or " other manure, this barrenneſs might, in part, be cured; " but, as yet, we are deſtitute of theſe ſupplies. The na- " tural coldneſs confutes the opinion of thoſe, who did " conceive it to be originally fertile; and experience con- " firms this to be true; for beans, millet, and fitches and " roots, which delight in a cold ſoil, proſper here alike. " For the preſent, we make a ſhift to live; but hereafter, " when our numbers increaſe, and the fertility of the ſoil " doth decreaſe, if God diſcover not means to enrich the " land, what ſhall become of us I will not determine, but, " it is probable, we muſt either diſband ourſelves, like " beaſts ſtraitened in their paſture, and ſo be liable to de- " ſtruction from the natives (I mean the Pequods), or elſe, " continuing

* I ſuppoſe he means the Maſſachuſetts planters who came after Plymouth men.

" continuing together, be made the ſubject of ſome fearful " famine and the miſery that accompanieth it. Hay, we " have here of the low lands, ſuch as it is, which, in my " opinion, is inferior in goodneſs to our reed and ſedge in " England, for it is ſo devoid of nutritive virtue, that our " beaſts grow louſy with feeding upon it, and are much " out of heart and liking; beſides, it breeds among them " ſundry diſeaſes, which we know not how to cure. Some " have learned to make better proviſion, by burning the " graſs when it is near ripe, and ſo ſuffering a new crop to " ſpring out of the aſhes of the old. This they cut down, " before it be half ripe, and make it into hay; but this " proves like your after meath in old England, not fit to " labour with, yielding a faint nouriſhment, which brings " our cattle ſo low, and many times to diſeaſes of which " they hardly ever recover.

A gentlewoman, a few years after, in another manuſcript, ſends the following account. " When I remember " the high commendations ſome have given of the place, " and find it inferior to the reports, I have thought the " reaſon thereof to be this, that they wrote ſurely in ſtraw- " berry time. When I have thought again of the mean " reports, and find it far better than thoſe reports, I have " fancied the eyes of the writers were ſo fixed on their old " Engliſh chimney tops, that the ſmoke put them out. " The air of the country is ſharp, the rocks many, the trees " innumerable, the graſs little, the winter cold, the ſum- " mer hot, the gnats in ſummer biting, the wolves at mid- " night howling, &c. Look upon it, as it hath the means " of grace, and, if you pleaſe, you may call it a Cana- " an.——I perceive ſome among you have imagined, they " might enlarge their eſtates by coming here; but I am " taught that great men muſt look to be loſers, unleſs they " reckon that gain which, by the glorious means of life, " comes down from heaven. Men (by what I hear) of " your rank and worth, will be welcome on New-England's " coaſts; he only can adviſe you beſt, who can lead you " to his place," &c.

Mr. Hubbard, whoſe manuſcript hiſtory was wrote about 1680, could make a better judgement.

" As for the ſoil, it is, for the general, more mountain-
" ous and hilly than otherwiſe, and, in many places, very
" rocky and full of ſtones, yet intermingled with many
" plains and valleys, ſome of which are ſandy and inclina-
" ble to barrenneſs, eſpecially thoſe which abound with
" pitch pines, and there are many ſuch, as likewiſe many
" ſwamps or boggy places, full of ſmall buſhes and under-
" woods. But, here and there, are many rich and fruitful
" ſpots of land, ſuch as they call interval land, in level and
" champain grounds, that oftentimes are overflown by the
" channels of water which run beſide them, which is ſup-
" poſed to enrich the ſoil that is ſo watered.* The fatneſs
" of the earth, waſhed by the rains, and melting of the
" ſnow from the ſurface of the higher parts of the country,
" being, by thoſe floods, caſt upon the levels which lie by
" the ſides of thoſe greater ſtreams. In many ſuch places,
" their land hath been known to be ſown or planted full
" forty years together, without any conſiderable abatement
" of the crop, never failing of thirty or forty buſhels per
" acre. But for the generality of the ſoil, it is of a lighter
" ſort of earth, whoſe fruitfulneſs is more beholden to the
" influence of the heavens, advantage of the ſeaſon, ſkill
" and induſtry of the tiller, than to the ſtrength of its own
" temper. Such as came hither firſt upon diſcovery, chanc-
" ed to be here in the firſt part of the ſummer, when the
" earth was newly adorned with its beſt attire of herbs and
" flowers, flouriſhing with ſuch early fruits as weather-beat-
" en travellers are wont to refreſh themſelves with behold-
" ing, as ſtrawberries, gooſeberries, raſberries, cherries, and
" whorts, as they obſerved who firſt landed about Martha's
" Vineyard, from whence they promiſed themſelves and
" their ſucceſſors a very flouriſhing country, as they did
" who landed firſt upon the coaſt of Florida. All ſorts of
" grain ſown in the ſpring, are found to grow pretty natur-
" ally here. The cold oft times proves ſo extreme as to
" kill

* The two great rivers, Connecticut and Hudſon's river, are moſt remarkable for large tracts of this interval land, which are ſo often overflowed as to need no other manure, the waters in a freſhet bringing down ſo much muck from the mountains, like the waters of the Nile, as to keep the ground in good heart to bear a crop of wheat every year. Sometimes, a great freſhet, in the months of June and July, is prejudicial to the crops upon the mowing and paſture land, for that ſeaſon, making the graſs foul and diſagreeable to the cattle.

" kill that which is committed to the ground before win-
" ter."* From theſe ſeveral accounts, ſome judgment may be made of the opinion our forefathers had formed of the country. Experience convinced many of them, that the value of the land, when cleared, would make but poor wages for their labour in clearing it. It is a happy thing, that a fondneſs for freeholds to tranſmit to poſterity, with privileges annexed to them, excited ſo many of the firſt planters of America to hard labour, and ſupported them under hard fare. A great part of this vaſt continent, filled with wild beaſts, and ſavage men ſcarcely ſuperior to them, now affords the neceſſaries and conveniences of a civilized life, equal to the like tracts of improved country in other parts of the globe. Hiſtory affords us no inſtance of ſo great improvements in ſo ſhort a time. The ſame paſſion ſtill continues, and affords a proſpect of the like happy effect for ages yet to come.

A natural hiſtory of the country will afford a volume of itſelf, and it is a work much wanted, and would entertain the curious. The botanical part would be very uſeful. I have not leiſure, and if I had I have not a genius, for ſuch an undertaking. I wiſh ſome perſon, who has both the one and the other, would undertake it.

* Our farmers, by ſowing their ſeed early, the ground being prepared in ridges to throw off the rains and melting ſnows, raiſe winter wheat and rye with good ſucceſs. The great diſcouragement has been the blaſt. An idle opinion obtained among the vulgar, that ſince the execution of the quakers, about a century paſt, wheat has always blaſted. Generally, between the firſt and the tenth of July it has been obſerved, that the dew, called the honey dew, falling upon the wheat (the morning after being hot and calm) cauſes the ruſt or blaſt. Ordinarily, if the wheat be ſown early, it will be ſo forward, by this time, that the grain will not ſuffer by it. The ſpring or ſummer grain, being later before it is ripe, is in general the moſt expoſed. Sir Henry Frankland, ſeveral years ago, imported from Liſbon, the ſeed of ſummer wheat, which ripens there in 12 weeks, and the flour of it is in great eſteem. This ſort has been leſs ſubject to blaſt than any other. It ripens in Maſſachuſetts about 16 weeks from the ſowing.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX.

(No. I.)

The humble Reqveſt of his Majeſties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone for New-England; to the reſt of their Brethren in and of the Church of England.

Reverend FATHERS and BRETHREN,

THE generall rumour of this ſolemne enterpriſe, wherein ourſelves with others, through the providence of the Almightie, are engaged, as it may ſpare us the labour of imparting our occaſion unto you, ſo it gives us the more incouragement to ſtrengthen ourſelves by the procurement of the prayers and bleſſings of the Lord's faithful ſervants: for which end wee are bold to have recourſe unto you, as thoſe whom *God* hath placed neareſt his throne of mercy; which, as it affords you the more opportunitie, ſo it impoſeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their ſtraights; we beſeech you therefore by the mercies of the LORD JESVS to conſider us as your brethren, ſtanding in very great need of your helpe, and earneſtly imploring it. And howſoever your charitie may have met with ſome occaſion of diſcouragement through the miſreport of our intentions, or through the diſaffection, or indiſcretion, of ſome of us, or rather, amongſt us; for wee are not of thoſe that dreame of perfection in this world; yet we deſire you would be pleaſed to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as thoſe who eſteeme it our honour to call the *Church* of *England*, from whence wee riſe, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where ſhe ſpecially reſideth, without much ſadnes of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that ſuch hope and part as we have obtained in the common ſalvation, wee have received in her boſome, and ſuckt it from her breaſts: wee leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith wee were nouriſhed there, but, bleſſing God for the parentage and education, as members of the ſame body, ſhall alwayes rejoyce in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any ſorrow that ſhall ever betide her, and while we have breath, ſyncerely deſire and indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the inlargement of her bounds in the kingdome of CHRIST JESVS.

Be pleaſed therefore, *Reverend* FATHERS & BRETHREN, to helpe forward this worke now in hand; which if it proſper, you ſhall bee the more glorious, howſoever your judgment is with the LORD, and your reward with your GOD. It is an uſuall and laudable exerciſe of your charity, to recommend to the prayers of your congregations the neceſſities and

and ſtraights of your private neighbours: do the like for a church ſpringing out of your owne bowels. Wee conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will bee a moſt proſperous gale in our ſailes, and prouide ſuch a paſſage and welcome for us, from the GOD of the whole earth, as both we which ſhall finde it, and yourſelves, with the reſt of our friends, who ſhall heare of it, ſhall be much inlarged to bring in ſuch daily returnes of thanks-givings, as the ſpecialties of his providence and goodnes may juſtly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of GOD ſtirred up the Apoſtle *Paul* to make continuall mention of the church of Philippi (which was a colonie of Rome): let the ſame Spirit, we beſeech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords remembrancers, to pray for us without ceaſing (who are a weake colony from yourſelves) making continuall requeſt for us to GOD in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you that are miniſters of GOD, that we crave at the hands of all the reſt of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private ſolicitations at the Throne of Grace.

If any there be, who, through want of cleare intelligence of our courſe, or tenderneſſes of affection towards us, cannot conceive ſo well of our way as we could deſire, we would intreat ſuch not to deſpiſe us, nor to deſert us in their prayers and affections; but to conſider, rather, that they are ſo much the more bound to expreſſe the bowels of their compaſſion towards us, remembring alwaies that both nature and grace doth binde us to relieve and reſcue, with our utmoſt and ſpeedieſt power, ſuch as are deare unto us, when wee conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodnes you ſhall extend to us in this or any other chriſtian kindneſſe, wee your brethren in CHRIST IESVS ſhall labour to repay in what dutie wee are or ſhall be able to performe; promiſing, ſo farre as GOD ſhall enable us, to give him no reſt on your behalfes; wiſhing our heads and hearts may be as fountaines of teares for your everlaſting welfare, when wee ſhall be in our poore cottages in the wilderneſſe, overſhadowed with the ſpirit of ſupplication, through the manifold neceſſities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us. And ſo commending you to the grace of GOD in CHRIST, wee ſhall ever reſt,

Your aſſured Friends and Brethren,

From *Yarmouth*, aboord the *Arbella*, *April* 7. 1630.

Jo: Winthrope, GOV.
Charles Fines.

Rich: Saltonſtall.
Iſaac Iſhrſon.

Tho: Dudley.
George Phillips.
William Coddington.
&c.
&c.

(No. II.)

Certain Propoſals made by Lord SAY, *Lord* BROOKE, *and other perſons of quality, as conditions of their removing to New-England; with the Anſwers thereto.*

DEMAND 1. THAT the commonwealth ſhould conſiſt of two diſtinct ranks of men; whereof the one ſhould be, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country; the other, for them and their heirs, freeholders.

ANSWER. Two diſtinct ranks we willingly acknowledge, from the light of nature and ſcripture; the one of them called Princes, or Nobles, or Elders (amongſt whom gentlemen have their place); the other, the People. Hereditary dignity or honours we willingly allow to the former, unleſs, by the ſcandalous and baſe converſation of any of them, they become degenerate. Hereditary liberty, or eſtate of freemen, we willingly allow to the other, unleſs they alſo, by ſome unworthy and ſlaviſh carriage, do diſfranchize themſelves.

DEM. 2. That in theſe gentlemen and freeholders, aſſembled together, the chief power of the commonwealth ſhall be placed, both for making and repealing laws.

ANS. So it is with us.

DEM. 3. That each of theſe two ranks ſhould, in all public aſſemblies, have a negative voice ſo as without a mutual conſent nothing ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

ANS. So it is agreed among us.

DEM. 4. That the firſt rank, conſiſting of gentlemen, ſhould have power, for them and their heirs, to come to the parliaments or public aſſemblies, and there to give their free votes perſonally; the ſecond rank of freeholders ſhould have the ſame power, for them and their heirs, of meeting and voting, but by their deputies.

ANS. Thus far this demand is practiſed among us: The freemen meet and vote by their deputies; the other rank give their votes perſonally, only with this difference, there be no more of the gentlemen that give their votes perſonally but ſuch as are choſen to places of office, either governors, deputy governors, counſellors, or aſſiſtants. All gentlemen in England have not that honour to meet and vote perſonally in parliament, much leſs all their heirs. But of this more fully, in anſwer to the ninth and tenth demand.

DEM. 5. That for facilitating and diſpatch of buſineſs, and other reaſons, the gentlemen and freeholders ſhould ſit and hold their meetings in two diſtinct houſes.

ANS. We willingly approve the motion, only as yet it is not ſo practiſed among us; but, in time, the variety and diſcrepancy of ſundry occurrences will put them upon a neceſſity of ſitting apart.

DEM. 6. That there ſhall be ſet times for theſe meetings, annually or half yearly, or as ſhall be thought fit by common conſent, which meetings ſhould have a ſet time for their continuance, but ſhould be adjourned or broken off at the diſcretion of both houſes.

ANS.

Ans. Public meetings, in general courts, are by charter appointed to be quarterly, which, in this infancy of the colony, wherein many things frequently occur which need ſettling, hath been of good uſe; but when things are more fully ſettled in due order, it is likely that yearly or half yearly meetings will be ſufficient. For the continuance or breaking up of theſe courts, nothing is done but with the joint conſent of both branches.

Dem. 7. That it ſhall be in the power of this parliament, thus conſtituted and aſſembled, to call the governor and all public officers to account, to create new officers, and to determine them already ſet up; and, the better to ſtop the way to inſolence and ambition, it may be ordered that all offices and fees of office ſhall, every parliament, determine, unleſs they be new confirmed the laſt day of every ſeſſion.

Ans. This power to call governors and all officers to account, and to create new and determine the old, is ſettled already in the general court or parliament, only it is not put forth but once in the year, viz. at the great and general court in May, when the governor is choſen.

Dem. 8. That the governor ſhall ever be choſen out of the rank of gentlemen.

Ans. We never practiſe otherwiſe, chooſing the governor either out of the aſſiſtants, which is our ordinary courſe, or out of approved known gentlemen, as this year* Mr. Vane.

Dem. 9. That, for the preſent, the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Say and Seale, the Lord Brooke, who have already been at great diſburſements for the public works in New-England, and ſuch other gentlemen of approved ſincerity and worth, as they, before their perſonal remove, ſhall take into their number, ſhould be admitted, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country. But, for the future, none ſhall be admitted into this rank but by the conſent of both houſes.

Ans. The great diſburſements of theſe noble perſonages and worthy gentlemen we thankfully acknowledge, becauſe the ſafety and preſence of our brethren at Connecticut is no ſmall bleſſing and comfort to us. But, though that charge had never been diſburſed, the worth of the honourable perſons named is ſo well known to all, and our need of ſuch ſupports and guides is ſo ſenſible to ourſelves, that we do not doubt the country would thankfully accept it, as a ſingular favour from God and from them, if he ſhould bow their hearts to come into this wilderneſs and help us. As for accepting them and their heirs into the number of gentlemen of the country, the cuſtom of this country is, and readily would be, to receive and acknowledge, not only all ſuch eminent perſons as themſelves and the gentlemen they ſpeak of, but others of meaner eſtate, ſo be it is of ſome eminency, to be, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country. Only, thus ſtandeth our caſe: Though we receive them with honour, and allow them pre-eminence and accommodations according to their condition, yet we do not, ordinarily, call them forth to the power of election, or adminiſtration of magiſtracy, until they be received as members into ſome of our churches; a privilege, which we doubt not religious gentlemen will willingly deſire (as David did in Pſal. xxvii. 4) and chriſtian churches will as readily impart to ſuch deſirable perſons. Hereditary honours both nature and ſcripture doth acknowledge (Eccleſ. xix. 17.) but hereditary authority and power ſtandeth only by the civil

* 1636. laws

laws of ſome commonwealths; and yet, even amongſt them, the authority and power of the father is no where communicated, together with his honours, unto all his poſterity. Where God bleſſeth any branch of any noble or generous family, with a ſpirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put ſuch a talent under a buſhel, and a ſin againſt the honour of magiſtracy to neglect ſuch in our public elections. But if God ſhould not delight to furniſh ſome of their poſterity with gifts fit for magiſtracy, we ſhould expoſe them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honour, if we ſhould call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority.

Dem. 10. That the rank of freeholders ſhall be made up of ſuch, as ſhall have ſo much perſonal eſtate there, as ſhall be thought fit for men of that condition, and have contributed, ſome fit proportion, to the public charge of the country, either by their diſburſements or labours.

Ans. We muſt confeſs our ordinary practice to be otherwiſe. For, excepting the old planters, i. e. Mr. Humphry, who himſelf was admitted an aſſiſtant at London, and all of them freemen, before the churches here were eſtabliſhed, none are admitted freemen of this commonwealth but ſuch as are firſt admitted members of ſome church or other in this country, and, of ſuch, none are excluded from the liberty of freemen. And out of ſuch only, I mean the more eminent ſort of ſuch, it is that our magiſtrates are choſen. Both which points we ſhould willingly perſuade our people to change, if we could make it appear to them, that ſuch a change might be made according to God; for, to give you a true account of the grounds of our proceedings herein, it ſeemeth to them, and alſo to us, to be a divine ordinance (and moral) that none ſhould be appointed and choſen, by the people of God, magiſtrates over them, but men fearing God (Ex. xviii. 21.) choſen out of their brethren (Deut. xvii. 15.) ſaints (1 Cor. vi. 1.) Yea, the apoſtle maketh it a ſhame to the church, if it be not able to afford wiſe men from out of themſelves, which ſhall be able to judge all civil matters between their brethren (ver. 5.) And Solomon maketh it the joy of a commonwealth, when the righteous are in authority; and the calamity thereof, when the wicked bear rule. Prov. xxix. 2.

Obj. If it be ſaid, there may be many carnal men whom God hath inveſted with ſundry eminent gifts of wiſdom, courage, juſtice, fit for government:

Ans. Such may be fit to be conſulted with and employed by governors, according to the quality and uſe of their gifts and parts; but yet are men not fit to be truſted with place of ſtanding power, or ſettled authority. Ahitophel's wiſdom may be fit to be heard (as an oracle of God) but not fit to be truſted with power of ſettled magiſtracy, leſt he at laſt call for 12,000 men to lead them forth againſt David, 2 Sam. xvii. 1, 2, 3. The beſt gifts and parts, under a covenant of works (under which all carnal men and hypocrites be) will at length turn aſide by crooked ways, to depart from God, and, finally, to fight againſt God, and are therefore, herein, oppoſed to good men and upright in heart, Pſal. cxxv. 4, 5.

Obj. If it be ſaid again, that then the church eſtate could not be compatible with any commonwealth under heaven:

Ans.

Ans. It is one thing for the church, or members of the church, loyally to submit unto any form of government, when it is above their calling to reform it; another thing to chooſe a form of government and governors diſcrepant from the rule. Now, if it be a divine truth, that none are to be truſted with public permanent authority but godly men, who are fit materials for church fellowſhip, then from the ſame grounds it will appear, that none are ſo fit to be truſted with the liberties of the commonwealth as church members: for, the liberties of the freemen of this commonwealth are ſuch, as require men of faithful integrity to God and the ſtate, to preſerve the ſame. Their liberties, among others, are chiefly theſe. 1. To chooſe all magiſtrates, and to call them to account at their general courts. 2. To chooſe ſuch burgeſſes, every general court, as, with the magiſtrates, ſhall make or repeal all laws. Now, both theſe liberties are ſuch, as carry along much power with them, either to eſtabliſh or ſubvert the commonwealth, and therewith the church; which power, if it be committed to men not according to their godlineſs, which maketh them fit for church fellowſhip, but according to their wealth, which, as ſuch, makes them no better than worldly men, then, in caſe wordly men ſhould prove the major part, as ſoon they might do, they would as readily ſet over us magiſtrates like themſelves, ſuch as might hate us according to the curſe, Levit. xxvi. 17. and turn the edge of all authority and laws againſt the church and the members thereof, the maintenance of whoſe peace is the chief end which God aimed at in the inſtitution of magiſtracy. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

(No. III.)

Copy of a Letter from Mr. COTTON *to Lord* SAY *and* SEAL, *in the year* 1636.

Right honourable,

WHAT your Lordſhip writeth of Dr. Twiſſe his works *de ſcientiâ mediâ*, and of the ſabbath, it did refreſh me to reade, that his labors of ſuch arguments were like to come to light; and it would refreſh me much more to ſee them here: though (for my owne particular) till I gett ſome releaſe from ſome conſtant labors here (which the church is deſirous to procure) I can get litle, or noe oppertunity to reade any thing, or attend to any thing, but the dayly occurrences which preſſe in upon me continually, much beyond my ſtrength either of body or minde. Your Lordſhips advertiſement touching the civill ſtate of this colony, as they doe breath forth your ſingular wiſdome, and faithfulneſs, and tender care of the peace, ſo wee have noe reaſon to miſinterprite or undervalue your Lordſhips eyther directions, or intentions therein. I know noe man under heaven (I ſpeake in Gods feare without flattery) whoſe counſell I ſhould rather depend upon, for the wiſe adminiſtration of a civill ſtate according to God, than upon your Lordſhip; and ſuch confidence have I (not in you) but in the Lords preſence in Chriſt with you, that I ſhould never feare to betruſt a greater commonwealth than this (as much

as

as in us lyeth) under ſuch a *perpetuâ dictaturâ* as your lordſhip ſhould preſcribe. For I nothing doubt, but that eyther your Lordſhip would preſcribe all things according to the rule, or be willing to examine againe, and againe, all things according to it. I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath, in one of his pretatory pages to his golden chaine, that the word and ſcripture of God doe conteyne a ſhort *upoluposis*, or platforme, not onely of theology, but alſo of other ſacred ſciences (as he calleth them) attendants, and hand maids thereunto, which he maketh ethicks, eoconomicks, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy. It is very ſuitable to Gods all-ſufficient wiſdome, and to the fulnes and perfection of Holy Scriptures, not only to preſcribe perfect rules for the right ordering of a privare mans ſoule to everlaſting bleſſednes with himſelfe. but alſo for the right ordering of a mans family, yea, of the commonwealth too, ſo farre as both of them are ſubordinate to ſpiritual ends, and yet avoide both the churches uſurpation upon civill juriſdictions, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, and the commonwealths invaſion upon eccleſiaſticall adminiſtrations, *in ordine* to civill peace, and conformity to the civill ſtate. Gods inſtitutions (ſuch as the government of church and of commonwealth be) may be cloſe and compact, and co-ordinate one to another, and yet not confounded. God hath ſo framed the ſtate of church government and ordinances, that they may be compatible to any commonwealth, though never ſo much diſordered in his frame. But yet when a commonwealth hath liberty to mould his owne frame *(ſcripturæ plenitudinem adoro)* I conceyve the ſcripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the ſame, and that, in ſuch ſort as may beſt mainteyne the *euexia* of the church. Mr. Hooker doth often quote a ſaying out of Mr. Cartwright (though I have not read it in him) that noe man faſhioneth his houſe to his hangings, but his hangings to his houſe. It is better that the commonwealth be faſhioned to the ſetting forth of Gods houſe, which is his church, than to accommodate the church frame to the civill ſtate. Democracy. I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who ſhall be governed? As for monarchy, and ariſtocracy, they are both of them clearely approoved, and directed in ſcripture, yet ſo as referreth the ſoveraigntie to himſelfe, and ſetteth up Theocracy in both, as the beſt forme of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church.

The law, which your Lordſhip inſtanceth in [that none ſhall be choſen to magiſtracy among us, but a church member] was made and enacted before I came into the countrey; but I have hitherto wanted ſufficient light to plead againſt it. 1ſt. The rule that directeth the choice of ſupreame governors, is of like æquitie and weight in all magiſtrates, that one of their brethren (not a ſtranger) ſhould be ſet over them. Deut. xvii. 15. And Jethroes counſell to Moſes was approved of God. that the judges and officers to be ſet over the people, ſhould be men fearing God. Exod. xviii. 21. and Solomon maketh it the joy of a commonwealth, when the righteous are in authority; and their mourning, when the wicked rule. Prov. xxix. 21. Job xxxiv. 30. Your Lordſhips feare, that this will bring in papal excommunication, is juſt, and pious: but let your Lordſhip be pleaſed againe to conſider whether the conſequence be neceſſary. *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur:* non-memberſhip may

be

be a juſt cauſe of non-admiſſion to the place of magiſtracy, but yet, ejection out of his memberſhip will not be a juſt cauſe of ejecting him out of his magiſtracy. A godly woman, being to make choice of an huſband, may juſtly refuſe a man that is eyther caſt out of church fellowſhip, or is not yet receyved into it; but yet, when ſhee is once given to him, ſhee may not reject him then, for ſuch defect. Mr. Humfrey was choſen for an aſſiſtant (as I heare) before the colony came over hither: and, though he be not as yet ioyned into church fellowſhip (by reaſon of the unſetlednes of the congregation where he liveth) yet the commonwealth doe ſtill continue his magiſtracy to him, as knowing he waiteth for oppertunity of enjoying church-fellowſhip ſhortly.

When your Lordſhip doubteth, that this corſe will draw all things under the determination of the church, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia* (ſeeing the church is to determine who ſhall be members, and none but a member may have to doe in the government of a commonwealth) be pleaſed (I pray you) to conceyve, that magiſtrates are neyther choſen to office in the church, nor doe governe by directions from the church, but by civill lawes, and thoſe enacted in generall corts, and executed in corts of juſtice, by the governors and aſſiſtants. In all which, the church (as the church) hath nothing to doe: onely, it prepareth fitt inſtruments both to rule, and to chooſe rulers, which is no ambition in the church, nor diſhonor to the commonwealth; the apoſtle, on the contrary, thought it a great diſhonor and reproach to the church of Chriſt, if it were not able to yield able judges to heare and determine all cauſes amongſt their brethren. 1 Cor. vi. 1 to 5. which place alone ſeemeth to me fully to decide this queſtion; for it plainely holdeth forth this argument: It is a ſhame to the church to want able judges of civill matters (as v. 5.) and an audacious act in any church member voluntarily to go for judgment, other where than before the ſaints (as v. 1.) then it will be noe arrogance nor folly in church members, nor preiudice to the commonwealth, if voluntarily they never chooſe any civill judges but from amongſt the ſaints, ſuch as church members are called to be. But the former is cleare: and how then can the latter be avoyded? If this therefore be (as your Lordſhip rightly conceyveth) one of the maine objections if not the onely one which hindereth this commonwealth from the entertainment of the propoſitions of thoſe worthy gentlemen, wee intreate them, in the name of the Lord Jeſus, to conſider, in meeknes of wiſdome, it is not any conceite or will of ours, but the holy counſell and will of the Lord Jeſus (whom they ſeeke to ſerve as well as wee) that overruleth us in this caſe; and we truſt will overrule them alſo, that the Lord onely may be exalted amongſt all his ſervants. What pittie and griefe were it, that the obſervance of the will of Chriſt ſhould hinder good things from us!

But your Lordſhip doubteth, that if ſuch a rule were neceſſary, then the church eſtate and the beſt ordered commonwealth in the world were not compatible. But let not your Lordſhip ſo conceyve. For, the church ſubmitteth it ſelfe to all the lawes and ordinances of men, in what commonwealth ſoever they come to dwell. But it is one thing, to ſubmit unto what they have noe calling to reforme; another thing, voluntarily to ordeyne a forme of government, which to the beſt diſcerning

diſcerning of many of us (for I ſpeake not of myſelfe) is expreſsly contrary to rule. Nor neede your Lordſhip feare (which yet I ſpeake with ſubmiſſion to your Lordſhips better judgment) that this corſe will lay ſuch a foundation, as nothing but a mere democracy can be built upon it. Bodine confeſſeth, that though it be *ſtatus popularis*, where a people chooſe their owne governors; yet the government is not a democracy, if it be adminiſtred, not by the people, but by the governors, whether one (for then it is a monarchy, though elective) or by many, for then (as you know) it is ariſtocracy. In which reſpect it is, that church government is iuſtly denyed (even by Mr. Robinſon) to be democraticall, though the people chooſe their owne officers and rulers.

Nor neede wee feare, that this courſe will, in time, caſt the commonwealth into diſtractions, and popular confuſions. For (under correction) theſe three things doe not undermine, but doe mutually and ſtrongly mainteyne one another (even thoſe three which wee principally aime at) authority in magiſtrates, liberty in people, purity in the church. Purity, preſerved in the church, will preſerve well ordered liberty in the people, and both of them eſtabliſh well-ballanced authority in the magiſtrates. God is the author of all theſe three, and neyther is himſelfe the God of confuſion, nor are his wayes the wayes of confuſion, but of peace.

What our brethren (magiſtrates or miniſters, or leading freeholders) will anſwer to the reſt of the propoſitions, I ſhall better underſtand before the gentlemans returne from Connecticutt, who brought them over. Mean while, two of the principall of them, the generall cort hath already condeſcended unto. 1. In eſtabliſhing a ſtanding councell, who, during their lives, ſhould aſſiſt the governor in managing the chiefeſt affayres of this little ſtate. They have choſen, for the preſent, onely two (Mr. Winthrope and Mr. Dudley) not willing to chooſe more, till they ſee what further better choyſe the Lord will ſend over to them, that ſo they may keep an open doore, for ſuch deſireable gentlemen as your Lordſhip mentioneth. 2. They have graunted the governor and aſſiſtants a negative voyce, and reſerved to the freemen the like liberty alſo. Touching other things, I hope to give your Lordſhip further account, when the gentleman returneth.

He being now returned, I have delivered to him an anſwer to the reſt of your demands,* according to the mindes of ſuch leading men amongſt us, as I thought meete to conſult withall, concealing your name from any, except 2 or 3, who alike doe concurr in the joynt deſire of yeilding to any ſuch propoſitions as your Lordſhip demandeth, ſo farre as with allowance from the word they may, beyond which I know your Lordſhip would not require any thing.

Now the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (the prince of peace) keepe and bleſs your Lordſhip, and diſpoſe of all your times and talents to his beſt advantage: and let the covenant of his grace and peace reſt upon your honourable family and poſterity, throughout all generations.

Thus, humbly craving pardon for my boldneſſe and length, I take leave, and reſt,

Your Honours to ſerve in Chriſt Jeſus,

J. C.

* Appendix No. II.

(No. IV.)

Copy of a Commiſſion for regulating Plantations.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c.

To the right reverend father in God, our right truſty and well beloved counſellour, William, by the providence of God, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England; to our right truſty and well beloved counſellour, Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of our great ſeal of England; to our right reverend father in God, our right truſty and well beloved counſellour, Richard, by the providence of God, Archbiſhop of York, primate and metropolitan of England; to our right truſty and well beloved couſin and counſellour, Richard Earle of Portland, and high treaſurer of England; Henry Earle of Manchester, keeper of our privy ſeal; Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surry, Earle Marſhall of England; Edward Earle of Dorſet, chamberlaine to our moſt dear conſort the Queen; and to our truſty and well beloved counſellour Francis Lord Cottington, chamberlaine and under treaſurer of our exchequer; Thomas Edmunds, Knt. treaſurer of our houſhold; John Cook, Knt. one of our principall ſecretaries of ſtate; and Francis Windebank, another of our principall ſecretaries of ſtate, GREETING.

WHEREAS divers of the ſubjects of us and of our late dear father King James, of famous memory, late, of England, King, by vertue of our royall authority, granted not only to enlarge the territories of our empire, but more eſpecially to propagate the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, having, with their exceeding induſtry and charge, deduced great numbers of the people of England into ſeveral colonies, in ſeverall places of the world, either altogether deſert and unpeopled, or enjoyed by ſalvage and barbarous nations, voyd of all manner of knowledge of Almighty God, wee, being graciouſly pleaſed to provide for the eaſe and tranquility of the ſaid ſubjects, and repoſeing aſſured confidence in your fidelity, wiſdom, juſtice and providence, do conſtitute you, our ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c. or any five or more of you, our councellours, and to you, or to any five or more of you, do commit and give power of protection and government, as well over the ſaid Engliſh colonies already planted, as over all ſuch other colonies, which by any of our people of England, hereafter, ſhall be deduced into any other like parts whatſoever, and power to make laws, ordinances and conſtitutions, concerning either the ſtate public of the ſaid colonies or utility of private perſons and their lands, goods, debts and ſucceſſion within the precincts of the ſame, and for ordering and directing of them, in their demeanours towards forreigne princes and their people, and likewiſe towards us and our ſubjects, as well within any forreigne parts whatſoever beyond the ſeas, as during their voyages, or upon the ſeas, to and from the ſame.

And for relief and ſupport of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the ſoules of our people living in thoſe parts, and for conſigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tythes, oblations and other profits

fits accrewing, according to your good diſcretion, with the advice of two or three of our biſhops, whom you ſhall think fitt to call unto your conſultations, touching the diſtribution of ſuch maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters eccleſiaſticall, and to inflict puniſhment on all offenders or violaters of conſtitutions and ordinances, either by impriſonments or other reſtraints, or by loſs of life or members, according as the quality of the offence ſhall require, with power alſo (our royall aſſent being firſt had and obtained) to remove all governors and preſidents of the ſaid colonies (upon juſt cauſe appearing) from their ſeveral places, and to apoint others in their ſtead, and alſo to require and take account of them touching their office and government; and whom you ſhall find delinquents, you ſhall puniſh, either by depriving them of their ſeverall places and provinces over which they are appointed, or by pecuniary mulcts and penalties, according to the qualities of the offences; and power alſo to ordain temporal judges and civill magiſtrates to determine of civill cauſes, with ſuch powers, in ſuch a forme, as to you or any five or more of you ſhall ſeem expedient; and alſo to ordain judges, magiſtrates and officers for and concerning courts eccleſiaſticall, with ſuch power and ſuch a forme, as to you or any five or more of you, with the advice of the biſhops ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being, ſhall be held meet; and power to conſtitute and ordaine tribunals and courts of juſtice, both eccleſiaſticall and civill, with ſuch power and in them forme of judicature, and manner of proceſs and appeals from and to the ſaid courts, in all caſes and matters as well criminal as civill, both perſonall, reall and mixt, and touching the determination pertaining to any courts of juſtice, eccleſiaſticall and civill, to judge thereof and determine; provided nevertheleſs, the ſaid laws, ordinances and conſtitutions ſhall not be put in execution, untill our royall aſſent, expreſſed under our ſigne at leaſt, be firſt thereunto had and obtained, the which our royall aſſent ſo obtained, together with the ſaid laws, ordinances and conſtitutions, being publiſhed and proclaimed in the provinces in which they are to be executed, the ſaid laws, ordinances and conſtitutions, from thenceforth, ſhall be in force in law; and we do hereby will and command all perſons whom it ſhall concern, inviolably to keep and obſerve the ſame. Notwithſtanding, it may and ſhall be lawful for you, and every five and more of you, with our royal aſſent, the ſaid laws, ordinances and conſtitutions (tho' ſo publiſhed and proclaimed as aforeſaid) to alter, revoke and appeal, and other new laws, &c. in forme aforeſaid, from time to time, to make and publiſh as aforeſaid, and to new and growing evills and perills to apply new remedies, in ſuch manner and ſo often as unto you ſhall appear to be neceſſary and expedient.

KNOW YEE alſo, that we do conſtitute you the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c. and every five or more of you, our committees, according to your good diſcretions, to hear and determine all complaints, at the entrance and ſuit of the party grieved, whether it be againſt the whole colonies themſelves or any governor or officer of the ſame, or whether complaint touching wrongs exhibited and depending, either between the whole bodies of the colonies, or any private member thereof, and to ſummon the perſons before you, and they or their pro-

curators or agents being on both ſides heard, finally to determine thereof, according to juſtice. GIVING moreover and granting to you and any five or more of you, that if it ſhall appear, that any officer or governor of the ſaid colonies, ſhall injuriouſly intend and uſurp upon the authority, power and poſſeſſions of any other, or ſhall unjuſtly wrong one another, or ſhall not ſuppreſs all rebells to us, or ſuch as ſhall not obey our commands, that then it ſhall be lawful (upon advice with ourſelf firſt had) for the cauſes aforeſaid, or upon any other juſt reaſon, to remand and cauſe the offender to returne into England, or into any other place, according as in your good diſcretions you ſhall think juſt and neceſſary.

And wee do furthermore give unto you, or any five or more of you, letters patents and other writeings whatſoever, of us or of our royall predeceſſors granted, for or concerning the planting of any colonies, in any countries, provinces, iſlands or territories whatſoever, beyond the ſeas, and if, upon view thereof, the ſame ſhall appear to you, or any five or more of you, to have been ſurreptitiouſly and unduly obtained, or that any privileges or liberties therein granted, be hurtful to us, our crown or prerogative royall, or to any foreign princes, to cauſe the ſame, according to the laws and cuſtoms of our realm of England, to be revoked, and to do all other things, which ſhall be neceſſary, for the wholeſome government and protection of the ſaid colonies and our people therein abideing.

Wherefore, wee command you, that you diligently intend the premiſes, at ſuch times and places as yourſelves for that purpoſe ſhall appoint, charging alſo and firmely commanding all preſidents of provinces within the aforeſaid colonies, now planted or to be planted, and all and every the ſaid colonies themſelves, and all other perſons whom it doth concerne, that they attend you in the premiſes, and be obedient to your commands touching the ſame, ſo often as they ſhall be thereunto commanded, at their peril. In witneſs whereof, wee cauſed theſe our letters to be made patent. Witneſs ourſelf at Weſtminſter, 28 day of April, in the tenth year of our reign.

(No. V.)

Copy of the General Courts Addreſſe, the 6th of September 1638.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for foreigne Plantations.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Maſſachuſets in New-England, of the Generall Court there aſſembled, the 6th day of September, in the 14th yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King CHARLES.

WHEREAS it hath pleaſed your Lordſhips, by order of the 4th of April laſt, to require our patent to be ſent unto you, wee do hereby humbly and ſincerely profeſſe, that wee are ready to yield all due obedience

obedience to our foueraigne Lord the King's majeſty, and to your Lordſhips under him, and in this minde wee left our native countrie, and according thereunto, hath been our practiſe ever ſince, ſo as wee are much grieved, that your Lordſhips ſhould call in our patent, there being no cauſe knowne to us, nor any delinquency or fault of ours expreſſed in the order ſent to us for that purpoſe, our government being according to his Majeſtyes grant, and wee not anſwerable for any defects in other plantations, &c.

This is that which his Majeſties ſubjects here do believe and profeſſe, and thereupon we are all humble ſuitors to your Lordſhips, that you will be pleaſed to take into further conſideration our condition, and to affoord us the liberty of ſubjects, that we may know what is layd to our charge; and have leaive and time to anſwer for ourſelves before we be condemned as a people unworthy of his Majeſties favour or protection; as for the quo warranto mentioned in the ſaid order, wee doe aſſure your Lordſhips wee were never called to anſwer to it, and if wee had, wee doubt not but wee have a ſufficient plea to put in.

It is not unknowne to your Lordſhips, that we came into theſe remote parts with his Majeſties licence and encouragement, under his great ſeale of England, and in the confidence wee had of that aſſurance, wee have tranſported our families and eſtates, and here have wee built and planted, to the great enlargement and ſecuring of his Majeſties dominions in theſe parts. ſo as if our patent ſhould now be taken from us, we ſhall be looked on as runnigadees and outlawed, and ſhall be enforced, either to remoove to ſome other place, or to returne into our native country againe; either of which will put us to unſupportable extremities, and theſe evills (among others) will neceſſarily follow. (1.) Many thouſand ſouls will be expoſed to ruine being layd open to the injuries of all men. (2.) If wee be forced to deſert this place, the reſt of the plantations (being too weake to ſubſiſt alone) will for the moſt part, diſſolve and goe with us, and then will this whole countrey fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, who would ſpeedily imbrace ſuch an oppertunity. (3.) If wee ſhould looſe all our labour and coſts, and be deprived of thoſe liberties which his Majeſty hath granted us, and nothing layd to our charge, nor any fayling to be found in us in point of allegiance (which all our countrymen doe take notice of and will juſtify our faithfulneſs in this behalfe) it will diſcourage all men hereafter from the like undertakings upon confidence of his Majeſtyes royal grant. Laſtly, if our patent be taken from us (whereby wee ſuppoſe wee may clayme intereſt in his Majeſtyes favour and protection) the common people heere will conceive that his Majeſty hath caſt them off, and that, hereby, they are freed from their allegiance and ſubjection, and, thereupon, will be ready to confederate themſelves under a new government, for their neceſſary ſafety and ſubſiſtance, which will be of dangerous example to other plantations, and perrillous to ourſelves of incurring his Majeſtyes diſpleaſure, which wee would by all means avoyd.

Upon theſe conſiderations wee are bold to renew our humble ſupplications to your Lordſhips, that wee may be ſuffered to live heere in this wilderneſs, and that this poore plantation, which hath found more favour from God than many others, may not find leſs favour from your Lordſhips; that our liberties ſhould be reſtreyned, when others are enlarged,

that the doore ſhould be kept ſhutt unto us, while it ſtands open to all other plantations, that men of ability ſhould be debarred from us, while they have incouragement to other colonies.

Wee dare not queſtion your Lordſhips proceedings; wee only deſire to open our grieſes where the remedy is to be expected: If in any thing wee have offended his Majeſty and your Lordſhips, wee humbly proſtrate ourſelves at the footſtool of ſupreame authority; let us be made the object of his Majeſtyes clemency, and not cutt off, in our firſt appeal, from all hope of favour. Thus, with our earneſt prayers to the King of Kings for long life and proſpereety to his ſacred Majeſty and his royall family, and for all honour and welfare to your Lordſhips, wee humbly take leave.

This is a true copie compared with the original on file, as atteſted.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

(No. VI.)

The Theſes of the firſt Claſs of Graduates at Harvard College, in 1642*.

Spectatiſſimis Pietate, et Illuſtriſſimis Eximia Virtute Viris, D. *Iohanni Wintkropo*, inclytæ Maſſachuſetti Coloniæ Gubernatori, D. *Johanni Endicotto*, Vice-Gubernatori, D. *Thom. Dudleo*, D. *Rich. Bellinghamo*, D. *Ioan. Humphrydo*, D. *Iſrael Stoughtono*.

Nec non Reverendis pientiſſimiſque viris *Ioanni Cottono*, *Ioan. Wilſono*, *Ioan. Davenport*, *Tho. Weldo*, *Hugoni Petro*, *Tho. Shepardo*. Collegij *Harvardenſis*, nov. *Cantabr.* inſpectoribus fideliſſimis, cæteriſque Magiſtratibus, & Eccleſiarum ejuſdem Coloniæ Preſbyteris vigilantiſſimis.

Has Theſes Philologicas, & Philoſophicas, quas, Deo duce, Præſide *Henrico Dunſtero*, palam pro virili propugnare conabuntur (honoris & obſervantiæ gratia) dicant conſecrantque in artibus liberalibus initiati Adoleſcentes.

Benjamin Woodbrigius	*Henricus Saltonſtall*	*Nathaniel Bruſterus*
Georgius Downingus	*Iohannes Bulkleius*	*Samuel Bellinghamus*
Gulielmus Hubbardus	*Ioannes Wilſonus*	*Tobias Bernardus.*

Theſes

* From the year 1642 to the year 1764, inclusive, 2124 perſons have received degrees at harvard college, about 40 of which were honourary degrees, the remainder were conferred upon ſuch as had been admitted ſtudents there. In July laſt, 1091 of the perſons graduated remained alive, the eldeſt of whom received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. The ſalary of the Preſident, from the firſt foundation, has been, annually, granted by the government of the colony and province, beſides annual grants which have been made, for many years paſt, to the ſeveral profeſſors and inſtructors, where the foundations have been inſufficient.

The

Theſes Philologicas.

GRAMMATICAS.

1. LINGUARUM Scientia eſt utiliſſima.
2. Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis organa efferunt.
3. Hæbræa eſt Linguarum Mater.
4. Conſonantes & vocales Hæbreorum ſunt coætaneæ.
5. Punctationes chatephatæ ſyllabam proprie non efficiunt.
6. Linguaram Græca eſt copioſiſſima.
7. Lingua Græca eſt ad accentus pronuncianda.
8. Lingua Latina eſt eloquentiſſima.

RHETORICAS.

1. RHETORICA ſpecie differt a Logica.
2. In Elocutione perſpicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.
3. Actio primas tenet in pronunciatione.
4. Oratoris eſt celare Artem.

LOGICAS.

1. UNIVERSALIA non ſunt extra intellectum.
2. Omnia Argumenta ſunt relata.
3. Cauſa *ſine qua non* non eſt peculiaris cauſa a quatuor reliquis generalibus.
4. Cauſa et effectus ſunt ſimul tempore.
5. Diſſentanea ſunt æque nota.
6. Contrarietas eſt tantum inter duo.
7. Sublato relato tolliter correlatum.

8 Genus.

The charge of the ſeveral buildings alſo; except the firſt houſe, built principally by the legacy of Mr. Harvard; Stoughton-Hall, by lieutenant governor Stoughton; and the Chapel, by Mrs. Holden; has always been borne by the government. The library, conſiſting of five or ſix thouſand volumes, many of them by the moſt celebrated authors, grew out of donations from charitable benefactors, unleſs any ſmall purchaſes have been made out of the college ſtock. This valuable library, together with the apparatus, and the whole of the college, in which they were placed, were conſumed by fire, in January 1764. Very generous preſents have been ſince made, towards the library, but, as yet, far ſhort of procuring one, equal to the former. Of the many benefactors to the college, the family of Hollis ſtands the firſt upon the liſt. Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, who died in 1731, founded two profeſſorſhips, one of divinity and the other of mathematicks and natural philoſophy. He gave an apparatus for experimental philoſophy, and made great and frequent additions to the library. Several other branches of the family have given bountifully to the college, particularly the preſent Mr. Hollis of Grey's Inn, who, beſides his donations to the former library, has given largely towards the new library now collecting. The general court, having cauſed a new college to be built in the year 1763, which coſt between four and five thouſand pounds ſterling, it has taken the name of Hollis-Hall, in grateful remembrance of the benefactions of this worthy family. I ſuppoſe the donation of Thomas Hancock, Eſq. late of Boſton, deceaſed, who gave one thouſand pounds ſterling towards founding a profeſſorſhip for the oriental languages, is the next in value. His executor and reſiduary legatee, Mr. John Hancock, being informed of his teſtator's intention to have given five hundred pounds ſterling more, towards the library, generouſly gave the ſame ſum for the ſame purpoſe.

8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur ſpeciebus.
9. Teſtimonium valet quantum teſtis.
10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non eſt neceſſaria.
11. Axioma contingens eſt, quod ita verum eſt, ut aliquando falſum eſſe poſſit.
12. Præcepta Artium debent eſſe *kata pantos, kath' auto, kath' olou proton.*

Theſes Philoſophicas.

Ethicas.

1. PHILOSOPHIA practica eſt eruditionis meta.
2. Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas eſt virtutis moralis ſubjectum.
4. Voluntas eſt formaliter libera.
5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
6. Prudentia eſt virtus intellectualis & moralis.
7. Juſtitia mater omnium virtutum.
8. Mors potius ſubeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
9. Non injuſte agit niſi qui libens agit.
10. Mentiri poteſt qui verum dicit.
11. Juveni modeſtia ſummum ornamentum.

Physicas.

1. CORPUS naturale mobile eſt ſubjectum Phyſicæ.
2. Materia ſecunda non poteſt exiſtere ſine forma.
3. Forma eſt accidens.
4. Unius rei non eſt niſi unica forma conſtitutiva.
5. Forma eſt principium individuationis.
6. Privatio non eſt principium internum.
7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit ſubſtantia.
8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
9. In omni motu movens ſimul eſt cum mobili.
10. Cœlum non movetur ab intelligentijs.
11. Non dantur orbes in cœlo
12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unum ex primis qualitatibus ſibi maxime propriam.
13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
15. Vehemens ſenſibile deſtruit ſenſum.

Metaphisicas.

1. OMNE ens eſt bonum.
2. Omne creatum eſt concretum.
3. Quicquid æternum idem & immenſum.
4. Bonum Metaphyſicum non ſuſcipit gradus.

(No. VII.)

Copy of the determination of arbitrators for settling the line between New-Haven and the Dutch, in 1650.

ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded at Hartford, upon Connecticut, Sept. 19, 1650, betwixt the delegates of the honored commiſſioners of the united Engliſhe colonies, and the delegates of Peter Stuyveſant, governor generall of Newe-Netherlands.

Concerning the bounds and lymits betwixt the Engliſhe united Collonies and the Dutch province of New-Netherlands, wee agree and determine as followeth.

1. THAT upon Long-Iſland, a line, run from the weſtermoſt part of Oyſter-bay, and ſo in a ſtreight and direct line to the ſea, ſhall be the bounds betweene the Engliſhe and Dutch there; the eaſterly part to belonge to the Engliſh, the weſtermoſt part to the Dutch.

2. The bounds, upon the maine, to begin upon the weſt ſide of Greenwich bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and ſo to run a weſterly line twenty miles up into the country, and after, as it ſhall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and Newe Haven, provided the ſaid line runn not within tenn miles of Hartford river. And it is agreed, that the Dutch ſhall not, at any tyme hereafter, build any houſe or habitation within ſix miles of the ſaid line, the inhabitants of Greenwich to remain (till further conſideration thereof be had) under the government of the Dutch.

3. That the Dutch ſhall hould and enjoy all the lands in Hartford, that they are actually in poſſeſſion off, knowne or ſett out by certaine merkes and boundes, and all the remainder of the ſaid lands, on both ſides of Connecticut river, to be and remaine to the Engliſh there.

And it is agreed that the aforeſaid bounds and lymyts, both upon the iſland and maine, ſhall be obſerved and kept inviolable, both by the Engliſhe of the united collonies and all the Dutch nation, without any encroachment or moleſtation, until a full determination be agreed upon in Europe, by mutual conſent of the two ſtates of England and Holland.

And in teſtimony of our joint conſent to the ſeveral foregoing conditions, wee have hereunto ſett our hands this 19th day of 7ber, 1650.

Symon Bradſtreete	Tho: Willet
Tho: Prence	Theo: Baxter.

(No. VIII.)

Copy of a Petition to the Parliament in 1651.

To the moſt honourable the parliament of the commonwealth of England, the ſupreme authoritie, Greeting.

The humble petition of the general court of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay in New-England.

THERE coming to our handes not long ſince, a printed proclamation, prohibiting trade with Virginea, Barbados, Bermuda and Antego, of which we were obſervant (though to the great loſſe and prejudice of the whole colonie) about the end thereof we found, that the parliament had given power to the counſaile of ſtate to place governors and commiſſioners (without exception) in all the colonies of the Engliſh in America, wherein we finding ourſelves comprehended as wrapped up in one bundle with all the other colonies; our caſe being different from all other Engliſh colonies in America for ought we know or have heard: Alſo ſince receiving information by Mr. Winſlow our agent, that it is the parliaments pleaſure that we ſhould take a new patent from them, and keep our courts and iſſue our warrants in their names, which we have not uſed either in the late Kinges time or ſince, not being able to diſcerne the need of ſuch an injunction: Theſe thinges make us doubt and fear what is intended towards us. Let it therefore pleas you, moſt honourable, we humbly entreat, to take notice, hereby, what were our orders, upon what conditions and with what authority we came hither, and what we have done ſince our coming. We were the firſt moovers and undertakers of ſoe great an attempt, being men able enough to live in England with our neighbours, and being helpfull to others, and not needing the help of any for outward thinges, about three or four and twenty years ſince, ſeeing juſt cauſe to feare the perſecution of the then biſhops and high commiſſion, for not conforming to the ceremonies then preſſed upon the conſciences of thoſe under their power, we thought it our ſafeſt courſe to get to this outſide of the world, out of their view and beyond their reach. Yet before we reſolved upon ſoe great an undertaking, wherein ſhould be hazarded not only all our eſtates but alſoe the lives of ourſelves and our poſterity, both in the voyage at ſea (wherewith we were unacquainted) and in coming into a wilderneſs uninhabited (unleſs in ſome few places by heathen barbarous Indians) we thought it neceſſary to procure a patent from the late King, who then ruled all, to warrant our removall and prevent future inconvenienees, and ſoe did. By which patent, liberty and power was granted to us to live under the government of a governour, magiſtrates of our owne chuſing, and under laws of our owne making (not being repugnant to the lawes of England) according to which patent we have governed ourſelves above this twenty three years, we coming hither at our proper charges, without the help of the ſtate, an acknowledgment of the freedome of our goods from cuſtom, and having expended, firſt and laſt, in our tranſportation, building, fencinge,

ſencinge, warre with the Indians, fortifying, ſubduing the earth in making it fit for culture, divers hundereth of thouſand poundes; and have now made the place ſoe habitable that we are enabled to live in a mean and low condition, and alſoe to furniſh other places with corne, beife, pork, maſtes, clapboord, pipe ſtaves, fiſh, beaver, otter, and other commodities, and hoped that our poſterity ſhould reape the fruit of our labours, and enjoy the liberties and privileges we had obteined for them, and for which we have payd ſoe dear and run ſoe great hazards. And for our carriage and demeanour to the honourable parliament, for theſe ten years, ſince the firſt beginning of your differences with the late King and the warre that after enſuied, we have conſtantly adheared to you, not withdrawing ourſelves in your weakeſt condition and doubtfulleſt times, but by our faſting and prayers for your good ſucceſſe, and our thankſgiving after the ſame was attained, in dayes of ſolemnity ſet apart for that purpoſe, as alſoe by our ſending over uſeful men (others alſoe going voluntarily from us to help you) who have been of good uſe and done good acceptable ſervices to the army, declaring to the world heerby, that ſuch was the duty and love we beare unto the parliament that we were ready to riſe and fall with them; for which we have ſuffered the hatred and threats of other Engliſh colonies, now in rebellion againſt you, as alſoe the loſs of divers of our ſhippes and goods, taken by the Kings party that is dead, by others commiſſioned by the King of Scotts, and by the Portugalls. All which if you ſhall pleas juſtly and favourably to conſider, we cannot but hope, but that, as you have formerly conferred many favours upon us, ſoe it ſhall goe not worſe with us, than it did under the late King; and that the frame of our government ſhall not be changed, and inſtead of governour and magiſtrates yearly by ourſelves choſen, have other impoſed upon us againſt our wills; wherein if our hopes ſhould deceave us (which God forbid) we ſhall have cauſe to ſay we have fallen into hard times, and ſit downe and ſigh out our too late repentance for our coming hither, and patiently bear what ſhall be impoſed upon us; our adverſity in ſuch a caſe being the greater, becauſe ſome of us are too old, and all our eſtates growne too weake (except a very few) to ſeek out a new corner of the world to inhabit in. But, as we ſaid before, we hope that this moſt honourable parliament will not caſt ſuch as have adheared to you and depended upon you, as we have done, into ſoe deep deſpaire, from the fear of which we humbly deſire to be ſpeedily freed by a juſt and gracious anſwer; which will freſhly bind us to pray and uſe all lawfull endeavours for the bleſſing of God upon you and the preſent government.

We will conclude, moſt honourable, our humble petition with the heartie acknowledgments of the goodnes of God towards us, who hath put into your hearts graciouſly to conferre upon us ſo many undeſerved favours and great privileges, from tyme to tyme, in helping on the great work of God here amongſt us, in taking off the cuſtomes from us, in enlarging your fund of bountie towards us for the propagating of the goſpel among the natives with us, which work God proſpereth beyond expectation in ſo few years; in doing us that juſtice in ſtopping all appeals from hence to you, in ſending over many ſervants to us, in vouchſafeing to have a tender care over us upon all occaſions; for theſe, and for all other manifold encouragements receaved from the moſt honourable court

of parliament, as we are bound to praiſe and magnify the name of our good God, ſo we acknowledge it our bounden dutie, not only to be heartilie thankfull to the moſt honourable court, but ever to pray, that the Lord (if it be his good pleaſure) will ſo eſtabliſh you the ſupreame authoritie of that commonwealth, that, all your enemies being ſubdued, you may rule in peace and proſperitie, to his glorie and your owne comfort here on earth, and everlaſtinglie raigne with him in glorie hereafter, which are the earneſt deſires and fervent prayers of,

Moſt honourable,
Your humble ſervants,
J. E.
T. D.
Ed. R.
In the name and of the court.

(No. IX.)

Copy of a Letter to OLIVER CROMWELL *in* 1651, *from the General Court of the Maſſachuſetts.*

To the right honorable his Excellence the Lord Generall CROMWELL.

Right Hon.

WEE acknowledge ourſelves in all dutie bound, not only to take due notice of that tender care and undeſerved reſpect your excellence hath, upon all occaſions, vouchſafed unto the poor deſpiſed colonie of the Maſſachuſetts in New-England, but alſo to acknowledge ourſelves ever obliged to ſerve you, and to improve that intereſt which, through grace, we have obtained in Jehovah, the God of armies, to proſper you and your great and godly undertakings to his glorie and your everlaſting comfort.

Your readines, right honorable, to doe us good, hath occaſioned theſe lines to be preſented to your excellence, to the end that no priuat information may occaſion your honor (contrarie to your aymes and ends) to preiudice this colonie, by inviting over many of the inhabitants thereof to be tranſplanted into Ireland; wherein, although we verilie beleeve that your honor aymes at the glorie of God and the welfare of this people, yet (with fauor) we conceave it will tend to the contrarie, for theſe reaſons following.

Firſt, We did profeſſe, we came into theſe remote partes of the earth to enioy the liberties of the goſpel in their puritie, which, hitherto, we have (through the grace of Chriſt) had, without reſtraint, theſe 23 years and above. So that there is no ſolid ground for any defect therein, that we know, that ſhould occaſion a remoue.

Secondlie, God hath bleſſed the countrey with plentie of food of all kindes, generallie through the land, inſomuch that there are many thouſands of buſhels of graine, and other proviſions, of beef, pork, &c. yearlie tranſported to other places. And where there be any poore people through age,

age, or weaknes, or losses by fire or other hand of God upon them or their estates, the churches or towns, or both, doe contribute to their wants. So that povertie cannot, truely, be alleaged to be a ground of remouall.

Thirdlie, We know not a more healthie place in the whole world, for the general, than this land. Therefore, there can be no ground of remouing for want of health.

Fourthlie, We know not any countrey more peaceable and free from warre, for the present, through the mercy of God. What our unthankfullnes may bring upon us, the just God onlie knowes; but we desire the Lord so to guide us, that we may not provoke the eyes of his jelosie against us. Soe that we conceave there is no just ground of remouall in that respect.

Fifthlie, God is pleased hitherunto to maintayne unto us all his ordinances, both in church and commonwealth, whereby, spreading errors in judgement are suppressed, and prophanenes and wickednes in practice punished according to rule and the best light God is pleased to vouchsafe unto us. So that we cannot see ground of remoueall for any defect in these particulars.

Sixthlie, God hath made this colonie to be instrumentall in the conversion of some of the natiues amongst us, and many more are hopefull to submitt to the gospie and beleeve in Christ Jesus. And that worke is brought to this perfection alreadie, that some of the Indians themselves can pray and propheſie, in a comfortable manner, to the rest, with great gravitie, reverence and zeale, and can write and read English and Indian comfortably. And many scores of them assemble together upon their lecture days, and are well affected to the gospie. So that although this may not seeme to be an argument sufficient to hinder some from removing, yet it might be a just ground of consideration for many to turne their backs upon so hopefull and glorious a worke.

Lastlie, The great noise and general report of so many invited, and intending to transplant themselves into Ireland, hath occasioned some discouragement and weakening to the whole bodie of the colonie, and necessarilie brings an ill report upon the land, as if defective in that which make for a peoples comfortable subsistance, which cannot be but dishonourable to our good God, who hath done so much for us as he hath done, and consequentlie not comfortable to such amongst us as have occasioned it.

Yet, notwithstanding (right honorable) it is not our purpose, in laying down these reasons before your excellence, to hinder any families or persons to remoue to any partes of the world where God calleth them. And there is a law, long since established amongst us, that granteth such a libertie. But our intent onlie is to let your excellence understand the state and condition of this people, that God may have his due praises, and that your honor may not be wronged (by particular information) of the state of this colonie; that, accordingly, your excellence may act as you shall, for the future, in your wisdome, see meete.

Furthermore, We humbly petition your excellence to be pleased to shew us what favor God shall be pleased to direct you unto on our behalfe, to the most honorable parliament, unto whom we have now presented a petition. The copy of it, verbatim, we are bold to send here-

with, that, if God ſo pleaſe, we may not be hindered in our comfortable proceedings in the worke of God heere in this wildernes. Wherein, as for other fauors, we ſhall be bound to pray, that the Captain of the hoaſt of Iſraell may be with you and your whole army, in all your great enterpriſes, to the glorie of God, the ſubduing of his and your enemies, and your everlaſting peace and comfort in Jeſus Chriſt. In whom we are, Right Hon.

Your moſt obliged ſervants,

J. E.

(No. X.)

Copy of an Addreſs to OLIVER CROMWELL, *in* 1654.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

IT hath beene no ſmal comfort to us poor exiles, in theſe utmoſt ends of the earth (who ſometimes felt and often feared the frownes of the mighty) to have had the experience of the good hand of God, in raiſinge up ſuch, whoſe endeavours have not beene wantinge to our welfare; amongſt whom, we have good cauſe to give your highneſs the firſt place: who by a continued ſeries of favours have obliged us, not only while you moved in a lower orbe, but ſince the Lord hath called your highneſs to ſupreame authority, whereat we rejoice and ſhal pray for the continuance of your happy government, that under your ſhadow not only ourſelves, but all the churches may find reſt and peace. The aſſurance of your highneſs's endeavours for that end wee have lately received by Major Sedgwick and Capt. Leveritt, for, notwithſtanding the urgent and important occaſions wherewith your highneſs is preſſed, yet your goodneſs hath compelled you to be mindful of us, and to give ſuch royal demonſtration of your grace and favour, far beyond what we dared to expect or deſire, upon intelligence of our condition preſented to your highneſs by ſome private friends, whoſe well meaninge to us, muſt excuſe their miſtake; which hath made us confident, that our attendance to your pleaſure, in furniſhinge the ſaid gentlemen with voluntiers, for your highneſs's ſervice againſt the Dutch at the Manhatas, will be acceptable: with whom alſo, in complyance with our nation, ever ſince wee heard of the warr, wee have debarred ourſelves of all commerce; and have been exerciſed with ſerious and conſcientious thoughts of our duty in this juncture of affaires; the reſult whereof was in May 1653, That it was moſt agreeable to the goſpel of peace which we profeſs, and faſeſt for theſe colonyes, at this ſeaſon, to forbeare the uſe of the ſword; and though ſome of the other colonyes ſeemed to be of another mind, yet there wanted the concurrence of ſuch a number of the commiſſioners to act accordingly, without whoſe conſent foregoinge (by the articles of our confederation) no warr may be undertaken. Wee have nothing to add, to what was then under conſideration, to put us upon that undertaking, in reference to our own intereſt, which we ought to underſtand and ſhould attend, equally with our friends not more concerned than our ſelves; wherein if wee ſhould

be

be miſtaken, wee hope wee ſhall not be looſers with God or good men, by our tenderneſs in a caſe of ſuch importance, and ſuſpendinge our actings, till wee ſee cleare and ſatisfyinge grounds of our undertakings, ſo highly tendinge to the violation of our peace, the almoſt onely bleſſinge remaining to us, of all our outward comforts; the loſſe whereof, with the neceſſary conſequents, would add ſuch weight to our other ſufferings as might overwhelme us in ſorrow, and in that reſpect, render us of all men moſt miſerable; which wee are aſſured is ſo far from your gracious intentions, that wee have no doubt, but the liberty wee have taken, of the waies propoſed by your highneſs, to take that which is in our underſtandinge, the moſt conſiſtent with our peace and welfare, will be moſt acceptable to your highneſs; and indeed wee cannot but acknowledge it a gracious providence of God, and a high favour and gentleneſs in your highneſs towards us, that when the object of your deſire was our good, the meanes to attaine that end ſhould no way preſs us: for, with all readineſs, wee haue conſented the ſaid gentlemen may raiſe 500 voluntiers, armed and furniſhed for your ſervice, within our juriſdiction, which is a large proportion out of our ſmall numbers, eſpecially at this ſeaſon of the year, wherein the preſſinge occaſions of harveſt doe call for all our hands to attend that ſervice, leaſt the following winter puniſh us for our neglect: Yet have wee willingly run this hazard, that wee might, in ſome meaſure, manifeſt our devotion to your ſervice, in what wee may. Sir, be pleaſed to beleeve us, that our harts and our affections to your highneſs are ſincere, and that wee ſhould account it our unhappineſs, and ranke it amongſt our greateſt ſufferings, to incurr your highneſs's diſpleaſure, though wee ſhould never feele the effects thereof. If, therefore, our underſtandings have in in any thing miſlead us, we moſt humbly crave your pardon, and that your highneſs be pleaſed to retaine us in your good opinion and favour, and wee ſhall ever pray the Lord, your protector in all your dangers, that hath crowned you with honor after your long ſervice, to lengthen your daies, that you may long continue Lord Protector of the 3 nations, and of the churches of Chriſt Jeſus. In whom we are, Sir,

Your Highneſs's
devoted ſervants,

24th Auguſt, 1654.

The General Court of the Maſſatuſets.

(No. XI.)

Copy of a letter from the Government of the Colony of Rhode-Iſland, concerning the Quakers.

Much honoured Gentlemen,

PLEASE you to underſtand, that there hath come to our view a letter ſubſcribed by the honour'd gentlemen commiſſioners of the united coloneys, the contents whereof are a requeſt concerning certayne people caled quakers, come among us lately, &c. Our

Our desires are, in all things possible, to pursue after and keepe fayre and loving coresspondence and entercourse with all the colloneys and with all our countreymen in New-England; and to that purpose we have endeavoured (and shall still endeavour) to answere the desires and requests from all parts of the countrey, coming unto us, in all just and equall returnes, to which end the coloney have made seasonable provision to preserve a just and equal entercourse between the coloneys and us, by giving justice to any that demand it among us, and by returning such as make escapes from you, or from the other coloneys, being such as fly from the hands of justice, for matters of crime done or committed amongst you, &c. And as concerning these quakers (so caled) which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, &c. their mindes and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we, moreover, finde, that in those places where these people aforesaid, in this coloney, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only oposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come, and we are informed that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not opposed by the civill authority, but with all patience and meeknes are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions. nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way; and surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civill powers, and when they are soe, they are like to gaine more adherents by the conseyte of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings. And yet we concive, that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting downe and overturning relations and civill government among men, if generally received. But as to the dammage that may in likelyhood accrue to the neighbour colloneys by their being here entertained, we conceive it will not prove so dangerous (as else it might) in regard of the course taken by you to send them away out of the countrey, as they come among you. But, however, at present, we judge it requisitt (and doe intend) to commend the consideration of their extravagant outgoings unto the generall assembly of our coloney in March next, where we hope there will be such order taken, as may, in all honest and contientious manner, prevent the bad effects of their doctrines and endeavours; and soe, in all courtious and loving respects, and with desire of all honest and fayre commerce with you, and the rest of our honoured and beloved countreymen, we rest

Yours in all loving respects to serve you,

From Providence, at the court of tryals, held for the coloney, October 13th, 1657.

Benedict Arnold, *Presid.*
William Baulston,
Randall Howldon,
Arthur Fenner,
William Feild.

To the much honoured, the Generall Court, sitting at Boston, for the Colloney of Massachussitts.

(No. XII.)

(No. XII.)

Copy of a Letter from R. CROMWELL, *Protector, &c. to the Governor and Magiſtrates of the Maſſachuſets Colony in New-England.*

Loveing Friends,

WE being given to underſtand, that Henry Sewall of Rowley in Meſſey-Tuſick bay in New England, dyed about foure years ſince, poſſeſſed of an eſtate of lands and goods in the colony aforeſaid, and that the ſaid eſtate did and ought to deſcend and come to his only ſonn Henry Sewall, miniſter of North Baddeſly in our county of Southampton in England, who now purpoſeing to make a voyage into New-England, there perſonally to make his clayme to his ſaid eſtate, hath deſired our lycence for his abſence, as alſo our letters recommendatory unto you, that when (by the helpe of God) he ſhall be arrived in New-England, he may have ſpeedy juſtice and right done him concerning the ſaid eſtate, that ſoe he may the ſoonner returne to his miniſteriall charge at North Baddeſly. And he being perſonally knowne to us to be laborious and induſtrious in the work of the miniſtry, and very exemplary for his holy life and good converſation, we doe earneſtly deſire, that when he ſhall make his addreſſes to you he may receive all lawful favour and furtherance from you for the ſpeedy diſpatch of his buſineſs according to juſtice and equity, that ſoe he may the more expeditiouſly returne to his ſaid charge, where (through the bleſſing of God) his labours in the goſpell may be further uſefull and profittable; which we ſhall eſteeme as a particular reſpect done to us, and ſhall be ready to acknowledge and returne the ſame upon any occaſion wherein we may procure or further your good and welfare, which we heartily wiſh and pray for, and reſt

Your very loving friend, RICHARD P.

Whitehall, the 23d of March, 1658.

(No. XIII.)

The Court's Declaration of their Rights by Charter, in 1661.

At the Seſſions of the Generall Court, held at Boſton the 10th of June 1661. The Anſwer of the Committee unto the Matters propoſed to their Conſideration by the honourable Generall Court.

I. *Concerning our Liberties.*

1. WE conceive the patent (under God) to be the firſt and mayne foundation of our civil polity here, by a governour and company, according as is therein expreſt.

2. The governour and company are, by the patent, a body politique in fact and name. 3. This

3. This body politique is vested with power to make freemen, &c.

4. These freemen have power to choose annually a governor, deputy governor, assistants and their select representatives or deputies.

5. This government hath also power to sett up all sorts of officers, as well superiour as inferiour, and point out their power and places.

6. The governor, deputy governor assistants and select representatives or deputies, have full power and authoritie, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people here, whether inhabitants or strangers, both concerning ecclesiastical and civil, without appeals, excepting law or lawes repugnant to the lawes of England.

7. This government is priviledged, by all fitting means, yea (if neede be) by force of armes, to defend themselves both by land and sea, against all such person or persons as shall, at any time, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of the plantation, or the inhabitants therein, besides other privileges, mentioned in the patent, not here expressed, &c.

8. We conceive any imposition prejudiciall to the country, contrary to any just law of ours (not repugnant to the lawes of England) to be an infringement of our right.

II. *Concerning our dutyes of allegiance to our soueraigne lord the King.*

1. We ought to uphold, and to our power mainteyne this place, as of right belonging to our soueraigne lord the King, as holden of his Majestyes manor of East Greenwich, and not to subject the same to any forcigne prince or potentate whatsoever.

2. We ought to endeavour the preservation of his Majestyes royall person, realmes and dominions, and, so farr as lyeth in us, to discover and prevent all plotts and conspiracies against the same, &c.

3. We ought to seeke the peace and prosperitie of our King and nation, by a faithfull discharge in the governing of this people committed to our care, &c.

First, By punishing all such crimes (being breaches of the first and second table) as are committed against the peace of our soueraigne lord the King, his royall crowne and dignity.

Second, In propagating the gospell, defending and upholding the true christian or protestant religion, according to the faith given by our Lord Christ in his word: Our dread soueraigne being styled defender of the faith, &c.

The premisses considered, it may well stand with the loyalty and obedience of such subjects, as are thus priviledged by their rightfull soueraigne (for himself, his heirs and successors for ever) as cause shall require, to pleade with their prince against all such as shall at any time endeavour the violation of their privileges.

We further judge, that the warrant and letter from the King's Majesty for the apprehending of Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe, ought to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authority of this court.

And also that the generall court may doe safely to declare, that in case, for the future, any legally obnoxious and flying from the civil justice

juſtice of the ſtate of England, ſhall come over to theſe parts, they may not here expect ſhelter.

By the order and conſent of the committee,

THOMAS DANFORTH.

Boſton, 10 4mo. 1661.

The court allowes and approves of the report of the committee.

This is a true copie taken out of the courts booke of records, as atteſts

EDW. RAWSON, Secr.

(No. XIV.)

Copy of a letter to William Goffe, one of the Regicides, from his Wife, in 1662.

My deareſt Hart,

I HAVE been excedingly refreſht with your choyce and precious letter of the 29th May 1662. Thoſe ſcriptures you mention, through mercy, with many others, are a great ſupport and comfort to me in this day of my great affliction. Through grace, I doe experience the Lords preſence in ſupporting and providing for mee and mine, in this evill day. The preſervation of yourſelfe and my deare father, next to the light of his own countenance, is the choyceſt mercy that I enjoy. For, to heare of your wellfare gives, as it were, a new life to me. Ah! what am I, poor worme, that the great God of heaven and earth ſhould continue ſuch merceys to mee and mine, as I at this day enjoy. Many others have loſt their deare youke-fellowes, and out of all hopes to ſee them in this life; but that is not my condition, as yet, bleſſed be his holy name, for he hath made mee hope in his word. 10 Zech. 9. *And I will ſow them among the people, and they ſhall remember me in farre countreys, and they ſhall live with their children and turne againe.*——Perſecution begins to be high heere, the biſhops courts are up as high as ever. But, wee have the promiſes of a faithfull God to live upon, and he hath ſaid, *To you it is given not only to beleeve but to ſuffer.* He hath alſoe promiſed to lay noe more upon his poore people than he will give ſtrength to beare. Oh my Hart! I doe, with my whole ſoule, bleſſe the Lord for his unſpeakeable goodnes to you and your deare friend, in that he hath been pleaſed to appeare ſoe eminently for your preſervation. He brings to the grave and raiſes up againe. Oh that the experience that wee have dayly of his goodnes may make us truſt him for the future. Wee have ſeene that word in the 5th of Job, in ſome meaſure, made good to you. Reade the 12th verſe; from the 11th to the end of the chapter, there is much comfort to thoſe in our condition; as alſoe in 91 Pſal. O my deare, let us henceforth make the Lord our refuge and our truſt, and then he ſhall cover thee with his feathers, and be a ſanctuary to thee, whereſoever he ſhall caſt thee. I mention theſe ſcriptures becauſe I have found comfort in them, and I hope thou wouldeſt doe ſoe too. I ſhall now give you an account of your family, as farre as I dare. Through

mercy, I and your little ones are in reasonable health, only Betty and Nan are weakely, and I feare will be lame a little, the others are very lusty. I am yet with my aunt, but how soon she may be forst to give up housekeeping I know not (for she is warned in to the bishops court) and wee shall be dispersst, but I hope the Lord will provide for us, as he hath done hitherto.——Oh my deare, lett our trust be in the Lord alone. I do hartily wish myselfe with thee, but that I feare it may bee a meanes to discover thee, as it was to ——— and therefore I shall forbeare attempting any such thing for the present, hoping that the Lord will, in his owne time, returne thee to us againe; for he hath the harts of all in his hands, and can change them in a moment. I rejoyce to heere, that you are so willing to be at the Lords dispossall; indeed, we are not our owne, for wee are bought with a price, with the precious blood of the Lord Jesus: And, therefore, let us comfort ourselves with this, though we should never meete in this world againe, yet I hope, through grace, wee shall meete in heaven, and soe ever be with the Lord, and it will not be in the power of men to part us. My dear, I know you are confident of my affection, yet, give me leave to tell thee, thou art as deare to me as a husband can be to a wife, and if I knew any thing that I could doe to make you happy, I should do it, if the Lord would permitt, though to the losse of my life. As for newes, I shall forbeare writeing of any, for I know not much, and you may heare it from better hands. My uncle Burket is dead, and my mother is with her. My brother John is gon beyond sea, but I know not whither. His father in law is dead. My dear, my aunt and many others are very kinde to mee, soe that, through mercy, I have noe want of food and rayment, though in a meane way. The Lord is pleased to suit my minde to my condition, and to give mee strength, in some measure, to take paines with my children, which I look upon as a great mercy. I know not whether I may ever have another opportunity to send to you this season or noe, which makes me the longer now; for I shall not send but by those I judge to be faithfull, and I being in the country, I may not heare of every opportunity; and, though it is an unspeakeable comfort to mee to heare of thy wellfare, yet I earnestly beg of thee not to send too often, for feare of the worst, for they are very vigilant here to find out persons. But this is my comfort, it is not in the power of men to act their owne will. And now, my dear, with 1000 tears, I take my leave of thee, and recommend thee to the great keeper of Israell, who neither slumbers nor sleepes, who, I hope, will keepe thee, and my deare freind with thee, from all your enemies, both spirituall and temporall, and in his owne time return you with safety to your family. Which is the dayly prayer of thy affectionate and obedient wife, till death, F.

Many freinds here desire to be remembered to you. It will not be convenient to name them. I am sure you have a stock of prayers going for you here, which you and I reap the benefit of. My humble duty presented to you know who.

Fredrick, and the rest of thy dear babes that can speake, present their humble duty to thee, talke much of thee, and long to see thee.

My humble duty to my dear father, and tell him I pray for him with my whole hart, but I am soe bad a scribe I dare not write to him. Pray be private and carefull who you trust.

(No. XV.)

(No. XV.)

Copy of a Commiſſion from King CHARLES *the Second, to Col.* NICHOLS *and others, in* 1664.

CHARLES the 2d, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS we have received ſeveral addreſſes from our ſubjects of ſeveral colonies in N. E. all full of duty and affection, and expreſſions of loyalty and allegiance to us, with their humble deſires that we would renew their ſeveral charters, and receive them into our favourable opinion and protection; and ſeveral of our colonies there, and other our loving ſubjects have likewiſe complained of differences and diſputes ariſen upon the limits and bounds of their ſeveral charters and juriſdictions, whereby unneighbourly and unbrotherly contentions have and may ariſe, to the damage and diſcredit of the Engliſh intereſt: and that all our good ſubjects reſiding there, and being planters within the ſeveral colonies do not enjoy the liberties and privileges granted to them, by our ſeveral charters, upon confidence and aſſurance of which they tranſported themſelves and their eſtates into thoſe parts. And we having received ſome addreſſes from the great men and natives of thoſe countries, in which they complain of breach of faith, and acts of violence and injuſtice, which they have been forced to undergoe from our ſubjects, whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and credit of chriſtian religion brought into prejudice and reproach, with the gentiles and inhabitants of thoſe countries who know not God, the reduction of whom to the true knowledge and feare of God is the moſt worthy and glorious end of all thoſe plantations. Upon all which motives, and as an evidence and manifeſtation of our fatherly affection towards all our ſubjects in thoſe ſeveral colonies of New-England (that is to ſay of the Maſſachuſets, Connecticut, New-Plymouth, Road-Iſland and Providence plantation, and all other plantations within that tract of land, known under the appellation of New-England) and to the end we may be truly informed of the ſtate and condition of our good ſubjects there, that ſo we may the better know how to contribute to the further improvement of their happineſs and proſperity.

Know yee therefore, that wee repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in the fidelity, wiſdome and circumſpection of our truſty and well beloved Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carre, Knt. George Cartwright, Eſq. and Samuel Maverick, Eſq. of our ſpecial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have made, ordained, conſtituted and appointed, and by theſe preſents, do make, ordain, conſtitute and appoint the ſaid Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carre, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, our commiſſioners, and do hereby give and grant unto them, or any three or two of them, or of the ſurvivors of them, of whom we will the ſaid Colonel Richard Nichols, during his life, ſhall

be alwaies one, and upon equal diviſions of opinions, to have the caſting and deciſive voice, in our name to viſit all and every the ſeveral colonies aforeſaid, and alſo full power and authority to heare and receive, and to examine and determine, all complaints and appeales in all cauſes and matters, as well millitary as criminal and civil, and proceed in all things for the providing for and ſettling the peace and ſecurity of the ſaid country, according to their good and ſound diſcretions, and to ſuch inſtructions as they or the ſurvivors of them have or ſhall from time to time receive from us in that behalfe; and from time to time, as they ſhall find expedient, to certify us or our privy counſel, of their actings and proceedings, touching the premiſſes. And for the doing thereof, or any other matter or thing relateing thereunto, theſe preſents, or the inrolment thereof, ſhall be unto them a ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in that behalf. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patent. Witneſs ourſelfe at Weſtminſter, the 25th day of April, in the ſixteenth yeare of our reigne.

(No. XVI.)

Copy of the Addreſs of the Maſſachuſets Colony to King CHARLES *the 2d, in* 1664.

To the KINGS moſt excellent MAJESTIE,

The humble ſupplication of the General Court of the Maſſachuſett Colony in New-England.

DREAD SOVEREIGNE,

IF your poor ſubjects, who have removed themſelves into a remote corner of the earth to enjoy peace with God and man, doe, in this day of their trouble, proſtrate themſelves at your royal feet, and beg your favour, we hope it will be graciouſly accepted by your Majeſtie. And that, as the high place you ſuſtein on earth doth number you here among the Gods, ſo you will imitate the God of heaven, in being ready to maintain the cauſe of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and to receive their cries and addreſſes to that end. And we humbly beſeech your Majeſtie, with patience and clemency, to heare and accept our plain diſcourſe, thô of ſomewhat greater length than would be comely in other or leſſer caſes. We are remote, and can ſpeake but ſeldom, and therefore crave leave to ſpeake the more at once. Wee ſhall not largely repeat, how that the firſt undertakers for this plantation, having, by conſiderable ſumms, purchaſed the right thereof, granted to the counſel eſtabliſhed at Plimouth by King James, your royal grandfather, did after obtain a patent given and confirmed to themſelves by your royal father, King Charles the firſt, wherein it is granted to them and their heirs, aſſigns and aſſociates, forever; not only the abſolute uſe and propriety of the tract of land therein mentioned, but alſo full and abſolute

abſolute power of governing all the people of this place, by men choſen from among themſelves, and according to ſuch lawes as they ſhall from time to time, ſee meet to make and eſtabliſh, being not repugnant to the lawes of England (they paying only the fifth part of the oare of gold and ſilver, that ſhall here be found, for and in reſpect of all duties, demands, exactions and ſervice whatſoever) as in the ſaid patent is more at large declared. Under the encouragement and ſecurity of which royal charter, this people did, at their own charges, tranſport themſelves, their wives and families over the ocean, purchaſe the lands of the natives, and plant this colony, with great labour, hazards, coſt and difficulties, for a long time wreſtling with the wants of a wildernes, and the burdens of a new plantation; having alſo, now above 30 yeares, enjoyed the aforeſaid power and privilege of government within themſelves, as their undoubted right in the ſight of God and man. And having had, moreover, this further favour from God, and from your Majeſtie, that wee have received ſeveral gracious letters from your royal ſelfe, full of expreſſions tending to confirme us in our enjoyments, viz. in your Majeſties letter bearing date the 15th day of February, 1660, you are pleaſed to conſider New-England as one of the chiefeſt of your colonies and plantations abroad, having enjoyed and grown up in a long and orderly eſtabliſhment; adding this royal promiſe, Wee ſhall not come behind any of our royal predeceſſors in a juſt encouragement and protection of all our loving ſubjects there. In your Majeſties letter of the 28th of June 1662, ſent us by our meſſengers, beſides many other gracious expreſſions, there is this [Wee will preſerve and do hereby confirme the patent and charter heretofore granted unto them, by our royal father of bleſſed memory, and they ſhall freely enjoy all the priviledges and liberties granted unto them in and by the ſame.] As for ſuch particulars, of a civil and religious nature, which are ſubjoined in the ſaid letter, wee have applyed ourſelves to the utmoſt to ſatisfy your Majeſtie, ſo far as doth conſiſt with conſcience of our duty toward God, and the juſt liberties and priviledges of our patent. We are further bound, with humble thankfulneſs, to acknowledge your Majeſties gracious expreſſions in your laſt letter wee have received, dated April 23, 1664, as (beſides other inſtances thereof) That your Majeſtie hath not the leaſt intention or thought of violating, or, in the leaſt degree, infringing the charter heretofore granted by your royal father, with great wiſdom, and upon full deliberation, &c.

But what affliction of heart muſt it needs be unto us, that our ſins have provoked God to permit our adverſaries to ſet themſelves againſt us by their miſinformations, complaints and ſolicitations (as ſome of them have made it their worke for many yeares) and thereby to procure a commiſſion under the great ſeal, wherein 4 perſons (one of them our knowne and profeſſed enemy) are impowered to heare, receive, examine and determine all complaints and appeals, in all cauſes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil, and to proceed in all things, for ſettling this country, according to their good and found diſcretions, &c. Whereby, inſtead of being governed by rulers of our owne chooſing, (which is the fundamental privilege of our patent) and by lawes of our owne, wee are like to be ſubjected to the arbitrary power of ſtrangers, proceeding not by any eſtabliſhed law, but by their own diſcretions. And

whereas

whereas our patent gives a ſufficient royal warrant and diſcharge to all officers and perſons for executing the lawes here made and publiſhed, as is therein directed, wee ſhall now not be diſcharged, and at reſt from further moleſtation, when wee have ſo executed and obſerved our lawes; but be liable to complaints and appeales, and to the determinations of new judges, whereby our government and adminiſtrations will be made void and of none effect. And thô wee have yet had but a little taſte of the words or actings of theſe gentlemen, that are come over hither in this capacity of commiſſioners, yet we have had enough to confirme us in our feares, that their improvement of this power, in purſuance of their commiſſion (ſhould the ſame proceed) will end in the ſubverſion of our all. We ſhould be glad to hope that your Majeſties inſtructions (which they have not yet been pleaſed to impart unto us) may put ſuch limitations to their buſines here as will take off much of our feare, but according to the preſent appearance of things we thus ſpeake.

In this caſe (dread ſoveraigne) our refuge, under God, is your royal ſelfe, whom wee humbly addreſſe ourſelves unto, and are the rather emboldned therein, becauſe your Majeſties laſt gracious letter doth encourage us to ſuggeſt what, upon the experience we have had and obſervation we have made, we judge neceſſary or convenient for the good and benefit of this your plantation, and becauſe we are well perſwaded that had your Majeſtie a full and right information of the ſtate of things here, you would find apparent reaſon to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, which are certainly diſſervient to your Majeſties intereſt, and to the proſperity and welfare of this place.

If theſe things go on (according to the preſent appearance) your ſubjects here will either be forced to ſeeke new dwellings, or ſinke and faint under burdens that will be to them intollerable. The vigour of all new endeavours in the ſeveral callings and occupations (either for merchandize abroad or further ſubduing this wilderneſs at home) will be enfeebled, as we perceive it already begins to be, the good of converting the natives obſtructed, the inhabitants driven to we know not what extremities, and this hopeful plantation in the iſſue ruined. But whatever becomes of us, we are ſure the adverſary cannot countervail the Kings damages. It is indeed a grief to our hearts, to ſee your Majeſtie put upon this extraordinary charge and coſt about a buſineſs, the product whereof can never reimburſe the one halfe of what will be expended upon it. Impoſed rulers and officers will have occaſion to expend more than can be raiſed here, ſo as nothing will returne to your Majeſties exchequer, but inſtead thereof, the wonted benefit by cuſtomes, exported and imported into England from hence, will be diminiſhed by the diſcouragement and diminution of mens endeavours in their ſeveral occupations; or if the aime ſhould be to gratify ſome particular gentlemen by livings and revenues here, that will alſo fail, where nothing is to be had, the King himſelf will be a looſer, and ſo will the caſe be found to be here, for ſuch is the poverty and meannes of the people of this country (by reaſon of the length and coldnes of the winters, the difficulty of ſubduing a wilderneſſe, defect of a ſtaple commodity, the want of money, &c.) that if, with hard labour, men get a ſubſiſtence for their families, tis as much as the generality are able to do, paying but very ſmal rates towards the public charges, and yet, if all the country

country hath ordinarily raiſed for by the year all the charges of the whole government, were put together, and then doubled or trebled, it would not be counted for one of theſe gentlemen a conſiderable accommodation.

It is true, that the eſtates men have, in conjunction with hard labour, and vigorous endeavours in their ſeueral places, do bring in a comfortable ſubſiſtence for ſuch a mean people (we dare not diminiſh our thankfulnes to God that he provides for us in a wilderneſs as he doth) yet neither will the former ſtand if the latter be diſcouraged, nor will both ever anſwer the ends of thoſe that need or ſeeke great things. We perceive there have been great expectations of what is to be had here, raiſed by ſome mens informations, but thoſe informations will prove fallacious, diſappointing them that have relyed upon them. And, if the taking of this courſe ſhould driue the people out of the country (for to a coalition, therein, they will never come) it will be hard to find another people that will ſtay long or ſtand under any conſiderable burden in it, ſeeing it is not a country where men can ſubſiſt without hard labour and great frugality.

There have alſo been high repreſentations of great diviſions and diſcontents amongſt us, and of a neceſſity of ſending commiſſioners to relieve the aggrieved, &c whereas, it plainly appeares, that the body of this people are unanimouſly ſatisfied in the preſent government, and abhorrent from change, and that what is now offered will, inſtead of relieving, raiſe up ſuch grievances as are intolerable. Wee ſuppoſe there is no government under heaven, wherein ſome diſcontented perſons may not be found; and if it be a ſufficient accuſation againſt a government, that there are ſome ſuch, who will be innocent? Yet, thrô the favour of God, there are but few amongſt us that are malecontent, and fewer that have cauſe to be ſo.

Sir, the allknowing God knows our greateſt ambition is to live a poor and quiet life, in a corner of the world, without offence to God or man. Wee came not into this wilderneſs to ſeeke great things to ourſelves, and if any come after us to ſeeke them heere, they will be diſappointed. Wee keep ourſelves within our line, and meddle not with matters abroad; a juſt dependence upon, and ſubjection to your Majeſtie, according to our charter, it is far from our hearts to diſacknowledge. Wee ſo highly priſe your favourable aſpect (thô at this great diſtance) as wee would gladly do any thing, that is within our power, to purchaſe the continuance of it. Wee were willing to teſtify our affection to your Majeſties ſervice, by anſwering the propoſal of your honourable commiſſioners, of which wee doubt not but they have already given your Majeſtie an account. Wee are carefully ſtudious of all due ſubjection to your Majeſtie, and that not only for wrath, but for conſcience ſake. And ſhould divine providence ever offer an opportunity, wherein wee might, in any righteous way, according to our poor and mean capacity, teſtify our dutiful affection to your Majeſtie, we hope we ſhould moſt gladly embrace it. But it is a great unhappines to be reduced to ſo hard a caſe, as to have no other teſtimony of our ſubjection and loyalty offered us but this, viz. to deſtroy our owne being, which nature teacheth us to preſerve, or to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives, and which, had we had any

feares

feares of being deprived of, wee had never wandred from our fathers houſes into theſe ends of the earth, nor laid our labours and eſtates therein; beſides engaging in a moſt hazardous and difficult warre with the moſt warlike of the natives, to our great charge, and the loſſe of ſome of the lives of our deare friends. Neither can the deepeſt invention of man find out a more certain way of conſiſtence, than to obtain a royal donation from ſo great a prince, under his great ſeal, which is the greateſt ſecurity that may be had in humane affaires.

Royal Sir, it is in yonr power to ſay of your poor people in New-England, they ſhall not die. If we have found favour in the ſight of our King, let our life be given us at our petition (or rather that which is dearer than life, that we have ventured our lives and willingly paſſed thrô many deaths to obtain) and our all at our requeſt. Let our government live, our patent live, our magiſtrates live, our lawes and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live, ſo ſhall we all yet have further cauſe to ſay, from our hearts, let the King live forever. And the bleſſing of them that were ready to periſh ſhall come upon your Majeſtie; having delivered the poor that cried, and ſuch as had none to helpe them. It was an honour to one of your royal anceſtors that he was called the poor mans King. It was Job's excellency, when he ſat as King among his people, that he was a father to the poor. They are a poor people (deſtitute of outward favour, wealth and power) who now cry unto their Lord the King. May your Majeſtie pleaſe to regard their cauſe and maintain their right: It will ſtand, among the marks of laſting honour, to after generations. And wee and ours ſhall have laſting cauſe to rejoice, that we have been numbered among your Majeſties

Moſt humble ſervants

and ſuppliants.

25th of October, 1664.

(No. XVII.)

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of CLARENDON *to the Maſſachuſets Colony, in* 1664.

Mr. GOVERNOUR and GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received yours of the 7th of November, by the hands of Mr. Aſhurſt, a very ſober and diſcreet perſon, and did (by his communicating it to me) peruſe the petition * you had directed to his Majeſty, and I do confeſſe to you, I am ſo much a friend to your colony, that if the ſame had been communicated to no body but my ſelf, I ſhould haue diſſwaded the preſenting the ſame to his Majeſty, who, I doubt, will not think himſelf well treated by it, or the ſingular care he hath expreſſed of his

* No. XVI.

his subjects in those parts sufficiently acknowledged; but since I found by your letter to my lord Chamberlaine and Mr. Boyle, that you expected some effect from your petition, upon conference with them wee all agreed not to hinder the deliuery of it, though I have read to them and Mr. Ashurst, euery word of the instructions the commissioners haue; and they all confessed that his Majesty could not expresse more grace and goodnesse for that his plantation, nor put it more out of their power, in any degree to invade the liberties and privileges granted to you by your charter; and therefore wee were all equally amazed to find that you demand a revokation of the commission and commissioners, without laying the least matter to their charge of crymes or exorbitances: What sense the King hath of your addresse to him, you will I presume heare from himself, or by his direction; I shall only tell you, that as you had long cause to expect that the King would send commissioners thither, so, that it was absolutely necessary he should do so, to compose the differences amongst yourselves, of which he received complaint, and to do iustice to your neighbours, which they demanded from his royall hands. I know not what you meane by saying, the commissioners have power to exercise government there altogether inconsistent with your charter and privileges, since I am sure their commission is to see and prouide for the due and full obseruation of the charter, and that all the priviledges granted by that charter may be equally enjoyed by all his Majesties subjects there: I know they are expresly inhibited from intermedling with, or instructing the administration of justice, according to the formes obserued there; but if in truth, in any extraordinary case, the proceedings there haue been irregular, and against the rules of justice, as some particular cases, particularly recommended to them by his Majesty, seeme to be, it cannot be presumed that his Majesty hath or will leaue his subjects of New-England without hope of redresse by an appeale to him, which his subjects of all his other kingdomes haue free liberty to make. I can say no more to you but that it is in your owne power to be very happy, and to enjoy all that hath been granted to you; but it will be absolutely necessary that you performe and pay all that reverence and obedience which is due from subjects to their King, and which his Majesty will exact from you, and doubts not but to find from the best of that colony, both in quality and in number. I have no more to add, but that I am,

Gentlemen,

Worcester-House, 15 March 1664. Your affectionate servant, CLARENDON C.

(No. XVIII.)

Copy of a Letter from King CHARLES *the 2d to the Colony of New-Plimouth*, 1666.

CHARLES, *R.*

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. Having received so full and satisfactory an account from our commissioners, both of the good reception you have given them, and also of your dutifulnes

and obedience to us, We cannot but let you know how much we are pleaſed therewith; judging that reſpect of yours towards our officers, to be the true and natural fruit which demonſtrates what fidelity and affection towards us is rooted in your hearts. And although your carriage doth, of itſelf, moſt juſtly deſerve our praiſe and approbation, yet it ſeems to be ſet off with the more luſtre, by the contrary deportment of the colony of the Maſſachuſets, as if, by their refractorineſs, they had deſigned to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions, for the peaceable and good government of our ſubjects in thoſe parts. You may therefore aſſure yourſelves, that we ſhall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behaviour, but ſhall, upon all occaſions, take notice of it to your advantage; promiſing you our conſtant protection and royal favour, in all things that may concern your ſafety peace and welfare. And ſo we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th day of April 1666, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,
WILL. MORRICE.

(No. XIX.)

Copy of a Letter from King CHARLES *the 2d, to the Maſſachuſets Colony, in* 1666.

CHARLES, *R.*

HIS Majeſty having received a full information, from his commiſſioners who were ſent by him into New-England, of their reception and treatment in the ſeuerall colonyes and prouinces of that plantation, in all which they have receiued great ſatisfaction, but only that of the Maſſachuſets; and he having likewiſe been fully informed of the accompt ſent hither by the counſell of the Maſſachuſets, under the hand of ther preſent gouernor, of all the paſſages and proceedings which haue been there between the ſaid commiſſioners and them from the time of their firſt coming ouer; upon all which it is very euident to his Majeſty, notwithſtanding many expreſſions of great affection and duty, that thoſe who gouern the collony of the Maſachuſets doe beleiue, that the commiſſion giuen by his Majeſty to thoſe commiſſioners, upon ſo many and waighty reaſons, and after ſo long deliberation, is an apparent uiolation of their charter, and tending to the diſſolution of it, and that in truth they doe, upon the matter, beleiue that his Majeſty hath noe juriſdiction ouer them, but that all perſons muſt acquieſſe in ther judgments and determinations how unjuſt ſoeuer, and cannot appeale to his Majeſty, which would bee a matter of ſuch a high conſequence as euery man diſcernes where it muſt end. His Majeſty therefore, upon due conſideration of the whole matter, thinks fitt to recall his ſayd commiſſioners, which he hath at this preſent done, to the end hee may receiue from them a more particular account of the ſtate and condition of thoſe his plantations, and of the particular differences and debates they haue had with

with thoſe of the Maſachuſets, that ſo his Majeſty may paſs his final judgment and determination therupon. His Majeſty's expreſs command and charge is, that the gouernor and councell of the Maſachuſets doe forthwith make choice of fiue or four perſons to attend upon his Majeſty, whereof Mr. Richard Bellingham and Major Hathorn are to be two, both which his Majeſty commands upon their allegiance to attend, the other three or two to be ſuch as the counſell ſhall make choice of; and if the ſayd Mr. Bellingham bee the preſent gouernor, another fitt perſon is to be deputed to that office till his return, and his Majeſty will then, in perſon, hear all the allegations, ſuggeſtions or pretences to right or fauor that can be made on the behalf of the ſayd collony, and will there make it appear how farr hee is from the leaſt thought of invading or infringing, in the leaſt degree, the royall charter granted to the ſaid collony; and his Majeſty expects the appearance of the ſayd perſons as ſoon as they can poſſibly repair hither, after they haue notice of this his Majeſty's pleaſure; and his further command is that there may bee noe alterations with reference to the government of the prouince of Mayne, till his Majeſty hath heard what is alledged on all ſides, but that the ſame continue as his Majeſtyes commiſſioners haue left the ſame, untill his Majeſty ſhall further determine; and his Majeſty further expreſly charges and commands the gouernor and counſell there, that they immediately ſet all ſuch perſons at liberty, who haue been or are impriſoned, only for petitioning or applying themſelues to his Majeſty's commiſſioners. And for the better prevention of all differences and diſputes upon the bounds and limits of the ſeveral collonyes, his Majeſty's pleaſure is, that all determinations made by his Majeſty's ſayd commiſſioners with reference to the ſaid bounds and limits may ſtill continue to bee obſerved, till upon a full repreſentation of all pretences, his Majeſty ſhall make his own finall determination; and particularly the preſent temporary bounds ſet by the commiſſioners between the collonyes of New-Plymouth and Rhoad-Iſland, untill his Majeſty ſhall find cauſe to alter the ſame. And his Majeſty expects that full obedience be given to this ſignification of his pleaſure, in all particulars: Giuen at the court at Whitehall the 10th day of April 1666, in the eighteenth year of his Majeſty's reign.

WILL. MORRICE.

(No. XX.)

SAMUEL GORTON's *Defence againſt the Charges upon him in Morton's Memorial.*

NATHANIEL MORTON,

I Underſtand you have lately put forth a book of records.—But this I know, that I am unjuſtly enrolled, becauſe I was never free nor member incorporate, in your body, or any of your territories; therefore, I may not refrain to make a ſhort return, only as it concerns myſelf.

And 1ſt. Your peremptory judging of one you know not, for I am a ſtranger to you,——

My 2d word concerns your eminency, in assuming authority to canonize and put into the number of saints such men, when they are dead, who, in their life time, were persecutors, especially, you having acknowledged them to be such yourself; as also to thrust down under your feet, and make as bruit beasts, having only hope in this present life, such as are known to be fearers of God, worshipping him instantly, day and night; tho' they be not acknowledged to be such, by some particular sectaries as yourself.

A 3d word I have to say concerns your record: Mistake me not, I meddle not with your records further than they concern myself. I then affirm, that your record is fetched from him who is a lyar from the beginning—In that you declare I have spoken words (or to that effect) that there is no state nor condition of mankind after this life. I do verily believe, that there is not a man, woman or child, upon the face of the earth, that will come forth and say, that ever they heard any such words come from my mouth; and I appeal to God, the judge of all secrets, that there was never such a tho't entertain'd in my heart.——

And whereas you say, I am become a sordid man in my life; I dare be so bold as to lay my conversation among men to the rules of humanity, with any minister among you, in all the passages of my life which God hath bro't me thro', from my youth unto this day, that it hath been as comely and innocent as his. Whose ox or whose ass have I taken, or when or where have I lived upon other mens labours, and not wrought with my own hands, for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my own bread?

A 4th word I have to say to your pamphlet, concerns the stuff, as you sottishly and contemptuously call it. You may be ashamed to put pen to paper, to publish any thing to the world in shew of religion, not acknowledging the letter of the scripture, but deriding it rather.——

For the rest of those expressions which you charge upon us, you falsly apply them. We never called sermons of salvation, tales; nor any ordinances of the Lord, an abomination or vanity; nor holy ministers, necromancers: We honour, reverence and practice these things. And, however you term me a belcher out of errors, I would have you know, that I hold my call to preach the gospel of Christ, not inferiour to any minister in this countrey, tho' I was not bred up in the schools of humane learning, and I bless God that I never was; least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, thro' Aristotle's principles, and other heathen philosophers, as millions are, and have been, who ground their preaching of the gospel upon humane principles, to the falsifying of the word of God, in the ruin of mens souls. Yet this I doubt not of, but that there hath been as much true use made of the languages, within this twenty years past, in the place where I live, as hath been in any church in New-England: I know the manner of your preaching very well.

When I was last in England, thro' importunity, I was perswaded to speak the word of God publickly, in divers as eminent places as any were then in London, as also about London, and places more remote; many times the ministers of the place being hearers, and sometimes many together, at appointed lectures in the countrey. I have spoken in the audience of all sorts of people and personages, under the title of

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a biſhop or a King; and was invited to ſpeak in the preſence of ſuch as had the title of excellency; and was lovingly embraced wherever I came, in the word uttered, with the moſt eminent chriſtians in the place; and for leave-taking at our departure, not unlike the ancient cuſtom of the ſaints, on record in the holy ſcripture; and I dare ſay, as evident teſtimony of God's power, going forth with his word ſpoken, manifeſted, as ever any in New-England had; publickly, and immediately after the word delivered, the people giving thanks to God that ever ſuch a word came to be uttered among them; with intreaty for ſtay and further manifeſtation, in as eminent places as are in England; where myſelf did know that doctors of note had formerly preached, and, at that time, ſuch as had more honour put upon them than, ordinarily, preachers have, who gave me the call thither, in way of loving and chriſtian fellowſhip, the like abounding in the hearers: Therefore, I know not with what New-England is leavened or ſpirited. Indeed, once in London, 3 or 4 malignant perſons cauſed me to be ſummoned before a committee of parliament, becauſe I was not a univerſity man: I appeared, and my accuſers alſo; one of them a ſchoolmaſter in Chriſt's hoſpital, another or two, elders of independent or ſeparated churches; who were queſtioned what they had againſt me. They ſaid I had preached. Divers of the committee anſwered, that was true, they had heard me. The chairman aſked of my accuſers, what I had ſaid. They could not repeat any thing, but ſaid they were ſure I had made the people of God ſad. But the ſum of all their accuſation was bro't out in a book, which, they ſaid, contained divers blaſphemies: The book was only that which was printed of the proceedings of the Maſſachuſets againſt myſelf and others. The honoured committee took the book, and divers of them looked upon it, and found no ſuch thing there, as they ignorantly ſuggeſted: And, tho' my adverſaries could ſay nothing, but only vent their ſpleen, crying out upon blaſphemy; yet the chairman and divers of the board, knights and other gentlemen, queſtioned me about my call to preach, and other principal points of religion, and I anſwered to all of them according to my knowledge and conſcience. Then my accuſers deſired Mr. Winſlow might be called forth, whom they had procured to appear there, whom they thought would oppoſe me ſtrongly, with reſpect to that book: When he came out of the crowd (for there was a multitude of people, the place being ſpacious) he ſpake judiciouſly and manlike, deſiring to be excuſed, for he had nothing to ſay to me in that place, his buſineſs with me lay before another committee of parliament; which gave the table good ſatisfaction. My anſwers and arguments were honourably taken by the chairman and the reſt of the committee, and myſelf diſmiſſed as a preacher of the goſpel. Shortly after, eminent preachers, living remote from London, then preſent, ſent unto me kind gratulations, for my arguments uſed, and anſwers given before that committee. Which act of that committee I take to be as good an human call to preach, as any of your miniſters have; and other call I know none they have. And, for a human call, I think mine to be as good as the degrees in the ſchools, or to paſs under the hands and ceremonies of a titular biſhop, or under the natural hands of a titular elderſhip, or to have the call of a people, by the power of ſtipend or contribution,

bution, without one of which no contract—all which I account as human, at the beſt.

A 5th word I have to ſay, is in that you ſend your reader to a book printed by Mr. Edward Winſlow, for a more full and perfect intelligence. Mr. Winſlow and myſelf had humanlike correſpondency in England, and before the honourable committee which he referred himſelf to, as above: and, not to wrong the dead, I ſaw nothing to the contrary, but that I had as good acceptation in the eyes of that committee as himſelf had; altho' he had a greater charter and larger commiſſion, out of theſe parts, than myſelf then had; and, however he was a man of more eminent parts than myſelf, yet the goodneſs and juſtice of my cauſe did equalize myſelf unto him, in thoſe occaſions, both in the minds and demeanors of our ſuperiors. I do profeſs I do not know or remember any particulars in that book he then put forth:—I ſaw it in London, but read little of it; and when I came over into theſe parts, my ancient acquaintance and friend, Mr. John Brown, diſcourſing with me about thoſe affairs in England, told me he had read ſuch a book, printed or put forth by Mr. Winſlow: I told him I had ſeen it, but read very little of it. Mr. Brown, you know, was a man approved of among you, an aſſiſtant in your government, a commiſſioner for the united colonies, &c. who thus ſpake unto me in our diſcourſe (I will not pervert nor alter a word of the will or words of the dead) I ſay, he affirmed thus unto me, *That he would maintain, that there were* 40 *lies printed in that book.* per me,

SAMUEL GORTON.

Warwick, June 30. 1669.

(No. XXI.)

Major WALLEY'S *Journal in the Expedition againſt Canada in* 1692.

A narrative of the proceedings to Canada, ſoe far as concerned the land army.

HAVING paſſed the iſle of Percey, and being put back by a contrary wind, it was deſigned there to have landed our ſouldiers, to have ſettled our companys, to have called a council of warr, to have made and declared ſuch orders as was neceſſary for regulating our forces, but by ſeveral of our ſhips and veſſels being drove out of the harbour by a ſtorm, they came not in again ſeaſonably, and ſoe what was intended was prevented.

Upon the 23d of Sept. wee came to an anchor at Tarraſack,* a council of warr was called, ſuch orders and ordinances made as was judged neceſſary, and ordered to be publiſhed in every veſſel, and at the head of each company, which orders are upon record and may be ſeen.

Upon the 27th of Sept. being about 25 leagues from Cabeck,† I went aboard

* Tadouſack. † Quebeck.

aboard each veſſel in the fleet, that had ſouldiers, to take care that they might be all ready and fixt for the ſervice, not knowing how ſoon there might be occaſion; and whereas there had been complaints, that, aboard ſeveral of the veſſels, the ſouldiers and others had near a third part of their allowance taken off without order, I then gave orders that their full allowance might be given them.

Upon the 5th Oct. wee came up with the Iſle of Orleans, the whole fleet together, and having promiſed our men that they ſhould with the firſt convenience be landed to refreſh themſelves, and not having opportunity before, thought it might doe well to doe it then, propoſing to the council that wee might then ſettle the companys, that wee might then ſecure the iſland, gaine intelligence, and upon our informations to draw up ſuch concluſions as were neceſſary, and not to have appeared in ſight of the town until wee were fully ready to fall upon them; but it was over-ruled by the council, and agreed we ſhould take the advantage of the tide and be in ſight of the town by day light, which was accordingly done.

Upon the 6th Oct. it was concluded that a ſummons ſhould be ſent aſhore, and, while the anſwer was coming, to put ourſelves in the beſt poſture wee could for landing, but by that time the meſſenger was returned wee found the tides did not ſute, and that it would be too late to land that night. It was alſoe then agreed upon, that the army ſhould land at the north ſhore, at the place wee after landed at; that the ſmall veſſels, that had guns, ſhould take in the ammunition, proviſion, field pieces, ſhovels, ſpades and other neceſſarys for the ſouldiers (that tide or the next they were to come up to Charles river, that lyes by the town) that the ſhips boats ſhould come into the river to be helpfull to carry the ſouldiers over, and the ſouldiers to be ready by the river when they came, that ſo they might be helpful each to other, as there had been occaſion; that the field pieces ſhould come in thoſe veſſels to be landed on the other ſide the river; it was alſoe agreed that, when wee were over the river, the men of warr were to ſail up with the town, and when they pereeived we were upon the hill, eſpecially if we then fired a houſe, they were then to land 200 men under their guns, and were to make a briſk and reſolute charge to enter the town; alſoe agreed that Shute and others of the larger veſſels that were not men of warr, were to go beyond the town, that the enemy might thinke we had another army to land there; alſoe agreed that we ſhould have two miniſters and three chirurgeons aſhore.

Theſe things being thus agreed on, on the next morning being the 7th Oct. wee attempted to land our men, but by a ſtorm were prevented, few of the boats being able to row a head, and found it would endanger our men and wett our armes, at which time the veſſel Capt. Savage was in went aſhore, the tide fell, left them dry, the enemy came upon them, they manfully defended themſelves. I went aboard ſeveral veſſels, and, though with ſome difficulty cauſed ſome ſmall veſſels that had guns to weigh, and ſent ſome boats that endeavoured to help them, or if no other way to bring off the men, but the weather and ſhoals were ſuch they could do them noe good; the enemy were awed by ſome guns from Sir William, that the ſhott flew among the thickeſt of them, alſoe by ſome guns from Capt. Eldridge. At the tides coming in they floated

ed and all gott off safe. That night, aboard Sir William's ship, the French prisoners informed us of a place about two miles beyond the town, that would be more commodious for landing the army, which I then thought might be best (but Capt. Davis saith since, wee should not amended ourselves) but it was said the council of warr had determined the place, and wee had not time to call them together then, and it would be safest to attend order.

The next day, being the 8th Oct. as soon as the bad weather was over, and the tides suited, wee landed our men, which considering how farr many of our vessels were from the shoar, and the helps wee had, never more men were landed in less time; but the flats lay off soe we were forced to go into the water, some up to the knees, and some near as high as their wasts upon the flatts. I drew up the whole army, which consisted of between 12 and 1300 men, caused four companys to be drawn out as forlorns, though the ground would not admitt the forlorn and main battle to be far the one from the other; this being done, I ordered the forlorns to advance and to march, at their open order, wards the upland, and by this time the tide was upon the ground we stood on: The forlorn were no sooner advanced a few rods, before there was firing from both sides; upon one wing some of our men saw the enemy in the bushes and fired first, but upon the other wing, and in most places, the enemy had the first shot at us; and from a village over a creek on our right wing, there was a party gauled us considerably; upon the charge our officers and souldiers shewed courage and resolution enough, yet some having given an order to fire and fall off, but judging under the present circumstances, ordered the whole body to shoot and run up at once, which they did with one consent, that it was hard to say which company went up first or fastest; upon which the enemy having generally made a second shott, they gave way at once, and by the convenience of swamps and bushes, they had an opportunity to run away and secure themselves, but yet in partys out of every corner of a swamp or thicket they kept firing upon us; wee continued our chase and march towards the town, and killed some of the enemy as wee went. Being informed that the enemy had fired at our men out of a barn, and judging there were some in it, I ordered it to be fired; we come up with a house where was a hogshead of claret sett at the door, and seeing our souldiers gather about it, least it were poisoned, or might otherwise harm our men or hinder our march, I ordered the head to be knocked out; drawing nearer the town and finding the army too much scattered, and not knowing but wee might be met withall by a force from the town, I drew up a good part of our forces and marcht on; wee continued our march until it was dark, two thirds of the army took up their stand by a creek, where was a house and some other shelter; with the other part I advanced about a quarter of a mile, that we might the better secure the shoar and to see our vessels that were to come into the river; there we took up our quarters, placed our guards and sentinels, and did what was necessary for securing ourselves and taking notice of the motion of the enemy; wee then took the advantage of the house, barn, hay and straw, that those that were not upon duty might keep themselves as warm as they could. Making inquiry what damage wee had received from the enemy, or done to them, found wee had not above 4 killed outright

outright at our landing, nor less than 60 officers and souldiers wounded, and it was judged wee had killed 20, some say 30 of the enemy, and since, have been informed their hospital is full of wounded men, and it is said they had not less than 700 or 800 men that lay undiscovered to take the advantage at our landing; all things considered, it was a great mercy wee had no more damage done us. The same evening, having information of a Frenchman that had surrendered himself, and was with the other part of the army, I sent for him and strictly examined him, severely threatened him if I caught him in a lye, told him wee had taken other French prisoners, and if he told us any thing that was false, wee should soon find it. He told us wee should cut him in pieces if he told us any thing but what was truth; he informed that there were about 600 men that were in the swamp at our coming ashore, that there was a Captain and other officers killed, besides others that he saw, that the French had 900 men from the town more, upon their march towards us, that they were over the river, but seeing wee had landed our men soe suddainly, and beaten the French off the ground, and were marching towards the town, that they retreated, marcht back to the town, or at least to the other side of the river: He said the Earl of Frontenack was come down, the governor of Mount Royal and the intendant; that a great many souldiers came into Cabeck on the Thursday before, a great many with the governor upon Fryday, and more with the governor of Mount Royal on Saturday, and many since: he alsoe said he was a souldier of Mount Royal that had run away, and that they were seeking after him (which we after found true). He alsoe said he came by the information by a Mount Royal souldier, that he had mett withall, which acquainted him they had left but 50 souldiers at Mount Royal, and added that he had heard some French officers, at the next house to that wee then were at, say that they had not less than 3000 men in the town: he alsoe said, that at the most convenient place of the souldiers goeing over they had planted 8 guns. All which afterwards we had confirmed. That others might not be discouraged, wee told him he was sent by the enemy to tell us a parcel of lies, but he said he had told us nothing but what we should find true.

After this, I sent for the rest of the forces to come over, that wee might not be too much scattered, and sent for the majors and captains, and such as belonged to the council of warr, to consider and conclude what was farther to be done; after some discourse, it was concluded by the whole, that, for as much as the vessels were not come up the river with our supplyes of provision, ammunition, and other necessaries, neither the boats for transporting our men, that, as matters were thus circumstanced, wee were not in a capacity to advance, but hoped the vessels would be in with the tide, that was before day, and that if they came, wee would be ready to be helpfull to defend them, as we expected help from them; but the winds prevented their coming, as the masters after said. Before day, contrary to order, and without my knowledge, they landed the six field pieces, at the point near which the army lay, which greatly clogg'd us, and would a made our passidge over the river very difficult. In the evening, wee see Capt. Gilbert weigh anchor, and the ships of warr sail up to the town, and the several ships plying their guns upon the town, and the town upon them, with utmost diligence; but the reason of their go-

ing before the land army were over the river, wee underſtood not till afterwards. The cold of the night, and our ſouldiers not having opportunity to dry themſelves until the next day, proved very prejuditiall to them. Upon the 9th of October, Sir William's ſhip returned from the town, being, as wee were informed, very much diſinabled, having been very ſmartly engaged with the town; alſoe were informed, that the men of warr had not powder enough left for two rounds apeice; but, however, ſuppoſing they had ſecured and would ſupply us with what was promiſed and reckning it was aboard the ſmall veſſels that were to come into the river, we ſtill expected their coming in, and that day advanced nearer the town, where wee had better ſhelter for the men, and a better place for our defence, where we placed out our guards, and put ourſelves in the beſt poſture we could to defend ourſelves and offend our enemies, if they had come upon us; ſent out partys to gain intelligence and make diſcovery, and what proviſion came within our reach was killed for the uſe of the army; our proviſions being ſo much in the maſters of the veſſels power, and not in the commiſſary-generals order and diſpoſe, proved a great damidge, for, by reaſon hereof, ſome ſouldiers were provided for and others wanted, and all the rum that could be procured, to refreſh the ſouldiers, was only about 60 gallons, which was ſpared from Sir William's ſhip, the reſt either had it not, or would not own they had.

Our ſouldiers dried themſelves, gott what refreſhment they could, and hoped the veſſels might come in the evening tide, wee ſeeing more and more need of them, being more and more ſenſible of the enemies ſtrength, and our own men, many, growing ſick and unfitt for ſervice. But the veſſels not coming, we ſtood upon our guard that night, but found it exceeding cold, it freezing that night ſoe that the next morning the ice would bear a man. That night I called a council, demanded their opinion what was to be done, for it would be to no purpoſe to lye there; one in behalf of ſundry others ſaid, they had been together conſidering thereof, and that for as much as we had not ſuitable ſupplys of proviſions aſhore, little or no ammunition to recruit if there ſhould be occaſion, that our men were, many, ſick and wearied, that they had the difficultys of the river to deal with, neither boats nor veſſels to help us in our going over, that we had 8 great guns and 1000 men at the river ſide that were ready for us, after that, a ſteep bank and narrow paſſage to win, up or through which wee ſhould not a been able to have carried our great guns, neither could wee have carried them over, where wee might have had them for uſe, without the help of our boats or veſſels, after all this, a well fortified town with three times our number of men within to encounter with, having but one chirurgeon aſhore, though three were ordered, the increaſing cold weather, the enemy being capable and had a fair opportunity, had we gone over, by reaſon of their men on our backs and guns by Charles river, to cut off all ſupplys and preventing our ſending off ſoe much as a wounded man; after ſome diſcourſe on theſe matters it was concluded, as I underſtood, by the whole, that I ſhould goe on board that morning to Sir William, and acquaint him with our difficultys and diſappointments, and that it was their agreement, if he were willing, that the army ſhould get aboard that night or before day, and that they ſhould reſt and refreſh themſelves a day or two, and if they found they had ammunition ſuitable, they were ready to land at any other

other place, or under the guns at the town, if the counſel ſhould ſoe conclude; there was that day two men to each gun ſent aſhore, a barrel of powder for the great guns, and half a barrel beſides, and 100 wt. of bullets or ſomething more.

The 10th, before noon, I went aboard to Sir William, acquainted him how matters went aſhore, and of the deſire and concluſion of the officers; he ſaid he could a been glad we had been capable to have proceeded, but conſented to their coming aboard, and ſaid the boats ſhould be ſent aſhore before day; after I had been aboard a while, wee heard guns goe off aſhore and perceived our out guards were charged by the enemy; I was going off, but, perceiving it was ſoon over, ſtaid a while, and in the afternoon went aſhore again, found our guards and ſome ſcouts had been engaged by the enemy; Major Savage ſent reliefs as was neceſſary, but being informed that the enemy might be 1000 men over the river, he ſent Capt. Corwin with orders that the ſouldiers ſhould make an orderly retreat, for if the enemy were numerous it were better to prepare to meet them in the plain fields than among the ſwamps; wee had 4 men wounded, one died of his wounds, and, through haſt in the retreat, a ſmall drummer left his drum behind him; they did conſiderable damage to the enemy, but could not give a certain and particular account thereof, they fired ſeveral houſes and barns and returned, but the enemy ſee no cauſe to follow them. That night wee kept a very ſtrong and ſtrict watch, I acquainted the ſouldiers of their coming aboard; after midnight ſeveral of the commanders deſired we might remove our army nearer to the place where we were to goe off, accordingly wee ſilently marched off the ground, carryed back our guns; when I had taken care that wee had left none behind, I went to the place where they were ordered to march, found our ſouldiers too many of them upon the beach ready to goe off if there had been an opportunity; I cauſed them to be drawn up upon the upland adjoining, and put them in a poſture for ſervice if they had been attacked by the enemy, for wee were within ſight and hearing of the town. Before day the boats began to row aſhore, but ſoe many of our men drew off without orders, that they might be ready to get in with the firſt, I foreſeeing the confuſion that was like to be, and perceiving there would not be time before it was light to get all off, I ſent the boats all away and would not let any goe off at that time.

The 11th day, being ſoe near as to heare them calling one to another at the town, their drumming and ringing before day, and other noiſes in the woods, that wee had reaſon to thinke they intended that day to come out againſt us with their whole ſtrength; in the morning they fired ſeveral great guns at us but did us no harm, our men all that day ſtanding to their arms, drums beating, colours flying, fair in ſight of the town; we ſaw ſeveral of the enemy not far from us, and many on the other ſide of the river, beſides what was in the town; it is ſaid that Capt. Davis * reckoned, what they had in the town and that alarmed us and guarded their ſhoars, they were more than 4000 men; they ſent out 7 or 800 freſh men dayly to alarm us and to watch our motions. Deſigning to goe off that night, and there being like to be a good opportunity, I called ſeveral of the officers and acquainted them that I was deſigned to ſend three parties of ſouldiers to beat up the ſwamps that

* Davis was then a priſoner at Quebec, taken at Caſco-bay.

were round us, and beat off theſe ſpies that we had reaſon to judge lay near us, accordingly ordered three 16 files to be detached out of the ſeveral companies, and ſent them out commanded by Capt. Barnet, and Capt. Minot, and that party that was ſent out upon our right wing were ſoon engaged; ſent Capt. March forthwith, who had a good company, and they then ſoon made the enemy give back, but they continued firing briſkly at each other; I ſent out ſeveral companys to relieve them; in the mean time not knowing but this party might have been ſent to occaſion the drawing off a great part of our forces, and they might have a greater ſtrength near us, wherefore I ſent out to make diſcovery, and ſtood ready with the reſt of the army to fight them if they had come up with us. The ſouldiers were ordered to keep firing at the enemy, in and about the ſwamps near us, and where they ſaw the enemy, until it was dark; which accordingly they did.

It then growing near night, I ordered the ſick men to be carried aboard, which might be done by day light, becauſe two or three boats might goe off well enough unſuſpected. That day, Alexander Smart came aſhore with a commiſſion to be maſter gunner, and had 52 ſeamen under his command for to attend the guns. A little before night, I called him and acquainted him that the army was to goe off that night, and gave him a charge about the guns, in particular ordered that three guns ſhould goe off before any men went, or with the firſt, the other ſhould be let alone to the laſt and kept for to defend the ſoldiers if there had been occaſion, and to be put aboard the laſt boats, which might be ſoon done; he made me anſwer that, though he was the laſt man aboard, he would ſee all the guns off; I parted with him then and never ſee him afterwards that I knew of; I then acquainted Major Savage and other officers, that we ſhould draw off half each regiment at a time, and he ſhould draw off half his regiment firſt, and ordered that thoſe that went in the firſt boats ſhould be helpful to draw down thoſe three guns that were to goe firſt aboard, which they did, and concluded they were gone aboard. It growing very dark, notwithſtanding I had ordered the officers to keep the ſouldiers to their arms, many precipitately and diſorderly drew down to the beach, four times more than had leave, and a very great noiſe was made, which I was much troubled at, and was willing to go down to ſee if I could ſtill them; I called to Major Ward, ordered him he ſhould do what he could to keep the ſouldiers to their arms, and not to move without order, which he ſoon found too hard for him to doe; I ordered ſome ſouldiers to keep the reſt from crowding down until thoſe were gone off that were upon the flats; I called to them to be ſilent, but either of theſe were little regarded, for the croud and the noiſe both increaſed; the ſeamen calling out for ſuch ſouldiers as belonged to their veſſels, and the ſouldiers for ſuch boats as came from the veſſels they belonged to, hundreds in the water up to the knees and higher, preſſing into boats, the ſeamen and they contending, by reaſon whereof I ſee boats were like to be five times longer a loading than they needed; I ſaw a neceſſity of my going off to the boats, went aboard a ſmall boat belonging to Mr. Winſer, commanded ſilence, ordered the boats to take the men in, as they came, and to carry them to the firſt veſſels they came at, which was not minded by many, but as I was forced to goe from boat to boat and ſee it done, for otherways ſome

of

of the ſeamen would throw the ſouldiers overboard if they did not belong to them, or the ſouldiers would have preſſed into boats to have ſunk them. After my being at the point not leſs than three hours, the men were noſt off, and every thing ſtill quiet; the boats were all gone, I began to think becauſe I ſee none a coming they thought the men were all off, I queſtioned how many men were upon the point, ſome ſaid 150, wee judged about 100 or 120, I told them I would ſee if any boats were coming, rowed off and heard ſeveral boats rowing, went to them and ordered them to haſten to the ſhoar; and though I thought there might be enough to take off all the men, yet they ſhould rather have too many than want, I told them I would go to the next veſſels that had boats aboard and ſend them away, which I did with all ſpeed. Being now well ſatisfied our men were ſafe off, I went on board Sir William's ſhip, I acquainted how matters were, told him I hoped the guns were off, for did not ſee them when I came away; he made anſwer he queſtioned, for the maſter gunner had been aboard long before, and could not give account they were off, immediately came one of the gunners aboard, with a gun, and ſaid that the guns were all off. I then being ſatisfied that both men and guns were all off, I went to my cabbin, to take my reſt, having had but little for 3 days and nights before. Soon after, Mr. Dearing came aboard, who came off in the laſt parſel of boats, and acquainted ſome of the officers and divers others, that there was 5 of the guns aſhore, that they had been under water, but appeared when he came away, they did not acquaint Sir William nor myſelf of it until the next morning, for wee had come off undiſcovered, and there was 4 or 5 hours time that they might been eaſily and ſafely fetcht, but that was neglected; they ſent in the morning, but then it was too late.

The 12th day a council was called, ſeveral, but not all the commanders aboard, they diſcourſed of landing at the town, or at Orleance, many of the officers declared that many of their men were ſick and unfitt for ſervice; however, it was agreed that the men ſhould have a day or two's time to refreſh themſelves, and to inquire what capacity wee were in for a further attempt, and ſome time ſhould be ſpent on Monday in prayer, to ſeek God's direction, but the weather prevented our meeting, and wee neceſſitated to weigh and fall down to Orleance, many veſſels drove from their anchors, and were in danger of being drove on upon the town; wee then ſent aſhore about our captives, but winds and weather after proved ſuch, as wee had never opportunity to come together, but the whole fleet were ſcattered, and ſuch exceeding hard cold and windy weather ſett in for 3 weeks or a month together, as I never was in ſo much together.

This narrative given into the honourable council of the Maſſachuſetts, this 27th Nov. 1690.

P. JOHN WALLEY.

The land army's failing, the enemy's too timely intelligence, lyeing 3 weeks within 3 days ſail of the place, by reaſon whereof they had opportunity to bring in the whole ſtrength of their country, the ſhortneſs of our ammunition, our late ſetting out, our long paſſidge, and many ſick in the army, theſe may be reckned as ſome of the reaſons of our diſappointment.

Some

Some queſtion our courage, that wee proceeded no further; as things were circumſtanced, others would a queſtioned our prudence, if wee had; were it a fault, it was the act of a council of warr; wee muſt undergoe the cenſures of many: In the mean time, our conſciences doe not accuſe us, neither are we moſt, yea allmoſt all, of us, afraid or aſhamed to anſwer our actions, before any that can or ſhall call us to an account for the ſame, nor unwilling to give any farther ſatisfaction to any reaſonable men that ſhall deſire it.

JOHN WALLEY.

Boſton, the 27th Nov. 1690.

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